

A. D. 1472. War, and then he doubted not but by her to work himself safe and honourable Conditions.

Reg. 12. Much importun'd by the English Ambassador to give his Resolution, and not knowing to what Danger the King's Suspicion might grow, or to what new Leagues it might incline him; he answer'd him faithfully that he intended no such near Alliance with Duke Charles. And that all those Appearances of Treaty were only to retain him in Discord with his Brother, who otherwise might chance to be reconciled, and hazard to destroy that Faction, which the Necessity of his Affairs did inforce him to advance. He desir'd therefore the King not to listen to every false Suggestion, but to believe he would do nothing in so material a Point, without much Advice, and Care had for Satisfaction of so great a Confederate, and so near an Allie.

This so absolute Resolution of the Duke took away the former Jealousie, which soon after would howsoever of it self have vanish'd. For Duke Charles, not without a strong Suspicion of Practice in King Lewis, died of Poison, and so fixed a Period to those many civil Wars which had distracted the State of France, and to all those busie Ambitions, which had so much disquieted his own Content.

A. D. 1473. At Home the King was continually stung by a swarm of Creditors, who during his late Troubles had supplied him with Treasure, and for whom Gratitude did oblige him to provide Repayment. He found his Exchequer empty, and a Necessity to desire the Commonalty to contribute with their Purse, that many of his best Friends might not be ruin'd. He therefore summon'd a Parliament to be held at Westminster, wherein though the Reformation of Abuses, and enacting Laws wholesome for the present Time was pretended, a liberal Subsidy was the Aim. But in the Beginning all those Acts which had been heretofore made during the first part of King Edward's Government, and abrogated by King Henry the last Parliament when for a Time he was restored, were reviv'd and enacted to continue in full Force for ever: And whatever other Statutes were made by King Henry, repealed. By Virtue of which Acts all the Nobility who had adhered to the House of York, and had been for that Attainted, were restored in Blood and to their Patrimonies; and all of the contrary Faction found Guilty of high Treason, and their Estates confiscated to the King. Then for Relief of the King's great Necessities (for all those so mighty Fortunes serv'd only to reward the Multitude of his Adherents) a full Subsidy was granted; In Recompence of which he gave them a general Pardon. And indeed by that, liberally repaid them; for by the late Civil Wars, the Lapse into Treason was so universal, that scarce any Estate could be safe if License were given to Informers, the Cormorants of a Commonwealth, who swallow much, but seldom or never grow Fat; and least of all Advance that they most pretend, the King's Benefit.

Some few Days before the Parliament began, Lewis de Bruges a Netherlander, Lord of Gruuthuse and Prince of Steinbuse came over into England, who was receiv'd by the King with all the Demonstrations of Amity: And on the Thirteenth of October in the Parliament-Chamber created Earl of Winchester, receiving with the Title the Ancient Arms of Roger Quinsey, heretofore Earl of the Place, with Addition of the Coat of England in a Canton. The Reason of this so extraordinary Favour conferred upon a Stranger, was the much Application of Re-

spect he made to King Edward, when by the prevailing Fortunes of the Earl of Warwick, he was forced to flee for Refuge under the Protection of the Duke of Burgundy. For he being a Nobleman of that Country, compos'd himself totally to comfort the King, distracted with his present Affliction.

Soon after him, the Parliament being newly ended; came Ambassadors from the Low Countries; who, after the first open Audience, (wherein for the most part pass'd only the Complement of Princes) being admitted to the King and some few Lords most intimate to the King's Resolutions, spoke to this Purpose,

May it please your Majesty,
WE are sent by our great Master the Duke of Burgundy upon an Embassy, that may prove strange at the first Apprehension, and even in it self Contradictory. To Congratulate your Majesty the Glory of that Peace you enjoy, and to invite you from it, to a new War. But Glory is like Time, everlastingly in Motion, and when it stops it ends.

Your Majesty hath by the happy Conduct of your Power and Fortune, restored the Kingdom to it self: That was an Act of Necessity. For you could not be your self, if your great Enemies had not been reduced to nothing. Now as great a Justice doth invite you to the Recovery of a larger Kingdom. Which we know your high Spirit cannot refuse to undertake, least the World have just Reason to suspect you took Arms to live, not to reign. For if your Title to the Crown of England be just, as Man did always allow in Judgment, and Almighty God hath approv'd in the Success; the same Title is good to the Crown of France: Both having been united into One ever since the Usurpation of Philip de Valois.

The People's Affection to Princes of their own Nation enacted an injurious Law; that authoriz'd Injustice, and confirm'd the Sovereignty in the Heirs-Male. The Female were excluded, as if the Distinction of Kind could make a Difference in Right, and the being born a Woman were to be born Illegitimate; for the Law Salique in a Manner bastardizeth the whole Sex.

Your great Ancestor Edward the Third, whose Name and Magnanimity you inherit, with his Sword abrogated this Law: And call'd the Law-makers to a severe Account at Cressie and Poitiers, where more Veins of France were open'd, and more Blood issued, than any Time records, considering the small Numbers of the English. In the latter of the two Battles John, Son to Philip of Valois, labouring to make good the Pretensions of his Father, was taken Prisoner, and so continued less than a free Subject, by endeavouring unjustly to be a Sovereign.

The little Handful of Men with which the English then oppos'd the vast Armies of the French, not only showing the high Advantage the Nation hath in Courage; but the miraculous Justice of the Almighty, who delights to make the Destruction of Usurpers his own Work, and not to permit Man by his Power to rival Heaven in the Punishment.

Your Majesty needs not History to perswade you to the Quarrel, or Example to assure you of the Success. The Justice of the Claim will easily prevail with you to draw again your Sword, which hath been hitherto almost ever unsheathed in Vindication of your Right;

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and

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13. and that with so much Prosperity, that they who admire your Valour and Direction, applaud your Fortune.

K. Edward oblig'd in Policy to War with France. But if the Nature of Man, delighted in the Felicities of Peace, should advise your Majesty to satisfy your Mind with the Triumph of those Victories you have already purchased; Yet neither a just Revenge, nor discreet Policy will admit it. For how can *England* remain safe from future Injuries, and acquit her self in Honour against those who have heretofore affronted her; if *France*, where all the late Combinations were first conceived, remain unpunish'd?

King of France the Cause of the Civil Wars in England. The huge Body of the Civil War lies now a dead Trunk, wounded to Death by your Arm, but yet *Lewis* of *France*, the Head of that Monster, tho' contrary to the ordinary Course of Nature, retains still a Life, and quickens Mischief hourly against this Kingdom; least otherwise his own be not secure. And should your Majesty out of Desire to avoid the further Effusion of Christian Blood, permit him to continue in the unjust Possession of a Kingdom, he would interpret his Safety and your Mercy to be either a blind Ignorance, or a degenerate Fear: And from your Lenity draw the Boldness to prepare new Troubles against your Quiet.

A War with France necessary to purge our Malecontents. And if it be not an over-much Care in a Confederate and an Allie, to make so narrow a Scrutiny into your Majesty's Affairs, our Master believes that this War will not be unnecessary for the present State of *England*. In regard this Way those many evil Humours, gather'd in the Body of the Kingdom by the late Disorders, will be easily purged away, or at least diverted. Seeing Experience teacheth us how impossible it is, for a Nation nursed in Civil War, suddenly to embrace a Peace, and endure a severe Government. And should the Discontented not vent themselves thus Abroad, how dangerous it might make the Disease at Home, is easie to be conjectured.

Small Preparations necessary for a War with France. But all this shows only the Justice and Necessity of your War: Preparations great enough to oppose a King of *France*, yet we have not touched upon. And that indeed is it, our Master gave us in our Instructions most to acquaint your Majesty withal: As by which it will be most apparent, how without any Reflection upon his own Occasions, he invites you to this Undertaking. For his Highness understands how far this Overture lies open to a false Interpretation, considering his Enmity with King *Lewis*, did not the Circumstance of the Business show how your Majesty is rather desir'd to a Triumph than a Battle.

The Allies of France few. Never had *France* so many Enemies so powerfully united, and never so few Friends, if she may be said to have any. For except only the poor Duke of *Lorraine*, who happily may be a Burthen, never an Aid to any Prince; we can hardly reckon a Confederate. For so treacherous have been all King *Lewis's* Arts, so dissembling his Nature, that the World hath concluded it much safer to be at Enmity with him, than upon the fairest Terms. His Friendship having ruin'd some, his Arms never any Man.

Confederates against France. In Confederacy with our Master, and in absolute Resolution to invade *France*, are the Duke of *Brittain* and the Count Saint *Paul*. *Brittain* able of his own Subjects to bring a powerful Army into the Field, Saint *Paul* by his Kindred and Intelligence to cause a general Revolt of all the Nobility from the King.

And indeed, such hath been the Character of that politic Prince (for that Epithete his poor Shifts have got him) that a continual Contempt hath been thrown by him upon the great Lords, and a most near Familiarity enter'd into with the basest People. His Barber being more acquainted with the Affairs of State, than the whole Body of his Council.

This preposterous Course of Favour, hath made the greatest States of the Kingdom scorn their present King, and reflect upon your Majesty, whose Comportment in War and Peace hath been such as justly makes your Triumph in the general Affections of your many Friends, and utter Destruction of your Enemies.

If it may therefore please your Majesty to admit of that Greatness your high Descent hath Title to, and your Predecessors have had Possession of: The Arms of these great Princes are prepared to serve you. Our Master first honoured your Majesty as a potent Neighbour, great in your self as in Dominion. Then by Marriage he grew into the nearest Degree of Correspondence; the Title of Brothers, (a Ceremony used between Princes) being of due in Alliance between you Two: Lastly, He had the Happiness which Potentates seldom have (tho' with some Trouble to your Majesty) to enjoy entire Familiarity: By which those other Respects, common among Persons of like Quality, and which are often but weak

Ties of Amity, are converted into a perfect Friendship. So that the Desire his Highness hath to advance your Majesty's Glory and Command, proceeds only from Love to the Posterity of your Person, and Just Claim. With how powerful Forces he will concur to this great Action, hath been of Purpose omitted: Because the World hath had sufficient Testimony, how able his Highness hath been to oppose, if not oppress, King *Lewis* without borrowing Aid from a Confederate. He therefore intreats to know your Majesty's Resolution, whether you will pass over and personally make your own Claim to the Crown. Your Majesty's only Presence being of Power to raise a fuller Army in the very Heart of *France*, than yet ever King of *England* led to conquer *France*.

This Overture took generally with the great Lords, who in their Infancies by their Nurses having been told no Stories but of our Triumphs in *France* (and those Tales imprint deeply in the Memory) and now for many Years ever acquainted with the Wars at Home, embraced Danger as the only Means to Honour. Moreover an Appetite of Glory, mingled with a Noble Emulation of the Powers of their Fathers, made every Man of Name thrust forward to this Action. Neither were the more Covetous backward, considering they were to War with a richer, and a more effeminate Nation; and not unlikely to return laden with Spoil, if not to remain there in a fertile and a pleasanter Country. The Soldier, who was in a manner all the Gentry of the Land (for the Civil Wars had engaged them all to the study of Arms) relish'd this Business more than the great Lords. For they, having been bred up in the free License of War, abhorred to be circumscribed within the narrow Bounds of the Laws, which never have absolute Power but in Peace. So that the whole Body of the Kingdom passionately affected the Quarrel, and by their universal Acclamations in Praise of it,

A. D. 1473. Reg. 13. K. Edward promises to invade France in the Spring. perfwaded the King soon to declare his Affent. Whereupon ſending for the Ambaſſadors, he ſhowed his Reſolution to the War, which he would undertake in Perſon, and that very Spring (for it was now preſently after *Chriſtmas*) transport his Forces into France. He deſired therefore to underſtand, in what readineſs the Duke of *Burgundy* had his Army, and where he would appoint the Place for the *Engliſh* to joyn, and which way ſhould firſt be taken. To which the Ambaſſadors made answer, That the Duke had his Forces ſo well prepared, that if the King would nominate a certain Time when he would be at *Calis*; the Duke would be ſure three Months before to waſte the whole Country belonging to the *French*, and to have his Men ſo expert, that they ſhould be able to inſtruct the *Engliſh*, unacquainted with the Place. And as for Transportation of his Soldiers they deſired his Maſteſty not to trouble himſelf, in regard his Highneſs would provide Boats for that Purpoſe. Then that the King might perceive how faithfully the Duke dealt with him, they ſhowed the Articles agreed upon between the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Brittain*, and the Count *St. Paul*, to joyn in a War offensive againſt King *Lewis*; as likewiſe a Catalogue of the Names of all the great Lords of *France*, who held ſecret Intelligence with them, and who would revolt from the *French* King, as ſoon as the Duke's Army took the Field.

The Confederacy againſt France ſhew'd K. Edward. Duke of Brittain rejoiced in the Confederacy of K. Edward keeps up his Reſolution to invade France. With this ſo ſatisfactory Answer, the Ambaſſadors returned to the Duke, who in this attained the Ambition of many Years working. For all the Fear which troubled his buſie Mind was, leaſt King *Edward* won by the Practices of King *Lewis*, might be induced to ſide with *France*, or elſe to remain a Neuter. And indeed the laſt he ſuſpected moſt, knowing the Nature of our King ſo prone to Voluptuouſneſs, to which the Noiſe and Trouble of the Wars never gives free Liſenſe. He therefore by continual Embaſſies, kept him conſtant to his Reſolution, and with larger Promiſes of Supply, and clearer Appearances of Succeſs, prick'd forward his Ambition to the Enterprize.

King Edward's Ambition to conquer France, and the Engliſh antipathy againſt the French. The Reaſon why the Engliſh are always ready to War with the French. But all theſe Arts were Needleſs, for the King was forward to the Quarrel; either out of a brave Emulation of *Henry* the Fifth his Predeceſſor of the other Line; or out of a Confidence as eaſily to throw King *Lewis* out of the Throne of *France*, as he had King *Henry* out of the Sovereignty of *England*; or perhaps not to appear backward in an Attempt of Glory, when the Expectation of the Kingdom called upon him to arm. For unleſs ſome Malice rancor'd in the Genius of our Nation againſt the *French*, the *Saxon* Government having received a final Overthrow by them, in the Conqueſt of Duke *William* (though to that great Buſineſs conſpired all the adjacent Countries) it would be our wonder why the *Engliſh* were never ſparing of their Lives or Treafure, when any War might be advanced againſt the *French*; and of this ſo extraordinary Forwardneſs in his People, the King took a great Advantage.

To compact the Body of this Enterprize, Money the Nerves and Sinues of War were wanting. The ordinary Courſe for Supply was by Parliament, and that at this Time was held Difficult if not impoſſible: In regard the King

but a little before had diſſolved the Aſſembly, having received for Diſcharge of his Debts a large Contribution; and to urge them to a Second Aid, would probably end in Diſtaſte, if not in Denial. Neither could it appear leſs than extream Exaction, to force the Farmers, who make up the greateſt Number in any Payment, to yield to a Subſidy, conſidering the Precedent Troubles of the Kingdom had utterly impoveriſh'd them by hindering Tillage and all good Huſbandry. And for the Nobility who pay a large Share in all general Collections; they for the moſt part prepared themſelves for the Expedition. And it could not but rebate the Edge of their Courages to be at a vaſt Charge not only in the particular ſetting forth of their own Perſons and their Retinue; but in the general Preparations. There was therefore a New Way found out, by former Ages never known without oppreſſing the Commons, to ſupply the King, the Name it bore was a Benevolence, (though many diſproved the Signification of the Word, by their Unwillingneſs to the Gift) and it was cunningly and diſcreetly required only of the better ſort of People, who were known to have a plentiful Revenue, of whom he got a particular Catalogue. And eſpecially of ſuch whom Eaſe and Wealth were likely to detain at Home. Knowing that the heaviſt Burthen might be laid on them without a publick Murmur, as Men hated by the Soldier, and upon whoſe Proſperity ever attends a common Envy.

In advancing this Contribution no Policy was omitted, either by private Menaces, or publick Entreaties. Some came in led by fear (not knowing to what Indignation a Denial might provoke the State) Others were cunningly perſwaded to a vain hope of enjoying the King's particular Favour by their Forwardneſs: Few granted it for Love to the Enterprize; moſt only becauſe their Neighbours did it, and they wanted Courage to diſobey Example. In Hiſtory a Widow is much ſpoke of, who having freely, and ſomewhat above the Proportion of her Eſtate, contributed Twenty Pound, receiv'd from the King a Kiſs. Which his ſo extraordinary Favour (extraordinary to a Widow declin'd in Years) ſo overjoy'd her, that ſhe doubled the Sum, and preſented it to the Collectors. By which ſlight Paſſage, a Judgment is eaſie to be made of the King's Nature; either of it ſelf full of Humanity, or without Difficulty bending to the loweſt Courtieſie, when it any Way concern'd the Advancement of his Profit.

By this Art Monies were raiſed, and now nothing was wanting to the Expedition. The univerſal Language of the Kingdom being of the Wars, and all Exerciſes Military. No Perſon of Blood or Quality, but prepared for the Journey, except only thoſe whom Infancy or extream Age exempted, or the neceſſary Adminiſtration of the Commonwealth. And all they who went, emulated each other in the Glory of their Armour, the Richneſs of their Pavilions, the Bravery of their Horſes Furniture and Servants Apparel. Every Man being held ſo far to recede from Honour, as in his Preparations he expreſſed an Unwillingneſs to the Buſineſs.

The Army conſiſted of 1500 Men at Arms, 15000 Archers, 8000 common Soldiers, beſide 3000 Pioneers (1) appointed to guard the Ord-

(1) And a Thouſand Men belonging to the Train. In all 31500 Men.

A. D. 1473. nance and the Carriage. Three Thousand good Soldiers were sent into *Brittain*, to joyn with his Forces, and assault *France* on the other Side.

A. D. 1474. All Things disposed in so full a Readiness, the King sent over to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him with the State of the Army, and to know in what Forwardness Businesses were on that Side. Who returned Answers full of confident Promises, and Exhortation to the King to make all possible Haste over, the Summer coming on apace; which if past further without Action, would indanger the Loss of the whole Expedition for that Year. He assured him moreover of certain (m) Towns under the Government of the Count *St. Paul*, which should be surrendred into the King's Hands, for Retreat to the *English* upon any Occasion of the Badness of Weather or Fortune.

Some Towns to be surrendred to K. Edward.

And indeed how weak soever the Duke knew the Condition of his Army, yet fearful he was to express it, lest the King should take Advantage to give over the Undertaking. The King's Nature being known diseased so much with the Love of Peace, that the Duke was justly Suspicious how sound soever it appeared for the Present, it might upon the least Distemper fall into a Relapse.

Upon these Assurances from the Duke, the King gave Order that all his Forces should repair to *London*: Whence after some few Months spent in Preparations, he march'd towards *Dover*. But before he took Shipping, that the Progress of the War might be the more Successful, the Beginning was made according to the Old Heroick Strain of Bravery. For the King sent *Garret* an Herald over with a Letter of Defiance to *Lewis* of *France*; in which he was requir'd to surrender up to the King of *England*, the Realm of *France*, as due to him by the Laws of Inheritance, and violently wrested away from *Henry* the Sixth, by *Charles* the Seventh, and as unjustly possessed by *Lewis*: By which voluntary Resignation of the Crown, it was shew'd how without Effusion of Blood, the King of *England* should be enabled to restore the Clergy and Nobility to their ancient Greatness and Priviledges, and the Commons to their Liberty: Of which they had all been so cruelly depriv'd by the injurious Usurpation and tyrannical Government of *Charles* and *Lewis*. It showed likewise how far the Kingdom of *France* in general, would by this receive Benefit, considering it would be eased of all those many and unsupportable Exactions, which by those covetous Princes, had been laid upon it. It concluded with a threatening of all the Mischiefs which accompany War, and an absolute Despair of all future Mercy, or Care to be had of *Lewis's* Provision; If upon so fair an Admonishment, and Summons given, he refused to yield the Kingdom.

Phil. Comines's Censures of the Letter confuted, and a Judgment of his History.

This Letter saith *Comines* (an Author of that Time, happy in writing many cunning Particulars of the Princes he serv'd, but rude in the Art of History, and ever blemishing the Glory of our Nation) was penn'd so elegantly both for Language and Matter, that he believ'd it was beyond the Abilities of an *English* Wit; a bold and ridiculous Censure. For how could he who was born no Native of *France*, and never had been instructed in any Learning, judge of Language? Or how of the witty Contrivance of the Letter, since in his own History, which is receiv'd by the World with so univer-

sal an Applause, there is an apparent Defect in Order and Method? And without Vanity our Nation may assume to it self the Praise, (considering the narrow Limits of the Island,) to have produced as many Scholars admirable in all Degrees of Knowledge, as any Country on this side the *Alpes*. Neither was that Age (though according to the Necessity of the Time, more expert in Arms than Arts) without Excellent Wits famed for Literature. But this Digression the Reader must pardon; a Sense of our Nation's Honour thrust my Pen out of the Way, if this be from the Purpose.

Whatsoever the Letter was in the Composition, it was such in the Substance, that it distressed King *Lewis*, and troubled all his Imaginations. He read it softly and fearfully; which was beneath that part of Understanding he was most Master of, even Policy it self. For it could not but beget strange Interpretations in the Court, when the Message of an Enemy deliver'd publicly by Letter should be kept concealed. The Demand must probably be easily conjectured, and this silent Way of answering could not but procure Suspicion, that his Resolution might descend to yield more than became a Prince. But in the Manage of this, as in all other Businesses, King *Lewis* delighted to give Order alone, and show his Authority Independent of any Council, without perplexing himself at all to satisfy Opinion.

Having read the Letter he withdrew himself into a Wardrobe, and commanded the Herald to be brought to his Presence. To whom he in answer to the Letter said, That he knew the King his Master had not resolv'd upon this Enterprize, out of his own Disposition; but overcome by the Solicitation of his People, and the Perswasion of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count *St. Paul*. His People infatuated with a vain Presumption of Victory, because heretofore the Success of their Wars in *France* had been fortunate, never considering the Disparity of the State of Things, or the Uncertainty of Events, especially where Fury and Fortune, two blind Powers, bear the whole Sway. The Duke of *Burgundy*, (loving War for it self, and having rashly engag'd himself into many Quarrels) out of Desire to draw the King of *England* into his Dangers, or at least at another's Cost, to beat the bargain of Peace to a lower Rate. The Reason why he had so labour'd King *Edward* to take Arms, and revive an absolute Title to the Kingdom of *France*, being only for his own Preservation which was threatened by all his injured Neighbours, or else as it is reported of People, diseased of the Plague, in Envy to the Health of other Nations desirous to infect even his nearest Allies with the Contagion of his Quarrel. As for the Count *St. Paul*, who had ever subsisted by Diffimulation, and causing Division between Princes, whereby his Assistance either for the Prosecution of the War, or Conclusion of Peace might be required as Necessary: All his Hopes in this Quarrel were only to fish in troubled Waters, and by an universal Combustion to raise himself into Authority, in regard Peace levelled him with inferior Lords, and made his Service of no Use.

King *Lewis* proceeded to tell him in how miserable a Condition the *Burgundian* Army was, having been broken at the Siege of *Nuz* (a desperate and mad Undertaking) and being now return'd Home, the Soldier destroy'd either by the Sword or Famine; and that small

A. D. 1474. Habington condemns Comines unjustly.

K. Lewis's Disturbance at the Letter.

K. Lewis discourages with the Herald, and desires of Peace with the English.

The Weakness of the Duke of Burgundy discover'd to the Herald.

(m) *St. Quintine* and others.

A. D. 1474. Duke might well expect Protection from the King, but could no way be of Power to advance his Purpose. He added how the Season of the Year, Summer being almost past, must of Necessity deter the King from crossing the Sea, and many other Arguments against the present Undertaking; as if the Herald being perswaded to Quiet by Oratory, France might have been reprieved from War for that Year. And to make him the more his Friend, he gave him with his own Hand three hundred Crowns, with Promise of a Thousand more, if the Peace, so much desired by him, took effect.

The Herald promises to promote a Peace with K. Edward.

The Herald, overcome much by his Perswasions, but much more by his Money, reply'd, That no Pains on his Part should be omitted, that might tend to the Service of his Majesty's Intentions; and that he, as far as his Observation upon the King's Nature could reach, imagined no great Difficulty to bring his Master to a fair Agreement; but that, as yet, the Motion would be most unseasonable, considering, that after so vast a Charge in levying of an Army, and so universal an Applause to the Design, his Majesty could not retire, until, at least, he had led his Forces into France and made some Appearance of intending what so constantly he had pretended. He desired him therefore to let his Army pass over to Cal-
lis, and thither to send his Herald to desire a safe Conduct for his Ambassadors, with Order to make Addresses to the Lords Stanley and Howard, and himself; and that the Way should be prepared so plain for King Lewis his Purpose, that there should be no Impediment at the worst to a fair Respect, if not to a full Satisfaction of his Desires.

The English Herald sent away.

All this Discourse past in Private: In Publick there was Caution, by the King's strict Command given, That no French Man should have any Communication with him; and as soon as possible he was dismissed with many fair Words, and thirty Ells of Crimson Velvet for Reward. The King after his Departure, expressing in his Look and Carriage, much Cheerfulness and Courage, either comforted by the faint Hopes our Herald gave him, or else cunningly dissembling his Fears.

K. Lewis's impolitick Management in Treating so with the Herald.

The Order of this Discourse between them, is delivered to us as a high Reach of Policy in King Lewis. But to an indifferent Understanding it appears nothing but the ordinary Wit of Cowardize; and certainly how covetous soever the Necessity of his Occasions made him to buy Peace, yet his manner of Traffick at this Time was beneath the Spirit of a Prince. For although his Largesse to the Herald wrought the wish'd Effect, yet he might have been deceiv'd by him, and by his so earnest Desire to avert the present War, have endanger'd to bring it much more fierce upon him. Neither could it be imagined common Discretion to impart his Fears to an Enemy, who might perhaps betray them to the Scorn of the English Army, or to negotiate Peace with a Herald (though a Person of much Worth and Understanding) yet commonly a Stranger to the Knowledge of the more inward Resolutions of State, but the Management of this Business thus, took a good Effect, and that concurring in a Prince, whose other Actions were politickly order'd, made it have so happy a Censure.

Upon return of the Herald, the King embark'd for Cal-
lis, and after him follow'd his Army, which was transported in certain flat-bottom'd Boats of Holland and Zeland, by them usually called *Scuts* (n), lent as before commanded by the Duke of Burgundy. And notwithstanding the Commodiousness of the Vessels and Multitude, being Five Hundred in all, three Weeks were they in their Passage, among all the Forces there not being one Page. Which as it instructs us in the vast Numbers of the Soldiers, so doth it in the Strength and Power, in regard they were all able Men, who undertook this Enterprize, and who came not to learn but to make Proof of their Knowledge in Arms.

Duke of Burgundy comes with a small Retinue to congratulate K. Edward's Arrival, which discontented him.

As soon as he heard they were certainly ashore, the Duke in all Haste came to congratulate the King's safe landing, and happy Arrival of the Army; for there was just Ground for fear that the French Navy might have endeavour'd to trouble their Passage: But the Duke coming with a very small Train, much afflicted the Expectation of the English, who thought to have seen him march to meet them with 2500 Men at Arms well appointed (o), beside a large Power of Horse and Foot; as by his Ambassadors and his own Articles had so amply and frequently been promised: But to take away this Suspicion from them for fear it might any way drive back their thoughts toward England; he told them, That his so private coming to the King was only to express his Joy for the King's Safety and theirs, and that his Army was further in the Country so well prepared for the present Design, that they should have no Reason to think him any way to have boasted. He therefore invited them to march up into the Land, where they might be better accommodated, and conducted the King to Bullen; a Town which having been heretofore mortgaged by the French, to Philip Duke of Burgundy, with a large Part of Picardy; was notwithstanding the often tender of the Money by Lewis still detained violently by Duke Charles. There he gave the English a free Entertainment, and still kept their Expectation high. From thence he went with them to Peron, another Town of Picardy kept upon the same Terms. Into which he admitted but few of the better Sort of the English, and over those too he carried a watchful Eye: The Army forced to lodge in the Field, which was the less Inconvenient in regard of the Season of the Year, and the Commodiousness of Pavilions and Tents, with which they were so plentifully furnish'd. The Duke perhaps loath to trust the Army in Possession of so important a Place lest their Expectation being disappointed they might attempt to give him some Trouble. To Peron the Count St. Paul sent to congratulate the King's Arrival in France, to promise all Service to his Enterprize, and his Towns to his Use and Command. Whereupon the King removed to St. Quintin; over which St. Paul commanded, there to accommodate his Army, till the Duke's Forces were in Readiness to take the Field. But as some over-hasty Troops having got the Start of the Army came confidently toward the Gates, expecting to be receiv'd, if not with Triumph, at least with all the Demonstrations of Joy; the Artillery from the Town shot against them, and some of the Garrison issued forth to skirmish, in which Two or Three of the English perish'd. This

The English Army, disgusted at the Duke of Burgundy's and Count St. Paul's Behaviour to them.

(n) Five Hundred Flat-bottom'd Boats.

The King landed at Cal-
lis the 4th of June.

(o) The Duke of Burgundy was to have joyn'd K. Edward with 4000 Horse and 9000 Foot. His Forces were then besieging Nuis in the Electorate of Cologne.

A. D. 1474. Appearance of Hostility from a Confederate, confirmed the former Jealousie of the Army, and raised a strange Murmur both against St. Paul, and the Duke, which was increased by the Difficulties of a tempestuous Night, with which the *English* after were troubled: For an extraordinary Rain fell, and made the so open Lodging very unpleasing, with Danger of Diseases to the Army.

Duke of Burgundy not able to satisfy the Suspicion of the *English*. The Duke of *Burgundy* opposed against this Discontent with his Authority, but in vain: For not able to give Satisfaction for his own Weakness and Breach of Promise, he was more disabled to clear Suspicion from another. Whereupon he took his leave of the King, intreating his and the Armies Patience for a while, till he brought his Forces to join with them, and a full Account from the Count St. Paul, of his Garçon's Demeanure at St. Quintin.

But this his Departure compared with the former Carriage of Things, begot yet a stronger Doubt of their Intentions in the *English*, who being Strangers in that Place, and not having any particular Aim in Conduct of the Business, but only a general Resolution to regain *France*, interpreted these Delays and false Play to direct Treason. And began openly to inveigh against their own Folly in confiding on the Promises of such, who endeavour'd not the Glory of the *English* Name, or the King's Title, but only their own Safety: For Preservation of which, under a specious Pretext of recovering a Kingdom, they had seduced them into a strange Country, in hope hereafter to sell them to the *French*. And altho' this Discourse were only in the Mouth of the common Soldier; yet did the Thoughts of the Commanders participate with the Vulgar, tho' not so freely opened. For hitherto there had been no Assurance given of any real Intention either in *Burgundy* or St. Paul.

Their Discontents defended. The much Indignation expressed by the *English* upon this Occasion was thought a strange kind of rude Ignorance, and a Note even of Barbarism. Which Censure favours too much of Malice, considering it could not be judged blind Presumption that induced our Nation to this Undertaking; the State, for it, having the fairest Apperance of Human Reason, and the Religion of the strongest Oaths. And if the unexpected Treachery of St. Paul ingendred Choler; why should this Passion be so Contemptible, since an Injury from a Friend is ever quicker and sharper to the Sense; and all Nations remov'd from their own Seats upon dangerous Adventures, are prone to Suspicion. And for Ignorance in Art of War, I see not how by Malice it self it can be obtruded upon the *English*, since their only Misery was too much Experience in Arms, which ever begets Knowledge. Neither could they be but Skilful even in the Military Exercise of the *French*, few of the Soldier who were now of any Age, but their Youth had been bred up and instructed under the Command of that great Captain Talbot, Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others: Not full twenty Years expired, since we turn'd our Swords upon our selves, and gave *France* Liberty to recover Breath.

But this Dilatory Way in the Duke, and Treachery in the Count, prepared the Army to a good Thought of Peace; and brought the two Confederates, into more Hatred than an open Enemy: So that when an Herald came from K. Lewis, he was receiv'd into the *English* Camp with much Humanity; and friendly invited by the Soldier, to refresh himself with Wine and Meat, till the King, who was then at Dinner,

was at Leisure to give him Audience. For A. D. Lewis, following the Instructions of our Herald, 1474. as soon as he understood King Edward was landed, and had heard likewise of some Disgusts, appearing between him and the Duke; resolv'd to send to him, and attempt to perswade him to a Peace: But so poor was he in the outward Ceremonies of Majesty, that no Herald attended on his Camp; whereupon he was enforced to suborn a Fellow, a Servant of one Monsieur de Hale, of whose Wit and Confidence he had taken some Notice, to act the Part. Who having received full Instructions from his Master, addressed himself to the Lords Stanley and Howard, and the *English* Herald, by whose Aid being brought to the King, he handsomly delivered his Message. The Effect of which was, To show the great Desire the King his Master had to live in perfect Amity with all neighbouring Princes, but above all with his Majesty of *England*, as the King, who in the Extent of Empire, and his own Prowess was most Considerable; That he had much Reason to believe the present War had not received the first Life in *England*, especially not in the Disposition of the King; which (as he was inform'd) abhor'd the unnecessary drawing of Christian Blood; That they who had first hatch'd this Quarrel, did it only with their Neighbour's Danger to procure their own Safety, and when they had made an advantageous Peace, to conspire with him, who before had been the common Enemy, for beating back their best Friend the *English*; That he doubted not but that his Majesty would suddenly find good Ground for Suspicion, when he should perceive the Duke of *Burgundy*, not able to bring into the Field one entire Regiment; all his Forces having been utterly broken upon desperate Services, to which an innate Love to War had madly engag'd him. Then he proceeded to excuse his Master's succouring the Faction of *Lancaster*: To which he protested he never gave Assistance for it self, but only for the Earl of *Warwick's* Sake, whom he supported only to affront *Burgundy*, whose irreconcilable Enemy *Warwick* had ever professed himself. And if he had inclined more to favour King Henry, he might well excuse it, in respect of his near Kindred to him and his Wife Q. Margaret, and something too in Reason of State, to oppose *Burgundy* who pretended to be a Friend (how false soever he prov'd) to the House of *York*. That if his Majesty would be pleased to search up to the very Head of this Business, he shall find more Streams of Assistance to have flowed from *Burgundy* than from *France* to K. Henry; Duke Philip and this Duke (till his Marriage with the Princess Margaret) having most passionately laboured the Supportation of that Family, to which they were so near in Kindred. The Conclusion was to desire his Majesty to grant a safe Conduct for 100 Horse, in whose Company should come Embassadors enabled with larger Instructions, and who should make Proposal of such Conditions, as could not be rejected by the King or Kingdom of *England*, since they should be for the Honour and Profit of both; unless it would better stand with his Majesty's Liking to assign a Place of Treaty in some Village between both Armies, to which they might joynly send Commissioners.

This Message deliver'd in a soft Tone, expressing much Humility, and ever ascribing to the King's Greatness of Spirit and the Nation's Glory; together with a Promise to make Overture of Conditions both Honourable and Profitable, begot a favourable Audience. And many

The French Herald's Speech to desire a Treaty.

French King's Reasons for assisting the *Lancastrians*.

Duke of *Burgundy* assisted the *Lancastrians*.

A. D. 1474. many of the great Lords, who had plentiful Revenues at Home, were as forward as the King to listen to Peace, and forsake unnecessary Dangers Abroad. Neither did the greatest Statists dislike a Treaty, considering that all our Wars in France had rather purchased Fame than Treasure to our Kingdom, and when our Soldiers returned Home, their Scars were greater than their Spoils. And howsoever we had by Starts and Fits got Possession of the largest Territories in France, yet still we retired back again; as if the Divine Providence had decreed to have our Empire bounded within our Seas. Moreover they who affected the Happiness of a Kingdom and loved their own Country, desir'd rather France under a Foreign Governour, least if in Possession of our King, England being the less, both in Extent and Fertility, might be reduced to the Condition of a Province, and live in Obedience to a Deputy, enriching the greater Kingdom with her Tribute. Other Considerations likewise of the present State of the Wars, prevail'd to give leave for a Treaty; Whereupon with Reward of 100 Angels in a Gilt Cup, the Herald was dismissed, a Safe-Conduct granted, and the Place for the Commissioners appointed in a Village near Amiens, the Armies to abide at Four Miles Distance on each Side: For the King were nominated, the Lord Howard, Sir Anthony St. Leger, and Dr. Morton; for the French, the Bastard of Bourbon, Admiral of France, the Lord St. Peire, and the Bishop of Eureux.

These Men at the first Meeting brought almost the Treaty to a Conclusion, for on both Sides they brought Minds disposed to Peace. And altho' the English Commissioners at first demanded the Crown of France as due to the King by Right, from which in Honour he could not recede; and afterward with much Appearance of Difficulty condescended to be content with Normandy and Guien, yet they themselves knew well Princes never used to part with Countries upon Treaty, before the Battle hath imposed a Necessity to yield. And indeed the English expected not that Lewis would be frighted out of so important Limbs of the Body of France, only upon the braving of an Enemy. Soon this first Flourish of Bulinesses came to more easie Terms. Edward desir'd to be gone without Loss of Honour, Lewis to have him gone with as much Reputation as he desir'd. Edward had occasion for Money, and Lewis was willing to make him a Bridge of Gold from Calis to Dover, whereon to carry back his Army. And shortly to both their Contents an absolute Agreement was made, whereby 75000 Crowns were to be paid to K. Edward before his Departure out of France, and 50000 annually.

Concerning the Annuity of 50000 Crowns, there is much Controversie among French and English Writers about the Name. They call it a Pension, we a Tribute. And certainly the latter (to speak without Partiality to our selves) hath in it much more Propriety of Language. For a Prince who over-awed by a powerful Army mediates by submissive Messages to divert the Battle, and afterward buys his Safety not only with a present Sum, but an annual Payment cannot have a freer Name than Tributary. And as for Pensions they are granted upon Petition to the Poor and Weaker, not upon Fear to the Mightier. But to compare the greater Actions of Princes to the Customs of Subjects: The 75000 Crowns (p) was the Fine K. Lewis paid for

France, and the 50000 annually the Rent: Only the Farm was too mighty to be set, and the Tenant too strong and stubborn ever to quit Possession to his Land-lord.

Then for Establishment of Future Peace (that Posterity might Partake in the Benefit of this Agreement) it was concluded that the Princess Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to K. Edward, should marry with Charles the Dauphin, Son to Lewis; and for her present Maintenance (q) 5000 Crowns from France should be paid in the Tower of London; and after the Expiration of Nine Years, she and the Dauphin to be invested in the Duchy of Guyen. And that on the English Side there might be no Fraud; upon Payment of the first Sum the Lord Howard and Sir John Cheynie, Master of the Horse, were to remain Hostages until the Army were returned into England. But that the King might not seem to forget his Confederates, the Duke of Burgundy and Brittain were comprehended if they would accept the Peace. The Count St. Paul was abandon'd in this Treaty, as a menial Servant and Subject to the Crown, being Constable of France; and who by his Diffimulation and Treason, had most offended the Nature of our King. And usually thus to reconcile great Princes, lesser are offer'd up for Sacrifice.

This Peace was generally received by the Army with Applause, as by People who began to consider no Victory before the Battle certain, and in the Battle much Hazard. Only the Duke of Gloucester, who stood aloof off on the other Side, for Honour frown'd at this Accord, and expressed much Sorrow, as compassionating the Glory of his Nation blemish'd in it. He repeated his Jealousie of the World's Opinion, which necessarily must laugh at so chargeable a Preparation to attempt nothing; and scorn either the Wisdom or Courage of the English, when they shall perceive them in so full Numbers, and so well arm'd to pass the Sea, after a Defiance sent, and challenge to a Crown, to return back without drawing a Sword: Moreover to forsake the Amity of so constant Friends, and in extrem Necessity to betray them who were beguiled by a common Dissembler; whose Shifts and Tricks of State, like the Sights of Hand in Jugglers, are discovered, and wondred at by those Fools only, whom he Cozens. And what carried with it an Appearance of most Danger, to necessitate the Duke of Burgundy to a Peace with K. Lewis, whereby both may hereafter join in a common League against us: Who by this one Act have forfeited all Leagues with our ancient Confederates, and frighted any other Princes from joyning with us.

With Gloucester agreed many of the Army, who were either Dependiant upon him, or who had as unquiet Thoughts as he; some likewise, who having set up the Rest of all their Fortunes upon this Gain, found themselves undone in their Hopes, because the Princes had drawn Stakes. But most of a discontented Humour, that maliciously always interprets the Actions of Princes to the worst Sense. But the Duke of Gloucester had a further and more dangerous Aim; as who by the Dishonour of his Brother, thought his Credit receiv'd increase, and by how much the King sunk in Opinion, he should rise. And in regard good and quiet Men were delighted in the Accord he would be numbred with the Wicked, and unquiet, to add a luster to his Faction by drawing the Nation's Honour to his Part.

(p) He receiv'd but 72000. Phil. de Com.

(q) It should be 50000 Crowns. Phil. de Com.

A. D. 1474. But why this Peace should endure so hard a Censure, both at Home and Abroad is strange, and above all why K. Lewis should ascribe any Honour to himself, or think the Advantage on his Side. For what Eclipse soever the English Glory suffered, certainly the French by a most servile Way purchased Safety. They descending beneath the Honour of Men by Money to wave a Battle; we being only Faulty in not having perform'd more than Men. For if we consider our selves subject to the Chance of War, why was not an honourable Peace to be preferred? Especially since if we had fail'd in the Success, how wretchedly had our Forces been broken in their Hopes, and how impossible on the sudden to re-inforce the Army? And if the French had declin'd the Battle into what Necessities had we falln, the Summer almost past, and both Burgundy and St. Paul refusing to let

The pretended Advantages of the Peace.

us have Towns to Winter our Men? And if we look upon the Peace it self, nothing is in it disadvantageous to our Honour or Profit. Considering it brought not only a great present Sum and annual Revenue, but brought it from the then greatest Prince in Christendom enforced by Fear. And for Convenience, the Marriage of the King's Daughter to the Dauphin, could not but be esteem'd of main Consequence. Why then won that Apothegm so much Reputation, that reported our King to have gain'd Nine Battles in which he personally fought, and never to have lost any but this? Since in this he overcame a Prince of far greater Power than he ever fought with before, with no Disadvantage, but that the Victory was purchased without Blood, which should be esteem'd an Addition to the Glory of it. And if you cast your Eye back upon the Course held in the most famed Empire, and especially in the Roman, which was the noblest, you shall find they never refused their Friendship to any Prince who humbly (as Lewis of France did to King Edward) requested it; and accounted it more Glory to have Kings their Tributaries, than their Kingdoms Farm'd out for a more profitable Revenue. But of this enough, and but enough, since it tends so much to the Vindication of the English Honour; which the French vaunted so much to have suffered in this Treaty. In which they think us by their Wits miserably over-reach'd, and perhaps indeed we were, if the Articles be only judged by their Fears, and not by the Difficulties of our Army at that Time, and the just Jealousie of the King that his Confederates intended not his but their own Advantage.

Duke of Burgundy in Discontent at the Peace, comes post to K. Edward, and upbraides him for his Sloath and Cowardize.

The News of this Peace no sooner came to the Court of the Duke of Burgundy, but in all haste he posted to the English Camp, attended only by 16 Horse. The Distraction of his Look and Gesture expressed the Wildness of his Thoughts; so that the whole Army discover'd his Discontent before he utter'd it. His first Address to the King was, in Question of the Truth of the common Report that spoke a Peace concluded between him and K. Lewis? Which when he was resolv'd was true, he presently broke into a most passionate fierce Language, upbraiding the King with Inglorious Sloath; and the indefatigable Courage of former Kings of England; upon whose Attempts waited ever the noblest Victory. He made a scornful Repetition of the Mirth his Enemies would make at his Return; as if he had come over with so huge an Army, Merchant like to traffick for a little Money; and the Contempt he must needs

become to his own People, when they should preceive the great Conquests their Contributions have brought Home. And when it was intimated to him, that he and the Duke of Britaine were included in the Peace; he disdainfully rejected it, protesting that for the Love he bore the English Name, not Care of his own Safety, he had perswaded K. Edward to this Enterprize. And to show how little Dependancy his Fortune held on any other, and how without Mediation of an Allie, he was able to make his own Peace; he vowed to conclude none with France, until the English Army had been Three Months at Home. After he had thrown forth these disorder'd Speeches, in much Discontent he left the King: Who wonder'd to hear himself so disdainfully intreated; having seldom been accusom'd to any Language, but what was polish'd to delight by Flattery. But they who misliked the Peace, commended the Spirit of the Duke, being overjoy'd to hear their unquiet Thoughts, which Fear restrain'd from Utterance, so freely spoken; yet they had little Cause to Triumph when Edward had reply'd with equal Boldness, That 'twas his own Falsehood, and not his Cowardize that had disposed his Mind to a Peace: for had he met Actions suitable to his Brags, he had never comply'd; but he could not fight in their Cause, who had not Heart enough to defend themselves, and therefore chose to side with a fair Enemy, rather than a treacherous and false Friend (r).

But the Count St. Paul, ascertain'd of this Peace, was seiz'd upon by a far other Passion. For by dissembling with these three Princes, in hopes to win Love and Reputation with the more Fortunate; he had offended them all, so far, that he knew not to which confidently to fly for Refuge. France was irreconcilable, because he had been ever practising against the Quiet and Safety of that State; and who both by the Ties of Alliance (as having marry'd the Sister of K. Lewis's Wife) and Loyalty, as who held much Land in France, and executed the Place of Constable; being oblig'd to seek the Preservation of his Country; had for many Years nourish'd Treason, and sometimes brought the Crown it self to the Hazard. Then from England or Burgundy, there was no Probability of Friendship, both having been deluded by his Promises, and in the last Business at St. Quintin provok'd to the highest Indignation. For altho' the English only sustain'd the Loss in point of Safety, in the present Expedition; yet in point of Honour, the Duke had his Share in Suffering: He having before the King's Passage out of England, covenanted for the Faith of the Count St. Paul. But certainly the Misery of a petty Prince is lamentable, and his Estate most unsafe, when there is any Jealousie growing between his more potent Neighbours. For Neutrality is incompatible with his Fortune, in regard his Country shall then lie open to the Spoil of every Army, if he deny to declare himself; and if he declare himself, he must run the Hazard of anothers Fortune. And oftentimes the very Situation of his Principality enforceth him to rake part, not with the Stronger or Juster; but with the nearer neighbouring, as in Danger of whose Rage his Estate is most subject. But in Addition to the Misery of his Fortune, St. Paul had the unquietness of Mind, raised up into a deep high Ambition, by the cunning of Wit. For he had so many, and so far Fetches in his Imaginations, and of them some had prosper'd so

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14.

Count St. Paul's bad Condition.

The bad Estate of Petty Princes.

St. Paul's deep Politics.

(r) His Words were, better have Peace with an old Enemy, than the Promises and Familiarity of a new Dissembling Friend. much

A. D. 1474. much to his Advantage; that it made him Presumptuous of his Abilities to dissemble, and therefore continue in it, till at last the Discovery took away all Belief from his after Pretensions, and happily too from his real Intentions. But among the greatest of his Misfortunes, is to be reckon'd, the Time he lived in: For had he not met with so Politick a Prince as *Lewis* of *France*, who had likewise the Start of him in good Luck, he questionless might have attained some one of those many Designs, he so wittily and probably contriv'd. But in the Conduct of their Affairs, Princes shall find a discreet Honesty not only toward God, but even to the depraved World, the safest Rule of human Actions. For the absolute Dissolution of a State was never known to happen by Observance of Faith or Religion; and seldom in the Time of a good Prince, I mean if his Goodness were active, not over-ruled by evil Counsel to Misgovernment.

St. Paul addresses to King Edward. St. Paul in this Distraction of Thoughts endeavour'd to recover a Game quite lost, and made his Addressees to the King of *England*, whom he believed to be of the easiest Nature, and from whom he expected less Severity, because the King had suffer'd less than the others by his Dissimulation. He therefore first excused the Distast given the *English* at St. *Quintin*, casting the whole Fault upon the unhappy Rashness of his Soldiers billeted in the Town, and the Jealousie of the Townsmen: Then he advis'd him to be wary of giving too much Faith to *K. Lewis*, who was resolv'd after the Departure of the *English* Army to observe no Covenant; wherefore his safest Course would be to demand *Eu* and St. *Valerie* to billet his Soldiers in this Winter, which he was secure *Lewis's* Fears durst not deny, and by which Grant he would not be necessitated to so sudden a Return. Lastly, (observing the Avarice of the King's Disposition in the last Treaty) he tender'd him the Loan of 50000 Crowns, and promise of all faithful Service in the Future.

K. Edward rejects Count St. Paul's Offers. But the Memory of former unfaithful Passages, and desire to enjoy the Pleasures of Peace, made the King so far Deaf to these new Propositions; that it ended even in scornful Language of the Offerer, which drove St. Paul into utter Despair. For the King was not to be remov'd from his new-begun Amity with *Lewis*, which every Day by the Interchange of Favours, and by labouring to excel each other in Confidence, gather'd increase. For presently upon Conclusion of the Articles between the Commissioners, a Truce being made, until the Peace were ratified by the Oaths of both the Princes; the *English* Soldiers had free Admission into all the *French* Towns. And one Day so great Number of the Army went to make merry in *Amiens*, as might have endanger'd the Surprisal if there had not been faithful Intentions in *K. Edward*. But he to shew the Integrity of his Mind, and to take away all Occasion of Jealousie of any underhand Design, sent to *K. Lewis* to intreat him to give Order for Restraint, if by entering in so large Multitudes the Soldiers endanger'd Suspicion; which *Lewis* (never overcome in Complement) refused with many Protections of his Confidence; only desiring our King, if he disliked the Absence of so considerable a Part of his Army from the Camp, to send some Yeomen of his Crown to guard the Gates, in regard he was resolv'd no *French* Man should stop the Passage of the *English*. But our King strain'd his

Courtesie much too high, when to out-vy King *Lewis's* Favours, he offer'd to give him a Catalogue of all the *French* Noblemen, who had conspired with St. Paul in this War, and had given Faith to Revolt to the *English*. For as in the Rule of common Justice, this Discovery could give no better an Attribute to the King than that of State-Informer; so could it not but infinitely prejudice the Affairs of *England*; considering it would shut up for ever the Passage to all Intelligence, if this Peace should chance to break hereafter. And indeed by so voluntary undertaking that Office, which an honest Mind thinks it self unhappy to be forced to, presents his Nature to us most ignoble; since this Treason was only Intentional, and as the State of Businesses now stood in *France*, reconciled to the *English*, it no way concern'd the Safety of his new Confederate.

On the other Side *K. Lewis* show'd himself most affectionate to the *English*, when, contrary to the Circumspection of his Nature, he rejected all the Suspicions of his Council, who wish'd him to be watchful that *K. Edward* by pretending this Peace, did not betray him to a ruinous Security: When likewise he sent such exceeding Plenty of all Provision to the *English* Camp, and liberally feasted those so innumerable Multitudes, who daily resorted to *Amiens*. But perhaps some State-Criticks will interpret the Former in him, not a good Opinion of our Faith; but a Conceit of a dull ignorant Honesty in our Nation not quick to take Advantages; and the latter only an obsequious Way to continue us in our former Resolution for Peace. What ever Passion prevail'd with him in other Courtesies, I am confident he expressed more Nobleness than in any other Action of his Life; When he refused to destroy the *English* Army, having oftentimes so fair Opportunity, by reason of the many Disorders the Truce begot.

While these Passages of Endearment lasted between the Two Kings, a Place convenient for an Interview was found out at *Picquigny*, a Town three Leagues from *Amiens*, standing upon the River *Some*, and Commissioners were sent to provide there should be no Danger of Treason in the Place, for the King were the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *Anthony St. Leger*; for the *French*, the Lord of *Bouchage* and *Comines*. In the Choice of which Place *Comines* lays a gross oversight to our Commissioners. For he affirms by reason of a Marsh on both Sides the Causey, on which the King was to come to the Bridge where the Meeting was; his Person might have been in Danger, if the *French* had not meant good Faith. And if this were true, it certainly deserv'd a Signal Reprehension; in regard the sad Experience of those Times taught, there could not be too much Circumspection at such an Interview: But the Success guilty of no infelicity; clear'd the Commissioners either from the Fault, or from much of the Blame.

At the Meeting there was as much interchange of Courtesie, as could be between two Princes. The *French* King was first at the Grate (for these two Lions could not without Danger of Combat meet but at so safe a Distance) and our King was a Gallant in the Management of his Body, (s), by bending himself lower at Salutation: In which he expressed Youthfulness and Courtship. In their Language was much of Sweetness and endearing, and in their Behaviour an Appearance of Congratulatory Joy.

(s) Philip de Comines says this Interview was on the 29th of August, 1475. but that could not be, for *K. Edward* landed at *Gallis* in June 1474, and return'd in September following. The Peace according to the same Author being made three Months after his Arrival in *Picardy*.

A D. 1474. Each labouring to obtain the Victory in the Ex-
 1474. pressions of a cordial Affection; and indeed the
 Reg. 14. main Business took up least part of the Time.

Twelve Persons of principal Name (t), attended on each Prince according to the Nature of the Ceremony, out-vying each other in the Curiosity and Riches of their Apparel. On the English Side the Duke of Gloucester was absent (u), in regard his Presence should not approve; what his Opinion and Sense of Honour had heretofore disallow'd. And that there might be no Fraud nor Treason; on the English Side were four of the French, and on the French four of the English; who watchfully observ'd every Word and Gesture: So much Jealousie waits upon even the most friendly Meetings, and so suspected is the Faith of Princes. 800 Men at Arms attended on the French King, on the King of England his whole Army. Which set in Battle-array to the best Advantage for the Eye, afforded a Prospect of much Delight and Bravery to them, who at a more unfriendly Encounter would have trembled at the Sight.

The Chancellor of England's Oration at the Interview. The (x) Chancellor of England made an Oration congratulatory for the happy Agreement, whereby so much Blood was preserv'd in the Veins of both People, and so many Blessings of Peace like to enrich both Kingdoms (y). His Congratulation was intermingled with Prophecy of future Happiness, which would grow stronger by length of Time; touching in that upon the Marriage of the Dauphin with the Lady Elizabeth of England. But the good Bishop of Lincoln (z) (for in him was then the Office of Chancellor) in this shew'd himself a better Orator than Prophet. Himself living afterward to disprove his own Divination.

K. Lewis invites K. Edward to Paris. After the Oration ended, and the two Kings sworn to the fore-mention'd Peace, K. Lewis something wantonly (as who knew how to tune his Language best to K. Edward's Ear) invited him to take a Journey as far as Paris; where if any of the Beauties should make him trespass upon his Chastity; the Cardinal of Bourbon (a gentle Ghostly Father) should easily afford him Absolution. The King in the Pleasure of his Look approv'd the Facetiousness of the Discourse, and found no great Difficulty in himself to admit the Offer (a).

K. Lewis excepts against the Duke of Brittain's being included in the Peace. But K. Lewis (who never used Mirth but as a Preparative for something serious) having wrought himself into the King's good Liking; and as he thought facilitated him to grant any Request, urged that the Duke of Brittain might not remain in the Protection of the English; but that he might be left to his own Defence, against the Just Anger of the French, whom he had so often provoked by open Confederacies and secret Practices. To which the King answer'd resolutely, *That he never would forsake the Care of a Confederate, who had maintain'd his Faith so constantly.* And afterwards being importun'd by some great Lords employ'd in that Negotiation by Lewis; he not only shew'd an apparent Dislike to the Motion; but openly professed, that rather than the Duke should be endanger'd in his Safety, he would forget all

other Amities, and pass the Seas himself to his Relief. Which shew'd a noble Disposition in the King, and an advis'd Judgment; for the Duke had been ever friendly to him in the worst of Fortune, and in his better a most faithful Neighbour, and in this Enterprize on France had used no Dissimulation, nor in the least Carriage of Business betray'd that Faith at first he promised. In the Protection therefore of him against the French, the King shew'd the Gratitude of his Memory; as likewise a politic Caution that the Crown of France might not grow too potent by warring with a weaker Prince, whose Ruin could not but give to it a dangerous Addition.

But this Discourse touching the Duke was in private between the Kings; for Lewis to show the Authority he had over his greatest Lords, had commanded them to retire when he entered into this Speech. And in treating this Business, which so nearly concern'd the Policy of his Intentions, he shew'd a great Art; not urging the King so far, as that the Denial might come off with a Dislike. But smoothly he gave it over, when he perceiv'd him not easily to be remov'd; although with some inward Difficulty to find his Affection so constant to the Duke, of whom he had resolv'd to make a Spoil, and to lay the first Stone of his mighty Building in his Destruction.

He presently therefore diverted his Discourse again to Ceremony, and after some short intercourse of Courtship they both at the same Minute parted from the Grate, and took Horse publicly giving very liberal Commendations of each other. And how ever Interviews are generally esteem'd unsafe for Princes, in regard the Advantage falling of Necessity on the one Part, throws a Contempt upon the other; yet this was both in Probability before and after in the Success most Fortunate. For both Princes tho' of different Complexions had equal Preeminences, and by several Ways came to stand upon even Ground.

K. Edward had the Advantage in Youth, Personage and Behaviour, which win suddenly upon Estimation: Lewis in the cunning of Wit, and Authority of his Carriage, which although slower, sink deeper in Opinion. Edward had a daring Courage ever seconded by a propitious Fortune: Lewis a circumspect Judgment which order'd Business so sure, that he left scarce any Thing to Fortune. Edward by his Sword had brought himself to the present Greatness of his State: Lewis by his Policy had settled himself in his Father's Conquests. And indeed so apparent was the Equality of these Princes, that they both despaired to gain any Thing by Opposition, which made Lewis at any Rate desirous to buy K. Edward's Return; and Edward willing no more to traffick with Lewis, from whom nothing was to be got in the Way of Bargain: Whatsoever the one did by Valour, the other likely to undo by Cunning.

This Peace by all Conjecture was likely to suffer in Opinion at Home, where by comparing the Fortune of the present with that of former Army for a Peace.

(t) As the Duke and Cardinal of Bourbon, &c. on the French King, and the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Hastings, the Bishop of Lincoln, &c. on the King of England.

(u) But the Duke of Gloucester afterwards waited on the French King at Amiens, and had Presents from him as well as others. Com.

(x) Bishop of Ely.

(y) Comines says the Bishop began his Discourse by a Prophecy (*dont les Anglois ne sont jamais despourvus*) of which the English are never unprovided, that a great Peace was foretold, would be made at Picquigni between England and France.

(z) Thomas of Rotherham.

(a) At which the French King, says Comines, was not very well pleased, not liking to let the King of England be tempted to come thither.

A. D. 1474. Expeditions, Expectation promised it self nothing less than the entire Recovery of France. To prevent which, the King had happily, perhaps judiciously (as who foresaw that the Success might end in Agreement) brought over with him many (b) from London, for their Wealth of most Reputation in the City. These Men whom Plenty endeared to the Love of Life, as soon as he had resolv'd to decline the present War, he caused to be assaulted every Hour with New Fears, representing to their affrighted Minds the Horror of a Battle, the many Difficulties of a Seige, and the Certainty of an untimely Death, if not by the Cannon or the Sword, yet by the Inconveniences of Lodging and the Weather, which the Winter coming on was likely to be most tempestuous: And if beyond Hope Death were escaped, how cruel might be an Imprisonment, and how deep the Ransom! Then he gave Order that the Enemy should be reported of far more Danger than indeed he was, and every Night false Alarms to be given. And for Distrust already held of Burgundy and St. Paul, he let it be augmented in the Army, causing Rumors to be spread abroad, That there was Treason in them from the Beginning of this Enterprize, and that now they were prepared to unite their Forces with the French to the utter Destruction of the English.

His Judgment applauded in making the Peace. By which Frights he so moulded them to his Desires, that they writ back to their Friends, the Impossibility of any Success in the present Business, and the great Judgment and Fortune of the King, if he could conclude a Peace, with Advantage of Honour. The Example of this Policy King Edward bequeath'd to Henry VII. who left none of his Predecessor's Arts unpractis'd that might advance either his Profit or Reputation. And so far this Desire of Peace and Delight in it spread it self, that when upon the Day of the Interview by Accident a white Pigeon lighted upon the King's Pavilion, and there perched it self after a Shower of Rain, the Sun shining comfortably, the Soldiers cried out it was the Holy Ghost, who descended in that Form, to shew how grateful the present Accord was to Heaven. Which Interpretation pleased exceedingly the present Humour of the King; any Superstition being nourished in the Subject, which tended to advance the Reputation of their Prince, especially when his Actions are doubtful to be understood.

A white Pigeon interpreted to be the Holy Ghost.

King Edward's Journey to Paris mentioned to King Lewis.

K. Lewis Excuses against inviting K. Edward to Paris.

The Night that ensued the Interview, many of the English Nobility resorted to Amiens; the French Affability, and something too of Curiosity inviting them. The Lord Howard, who was always foremost in his Application to King Lewis, at Supper whisper'd him in the Ear, that he conceiv'd his Master might be perswaded without much Scruple to make a Journey to Paris; where by a friendly Entertainment the new begun Amity might be perfected.

But the wary King had no Desire to bid so dangerous a Guest to Paris, for fear the Delicacies of the Place might invite him, either to a chargeable continuance there, or to such a Love of the French Air, that it might perswade him to return hereafter thither, though unbidden. He therefore chid his own overforward straining a Complement, and was forced to the Invention of an Excuse, to take away Discourtesy, from Denial of what before ceremoniously he had offered: He answer'd the Lord

Howard thereupon suddenly, and to the outward Judgment seriously, *This he was extremely sorry the Necessity of his unsettled State, would not afford him Licence of so much Happiness, being presently to make an Expedition against the Duke of Burgundy, who was busie in his Preparations against him, so that with Safety yet, he could not attend the Pleasures of Peace.* Which Answer gave but a half Satisfaction; but the Lord Howard was devoted to his Affairs, and that made the Relish of it better with the King.

But that the King might neither reap all the Benefit, nor yet bear all the Blame of this Peace, there were not a few Lords great in Opinion of the State, who shared proportionably in the Booty. Even the scrupulous Duke of Gloucester returned not Home without a large Present both of Plate and Horses. For when he saw the whole Stream of the Army flow in to King Lewis, either out of Curiosity, or in Policy loth to particularize an Enmity upon himself from so potent a Prince, he went to him at Amiens, where he found a Respect answerable not only to the Greatness of his Blood, but to the Extent of his Judgment and Authority.

But with him King Lewis dealt with more Circumspection, knowing it impossible to win Ground upon him by any Slight or Strength of Wit. The good Affection of all the other Lords he bought up, according to the ordinary Course in Markers; as they were worth more in the King's Estimation, so were they at a higher Price with him. The principal Men of Name who were in Pension as we find them in History, were the (b) Lord Hastings, Lord Chamberlain to the King, the Lord Howard, Sir John Cheiney, Master of the Horse, Sir Anthony S. Leger, and Sir Thomas Montgomery. Among these, beside the present Gifts, he annually distributed 16000 Crowns, and exacted from every Man an Acquittance for the Receipt. Which no Man refused, but only the Lord Hastings, denying absolutely that ever his Hand should be seen among the King's Accounts at Paris; but welcom'd still the Pension, which without that Formality was continued.

At how high a Rate King Lewis prized his Amity with England by this profuse Liberality (a Quality so contrary to his parsimonious Disposition) is easily to be judged. But how lawful it was in the Receivers, I will not too severely censure: For, although in this King's Reign, as likewise in the Time of Henry VII. many of the great Counsellors were in Pension to Lewis, and afterward to his Son Charles VIII. yet it is hard to judge how it could agree with the Decorum of their Dignity; it being much beneath the Honour of a noble Mind to owe any Part of their Revenue to a Prince, whose Safety and Advantage must never be in the first Place of their Care. In Peace it may happily not carry any Appearance of Disloyalty, because by their good Offices they may deserve that Way of Gratitude; but in Times of Jealousie, and especially of Enmity, it can no Way be allowed. For though the Pensioner give no underhand Intelligence prejudicial to his Country, yet by a certain necessity of Gratitude, it stops the Freedom of Advice, and so renders him at least undeserving to the one. Rewards are given for forepast Merits, Pensions to retain in future: He therefore who receives a Pension, obligeth himself tacitely to the Service of Two Masters; and oftentimes the Se-

A. D. 1474. Reg. 14.

Duke of Gloucester brought to engage in the Peace.

K. Lewis made the Lords his Friends by Annunities and Pensions.

K. Lewis valued much the Peace with England; and the English Nobility very little the Glory of England.

Pensions from foreign Princes how far allowable.

(b) Taken from Comines.

(c) Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the Marquess Dorset.

A. D. 1474. *Reg. 14.* cond in his Thoughts is that Prince to whom he owes a natural Duty ; An extraordinary Way of Benefit begetting an extraordinary Diligence. And hence proceeds that Maladie in the Body of a State, which inclines it so totally to one Side, that all Injuries how gross soever are connived at from one Neighbour, while from another the least Shadow of Offence begets mortal War. But if these Pensions be received with Approbation of the King, certainly as they are lawful, so likewise are they less dangerous ; for then the State is armed against the Advice of such, whom they know to lean on one Side. The Crookedness of Counsel being easily discern'd, when not bolster'd up with Simulation of Integrity.

K Lewis's Gold. And questionless, the Distribution of these Crowns, like a dangerous Poison dispersed into some principal Veins of the Body, infected the whole Court. And tho' perhaps the secret Resolutions of the King and State were not betrayed to him, yet was his Intelligence larger than convenient for so cunning a Neighbour, who out of slight and trivial Occurrences, such as were but Chamber-talk, could guess at the most reserv'd Counsels. Neither would those so apparent Affronts offered by him afterward, have been so patiently dissembled ; (especially the King knowing him a timorous Prince, and who trembled at the very Thought of a Return of the *English* into *France*) had not they whose Advice was most listened to, passionately excused him in every Charge the more zealous Statists laid to him.

King Edward's Return home and Reception. But these Mischiefs the Year succeeding were guilty of ; for the present, the King full of Joy and Treasure returned toward *Callis* ; and indeed with more than ordinary Haste and Caution, for fear the Duke of *Burgundy* should attempt any Thing upon his Retreat. But with Safety he both came thither, and sailed to *Dover* (d), whence in much Pomp he directed his Journey to *London*. Upon *Black-Heath* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in Scarlet, and Five hundred Commoners in Murrey received him ; and thence with all Shew of Triumph conducted him through the City to *Westminster* (e). And perhaps he gave Order the Solemnity of his Return should be more glorious, to set off the Shortness of his Stay in *France*, and the small or no Honour purchased there. The Vulgar for the most Part valuing the Glory of Victories according to the Information of the Ballad, and the Glittering of the Pageants.

K. Lewis made a Peace with the Duke of Burgundy. The *French* King, who ever affected the Substance, smiled at these huge Shadows, and never quarrell'd with King *Edward*, what pompous Titles soever he assumed in receiving the forementioned Sums of Money ; willing that he should husband his Actions of least Worth to the greatest Advantage of Credit with his People : While he on the contrary, in all Business never heeded what Judgment Opinion gave ; and so his Ends were effected, cared not by what sordid or humble Means ; Whereupon, presently after the Departure of the *English*, notwithstanding the many Injuries received from the Duke of *Burgundy*, he came to Treaty, and suddenly to Agreement with him : In many Points unexpectedly yielding, only that he might revenge himself upon the Count *St. Paul* ; for him he accounted the Conjurer, who by his dissembling Charms, had raised those so many

and so tumultuous Spirits against the Crown of *A. D.* *France* : and till he were destroyed, King *Lewis* 1574. conceived it impossible to remain safe from civil or foreign War. *Reg. 14.*

It was therefore agreed between these Two Princes, that what Places had been wrested away in the former Troubles, should be immediately restor'd ; and which of the Two could first surprize the Count *St. Paul*, should within Eight Days put him to Death, or deliver him up to the Discretion of the other. By which Agreement the wretched Lord found how inevitable was his Ruin ; and considering the Vanity of any Hope that might persuade him to defend himself against so potent Enemies, he entered into Discourse with his own Fears, to which he might make his Addresses with more Probability of Safety. And knowing the immoveable Resolutions of King *Lewis*, and how impossible it was to deceive a Prince so cunning in the Art ; he resolved to make Tryal of the Duke ; who disdainfully received the first Offers of his Service ; but in the End, overcome by Importunity, he granted him safe Conduct : Relying on which, he posted to him, but soon found his Ruin by the want of that Faith, which himself had never observ'd.

For the Duke notwithstanding the safe Conduct, gave Command that he should be imprisoned, and not long after deliver'd him up to the *French* King, who caused Process to be made against him ; certain Letters written to King *Edward*, and by him delivered to King *Lewis*, being the chief Articles of Accusation, by which he was condemn'd, and for which not long after he lost his Head. He embraced Death with much Resolution, only somewhat astonished to meet it upon a Scaffold ; the manner, not the Thing it self, amazing him. But the blam'd Officiousness of the King in the Delivery of those Papers to the Condemnation of his Wife's Uncle, and a Confederate, was certainly treacherous and ignoble ; and makes his Memory sound harsh in the Ear of any worthy Mind.

And indeed, he was on the sudden become so passionate a Doater on a reconciled Enemy (f), and so passionate an Enemy of his late Friends, that when he understood the Treaty of Peace at *Vervins* between the *French* King and the Duke, he sent over Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, with Instructions if possible to break it off ; who urged, ' That the Duke should not be admitted to treat of himself, but only as mention'd in the King his Master's Peace : ' That if the Duke refused to treat in that manner, and the King any way suspected his own Strength, his Master would the next Summer cross the Seas, and join his Forces with him ; conditionally, that half the Wages of his Army might be defrayed by the *French*, for whose Service the War must be undertaken ; and that he might be allowed Fifty Thousand Crowns annually in respect his Loss would amount to the Value, by reason the *English* Wools at *Callis* could during that Time have no Vent into the *Netherlands*. To such an over officious Friendship did his new Malice to *Burgundy*, and the Counsel of King *Lewis's* great Pensioners incline him, that he voluntarily offered without Respect of Glory or Hope of Profit, to fight like a Journeyman for a Prince, whose Growth in Power could not be but most unsafe even to him, and dangerous to his Kingdom.

(d) Where he arrived in September.

(e) On the 28th of September

(f) He ordered his Daughter, the Princess *Elizabeth* to be stiled *Dauphiness*.

A. D. 1475. This Embassy King Lewis received with Appearance of much Content, congratulating the Reg. 15. Felicity of his own Arts that had brought the King to so obsequious a Respect; but he no way desired to see him any more in France, especially not to pay for his Presence, whose Absence he had lately bought so dearly. He therefore return'd many Thanks for the offered Favour, but withal shewed, how much too late it came, in regard the Truce was already concluded between him and the Duke, from which, being now sworn to it, he could recede neither in Honour nor Religion. But that the World might understand how scrupulous he had been in Preservation of the King of England's Reputation; the present Truce varied not in one Point from that sworn at Picquignie, except only that the Duke was admitted to article for himself apart, which indeed was the main Thing the King endeavoured to have prevented; since by articling apart, the Duke shewed his Independance, and that the English by their Arms had no way advanc'd his Business.

K. Lewis's Arts to preserve Friendship with King Edward. But that this Answer might incur no Misinterpretation, he liberally presented the Ambassador, and sent over with him the Two Hostages the Lord Howard, and Sir John Cheiney. For King Lewis continued still in much Caution to offend the King, least perhaps he and the Duke of Burgundy, though now asunder, might like a Limb broken and set again, knit the faster. He was therefore diligent to increase every Day new Discontents between them, and to preserve the English in their Amity firm upon any Terms, knowing the Duke by no Policy ever to be reduc'd to a perfect Friendship. And so far had his Cunning and Pensions prevail'd, that nothing was more in the Vore of the English, than to preserve King Lewis safe in his Estate at home, and noble in Reputation with us. But among all the Ties which kept the King surest to him, the Hope of marrying the Dauphin with his Daughter, and this way at least to settle the Crown of France in his Posterity, most prevail'd. Of the Reality of which Article, the French permitted not the smallest Occasion to be given for Suspicion.

King Edward's Jealousie of the Earl of Richmond revives. This Intention of King Edward of entering into War with the Duke of Burgundy, being crost, (the unquiet Nature of some Princes, ever affecting to beget Trouble to themselves) that the King might feel no perfect Rest, he receives the former Jealousie concerning the Earl of Richmond. But why the reducing him into his Power, should so much perplex the State, is beyond reach, unless it were a Divination of future Accidents, which instructed the King's Fears to expect Danger from him, who neither in point of Justice nor Strength was for the present considerable. For if we look upon his Faction at home, the Civil Wars had brought them so low, that no Person of Authority had any Relation to him, except the Lord Stanley (g), who being Father-in-law to him, might perhaps with his Fortunes well, but bore a most faithful Mind to the King, in whose special Favour he continued to the last; and if we consider him, as if his nearness in Blood to King Lewis might render him formidable from abroad, certainly there was no just Ground for Suspicion, the French being so lately entred into a particular Amity with England, and never

having afforded either Comfort or Countenance to the young Earl's Exile. Then for any Claim to the Crown, the King could not fear him, his Title being of so impure and base a Metal, it could no Way endure the Touch. His Mother by whom only he could pretend, Heir indeed of the House of Somerset, but not of Lancaster, in regard the Stream of this Descent was pointed in the very Spring; For John of Gaunt having entertain'd an Affection to Katherine, Daughter of Sir Paine de Ruit, during her Attendance on the Lady Blanch his first Wife: In the Life-time of his Second the Lady Constance, his Affection grew into a nearer Familiarity, and so happy was he, that his Familiarity proved not barren; his Mistress (for to what a Servitude doth Lust betray a Sinner?) making him Father of Three Sons and a Daughter, to whom he gave the Name of Beaufort, from a Castle he had in France, where they were born. The Duke zealous to reward any that had so well deserv'd, married his Bedfellow to Sir Hugh Swinford, a Lincolnshire Knight, and either thro' Impotency or Conscience, afterward refrain'd her Company. Some Years past (she having buried her Knight, and he his Dutches) in Gratitude to her former Merits being now grown very old, he took her again to his Bed, with the lawful Ceremonies of the Church: And thus his ancient Concubine became his new Bride, having righted her Honour, to leave no Monument of their Sin to Posterity, he laboured the Legitimation of the Children; and so far in the Time of Richard II. prevail'd; that both the Sentence of the Church and Parliament pronounc'd them lawful, and enabled them to inherit the Lands of their Father, in Case his Issue by his former Wives should fail. The Eldest Son of the Three, thus legitimated, was John created Earl of Somerset, Father of John, Duke of Somerset, whose sole Daughter and Heir Margaret, married Edmond of Haddam, Earl of Richmond, whose Son Henry was now the Mark at which all the Arrows of the King's Suspicion aim'd.

By this Pedigree, to the Eye at first appears some Dawning of a Title; but certainly it is a false Light, such as oftentimes deceives the credulous Traveller. For the Legitimation by the Church was to take away as much of Scandal as possible from the Children, and a Dispensation only for the Benefit of the Bastards, without Prejudice to the Right of any other. For these Bastards were not of the Common Nature, such as an after-Marriage may make legitimate, being not Natural but Spurious, begot in Adultery on the one Side, and consequently incapable of any Benefit by Dispensation. Add to this that not being of the whole Blood (according to the Common Law of England) the House of Somerset was farther off from inheriting any Title from King Henry VI. than the most remote of the Line of York. Lastly, in the very Legitimation it self, the Children were only made capable to inherit the Estate of their Father, the Crown being never mention'd: And for the Dutchy of Lancaster they could not pretend, that being the Inheritance of the Lady Blanch his first Wife, from whom they no way descended (h); neither were the Princes of the House of Somerset ever numbred among the Plantagenets, or ever obtain'd so much as to be declared Heirs apparent to the Crown, if Henry VI. and his

(g) He married the Countess of Richmond, Widow to Edmond Tudor, Father to Earl Henry.

(h) The Words of the Act are to succeed to enjoy all Dignities, Lands and Inheritances that might descend from the Duke their Father. If the Crown is not mention'd, which would have been difficult to have been obtain'd, and might have put a Stop to the passing the Act of Legitimation, it seems to be implied.

A. D. 1475. Son Prince Edward should extinguish without Issue; as Mortimer had got to be before in the Reign of Richard the Second, and Delapool after, during the Usurpation of Richard the Third. And if there were any Cause of Suspicion from the Branches of that Family; then was the Duke of Buckingham, much more to be feared (i): Who was by his Mother Heir of Edmond, Duke of Somerset, and himself a Prince, mighty in Descent other ways from the Crown, as being Heir likewise of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, younger Son to Edward the Third. Moreover in the Faction of a great Kindred, and Dependancy of a Multitude of Tenants, far more to be suspected, than an exil'd Lord, who claiming by his Mother, could during her Life have no Colour of a Title.

Duke of
Brittain
solicited
to deliver
the Earl
of Rich-
mond to
King Ed-
ward.

But the King found the Wound of this Jealousie ranckle in him, and nothing but Richmond's Apprehension could heal it. He therefore most earnestly solicited the Duke of Brittain, by his Embassadors, of which Dr. Stillington was one, to return him into England: Their Motives were, the much good Will the Duke owed their Master, who never would forsake his Protection, tho' several Ways and at several Times most importunately provok'd. That he had in answer to the French Requests to that purpose protested; That if the Duke were any ways endanger'd by them, he would personally cross the Seas, and make the Quarrel the same, as if his own Kingdom were invaded. Then for the Innocency of the King's Intentions towards the Earl; they affirm'd that so far from Malice the Desire to have him returned into England was, that it merely tended to his present Safety and after Honour. In regard his Majesty would not only restore him to the Possessions of his Ancestors, but endear him in a nearer Tie, even by the Marriage of one of his his own Daughters to him, and by this blessed Way absolutely root up all the ancient Rancour between the Houses of York and Somerset. This was the Pretension, which tho' the King no way intended, yet the Almighty afterwards made good; to instruct after Times, that the Deep Mysteries of cunning Princes are meer Illusions compared with true Wisdom; and the Disposition of Kingdoms is the Work of Heaven.

Earl of
Richmond
delivered
to K. Ed-
ward's
Embassa-
dors.

By this Dissimulation and tender of a large Sum of Money (for the King had learnt how to traffick by Example of K. Lewis) the poor Earl of Richmond was deliver'd up to the Embassadors, and immediately by them convey'd to St. Malo's, the next Haven Town, where instant Preparations were made for his Transportation into England. Here Fortune, or what is less uncertain, the Wind took Compassion on his Affliction (for the very Imagination of the Ruin he was betray'd to, had thrown him into a violent Fever) and hindred the Embassadors from taking Ship. Where while they remain'd joyful in the Success of their Undertaking, Peter Landois Treasurer to the Duke, in Appearance of a ceremonious Visit, but indeed to contrive the Earl's Escape, most officiously came to them. For no sooner had the Duke given up this innocent Victim to be sacrificed, but John Chenettes and some of the Court, sensible of the Law of Na-

tions and their Master's Reputation, to himself related the Injury and Dishonour of this Action. And so far aggravated the perpetual Infamy that would cloud his Fame by selling his Guest to whom he had promised Safety and Protection; that the Duke repented the Delivery of him, and advised Landois by some Art to regain him.

And indeed Landois undertook the Employment readily, willing perhaps to gain the Honour of doing one good Deed among the Multitude of his Mischiefs; and likewise to revenge himself upon the evil Memory of the Embassadors, who had forgot by their Money to make him an Instrument in effecting this Treason. This Villain (for he was fittest for the Business) so order'd the Matter, that while he entertain'd the Embassadors in a most serious Discourse, the Earl was carried into Sanctuary; and no Notice given them till he was beyond their Reach. Which when they understood, finding themselves defrauded of so great a Bargain, and even of the Money laid out in the Purchase: Indignation transported them into bitter Language against Landois. But he excused himself of the Practice, and laid the whole Fault of the Misfortune upon their Negligence; desiring that their Carelessness in losing a Prey, might not be cast as a Crime upon that Respect he had shewed them in his Visit. And when the Embassadors importun'd him by his Authority to force the Earl from the Place; he pretended Religion to the Sanctuary, which if he should out of Honour to the English but offer to violate; so great was the Veneration the People hold it in, that they would tumultuously rise to prevent so bold a Sacrilege. He advised them therefore to give over this Game lost, and past play; and prepare their Excuse as cunning as possible to satisfy their King. And for his Part, to show the Zeal he bore to the Affairs of England, he would take such Order (and he knew it would stand with the Approbation of his Master) that the Sanctuary should be severely guarded; whence if the Earl endeavour'd an Escape it should be into some Place of Safety, where he should be strictly imprison'd, till the King of England were pleased otherwise to dispose of him. With this plausible Discourse Landois left the Embassadors to sail over, whom the Wind, now too late, serv'd to carry back. But the King, notwithstanding the fairest Colours they could lay upon the Business, and Promise on the Duke's Part to keep the Earl safe from Escape, cast upon them a sower Look. Misfortune to a Minister of State procuring for the most part as much Disgrace, as if he had been Perfidious in the Practice.

Frustrated of his Hope to gain Richmond into his Power, but yet in part freed from all Danger threatned by him, the King to give a Lustre to that Peace he had settled, began to addict himself to a profuse Hospitality: A magnificent way of Greatness, in which the Monarchs of this Kingdom have in all Ages exceeded all the Princes of Europe. And upon all solemn Times, when Cessation from Labour licenseth the Vulgar to admire the glorious Out-side of a State, he shew'd a particular Bravery to the Eye; by presenting as well martial Exercises in Jufts,

(i) To shew the Weakness of this Argument against the Earl of Richmond's Title. Let us see what the Duke of Buckingham says of his own self at his Conference with the Bishop of Ely, printed in Holinshed, pag. 746. My Mother being Eldest Daughter to Duke Edmond, I thought my self indubitate Heir to the House of Lancaster; but accidentally travelling to Worcester at the same Time that these Thoughts were in my Head, I met the Countess of Richmond the very Daughter and sole Heir of John, Duke of Somerset, my Grandfather's Elder Brother; so that she and her Son the Earl of Richmond I knew were Bars to my Claim of the Sovereignty: And of the Lancaster Line he says, That his Grandfather Duke Edmond was with King Henry the Sixth in the Two and Three Degrees from John, Duke of Lancaster, lawfully begotten.

A. D. 1475. Reg. 15. Tiltings, Turnaments, Barriers and the like; as the softer Entertainments of Wit, full of an elegant Curiosity for that Time subject to too much Tumult and Noise to give Birth to the best Inventions. But of all Solemnities the Feast of St. George, Patron of the noblest Order of the World, was celebrated with most Splendor and Pomp. Of which our common Chronicles are so liberal in the Relation, that they spare my Pen the Labour.

King Edward's Indulgence of his Lusts. Among these Delicacies of Peace, the King forgot not to please his Lust (the Bastard of an idle Security;) and indeed impossible almost it was, that his Appetite flatter'd daily with all the Curiosities of Luxury, should contain it self severely within the Bounds of Modesty. For as by his other Actions we may judge, how little trouble his Conscience put him to; and therefore not easie to be frighted from Sin by Religion; so on the Part of his Body, they who familiarly knew him affirm, that never Man was framed by Nature more apt to the Exercise of Love, and whom amorous Courtship did less Mis-become. But Almighty God took not his natural Proneness to Lust, for an Excuse; but severely punish'd him in his Sons: Who were both dispossessed of the Kingdom and their Lives by their unnatural Uncle: There being so much Appearance of Right in the Usurper by their Father's Incontinency; that even an Act of Parliament was made to bastardize them. And this sad Judgment was provoked by the Disorder of his Lust; to which how can we wonder if so easily he inclin'd, since Majesty seldom admits of any Instructions to a severe Correction of the Appetite?

A. D. 1476. Reg. 16. Duke of Burgundy's Ambition to conquer his neighbouring Princes. Ambition to extend their Dominions, hath been ever recorded the noblest Vertue in Princes: Who to lessen a Neighbour-State too mighty in the Growth of Empire, or in hope to conquer some Territory, to which the Convenience, not the Justice makes good the Title; without Scruple hazard large Armies of their People: And confidently boast the Victory, tho' the War were grounded upon Injustice. While K. Edward lived at Home glorious in his Quiet, this Doctrine was listened to by Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in following which he made so many injurious and unfortunate Attempts. For after his Peace concluded with France, he directed his whole Power to the Destruction of the Duke of Lorraine. A Prince who in Favour of K. Lewis, to whose Fortune he had devoted his Service, defied the Duke of Burgundy, when he lay at the Siege of Nuz. And tho' this Design against Lorraine might carry with it all Probability of Success; considering the Narrowness of the Dutchy: Yet as it ought in Judgment to have been weighed with the Supports of France and other Confederates in Germany, it might bear a Face of much more Difficulty. For it had not only been a perpetual Dishonour to K. Lewis; but even a Disadvantage to his Affairs to permit a free Spoil of so near an adjoining Country to the Duke of Burgundy; whom for the present a blind Revenge transported beyond Reason, and made him war with all Cruelty, not only against Renatus, the Duke of Lorraine, where the Victory might in some Measure recompence the Cost; but against the Switzers, because they had sided with Lorraine, and made some Irruption into the Territories of the Burgundian. The Switzers, a poor People, unknown to the World, confin'd to a miserable Life among their cold and barren Mountains; only proud in the Opinion they had of their Liberty, which was rather maintain'd by the Force of

the Country, inaccessible almost to an invading Army, than by the Valour of the People. Against these he led his Forces, rejecting all those submissive and deprecatory Embassies sent by them; and that free Acknowledgment of their Poverty, when they protested all the Wealth of their Country sum'd up to the highest Value, would not be able to buy the Spurs and Bridle-bits in his Camp. Fortune in the beginning of this Enterprize flatter'd him to a Continuance of the War with prosperous Success, intending by that glorious Bait only to allure him to Destruction. For soon the Chance of War turn'd, and in three Battles in one Year the unfortunate Duke was overthrown: in the last of which fought before Nancy, he was slain. A Prince who by his Alliance and continual Intercourse of Business, had much Relation to the English: Whose Honour, and Recovery of whose large Territories in France, he certainly from his Heart desired. And when he invited K. Edward into France to that Purpose, and there fail'd him of his promised Succours, it proceeded doubtless nor from any under-hand Practice or Remissness in the Undertaking; but only by the Misfortune of his Army, somewhat broken not long before at the Siege of Nuz. He was therefore a Friend to us, if an ambitious Man can be said to be a Friend to any; or rather so great an Enemy to Lewis of France that he loved us only in Opposition; and desir'd our Prosperity, because it could not grow without Ruin to the French. How just a Governour he was in Peace appertains little to our Knowledge, and the World had little Leisure to consider; he was so everlastingly in Arms: In which as he shew'd great Courage and Judgment, so likewise did he commit much Injustice. And he who will examine what License War gives to Injury, and how it imposeth almost Necessity of doing Wrong; may in some sort excuse him. But his being ever in Quarrels, (into which he enter'd and continu'd, as his Passion, not his Reason directed him) argues his Spirit daring but turbulent, and his Valour rash and inconsiderate, and takes away all Pardon from his so many Errors. The two great Blemishes upon his Memory, are his Cruelty at Granson in Lorraine, where in cold Blood he caused all the Inhabitants to be kill'd, the Town being yielded to his Discretion: And his Perfidiousness to the Count St. Paul, whom notwithstanding a safe Conduct he deliver'd up to Execution into the Hands of K. Lewis. The good Men who ascribe Punishment to the Justice of Heaven, observe that after these two Crimes his Fortune left him, and with Dishonour Death overtook him, when he least expected it. Having at that time in his Imaginations so many and so vast Designs, that scarce the Age and Fortune of Man had length and Power enough to accomplish them all.

The Death of this Prince, who had begot so much Business in his Life, diversly affected all the neighbouring Countries. Generally according to the Custom in private Families, every State entertain'd it with such a Passion, as the Advantage or Disadvantage appear'd by it to themselves. Some few out of Love to his Person, Hope of Marriage with his Daughter, or Compassion of humane Accidents, griev'd at the Report: But most expressed their Sorrow, for the Liberty King Lewis had attain'd by it, because no Man living now had the Power and Will to oppose him, should he attempt any Injury, and offer Violence to his weaker Neighbours. But King Edward was so infatuated

The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1476. by his Arts, that he never startled at this great Accident, nor look'd how nearly it might concern his own Safety; so that notwithstanding he were daily certified of new Undertakings by King Lewis, he rested quiet, and gave free Reins to his injurious Ambition, who, as soon as he understood the Death of Duke Charles, and perceived how open his Countries lay to an Invader, he pretended the Dutchy of Burgundy for want of Heirs-male devolv'd back to the Crown of France, and by the Arms of the Duke of Lorrain without further Dispute took it in: In the mean time himself seizing upon all Picardie, which for many Years had remain'd in Possession of Dukes Philip and Charles. And that he might have yet more Occasion of Quarrel with an unsettled Lady unable to withstand his Opposition, he summon'd the Princess Mary, Dutches of Burgundy to come in Person into France to do Homage for the County of Flanders, and her other Estates held in chief of that Crown.

K. Lewis seized upon the Dutchy of Burgundy at the Duke's Death.

Dutches of Burgundy refuses to do Homage to King Lewis for Fear of his Policy.

She desires K. Edward's Assistance against K. Lewis, and her Ambassadors urg'd it by many Arguments.

But she knowing how unsafe it was to yield her Person up to a Prince, who made his Advantage of every Opportunity, delay'd the Homage, and stood upon her Guard as strongly as in so disorder'd a Country was possible. For though she were a Lady of many opulent and mighty Provinces, able if not to offend, yet to defend themselves against the World; yet were the People stubborn and prone to Rebellion, and who by the Weakness of some of their Princes heretofore, had purchased to themselves too large Immunities. And indeed scarce any Town, but had or pretended to have such Prerogatives, as debased all Authority of Government, which upon every Change in State they reviv'd, and endeavour'd if possible to redeem themselves from Subjection. And this Hope, more than ever now possessed them, considering the Unexperience both of the Youth and Sex of her that ruled; so that by Appearance of their churlish Carriage to the Dutches, and small Preparations against King Lewis, who every Day surpriz'd some Place or other, they rather desired to be expos'd a Prey to some insolent and cruel Enemy, than endure the mild Government of their lawful Princess. She therefore sent Ambassadors to implore Aid of King Edward, and declare to him the Urgency of her present Necessities. Who shewed, That their Princess the greatest Heiress in the World, born to a large and rich Territory, was at present in a Condition beneath the poorest Subject that enjoyed but Liberty; being detain'd Captive by the Hands of such as made Restraint far more unsupportable, viz. of her own insolent Rebels. That her Deliverance concern'd the King of England in general as a Prince, and in particular as a Neighbour and an Ally. That her tumultuous Subjects, who had dared to attempt and act this Treason, took Courage from the French King's declar'd Enmity. An injurious Proceeding in a Prince against a Neighbour, which justly provokes all Christendom to unite in her Defence, and punish so barbarous a Proceeding in him. That the ancient League observ'd with so much Religion between England and the Low Countries, particularly did require his Majesty's present Aid; and a Consideration of what might happen perhaps in his own Posterity in the same Nature did invite him to do Favour, as his might challenge to receive them hereafter. That even in the politick Discretion of Government, it was conceiv'd, that nearly it concern'd the State of England to provide against so dangerous an Addition of Dominion to the French, considering King Lewis had already most injuriously wrested away not only

Peronne, Mountdidier, Tournay, and all the rest of Picardie sold heretofore to Duke Philip, but seiz'd even upon Burgundy the Inheritance of their Princess. And what expresseth the Inhumanity of the Tyrant, and the hated Malice of his Intentions, summons her at this present to do Homage personally for Flanders and her other Territories; which Summons if she obeys, she certainly betrays her self to an everlasting Captivity, or to a Necessity to surrender a large Part of her Inheritance for Redemption; and if she refuseth, she endangers her whole Estate to the Surprize of a merciless Enemy, who never wanted the Pretence of Justice to justify Spoil and Rapine. They farther urg'd, how their Princess was not only in her Person restrain'd by her own Subjects, but had not so much as any Appearance of an Army in the Field to oppose the Invader. The Soldier being absolutely destroyed in the former unfortunate Battles fought by her Father in Lorrain; and the Faith of all the Commanders who remain'd, bought up by King Lewis, and turn'd wholly French, with Surrender of the Towns and Forts under their Government. And all Hope of any Levies at home vain and false, the Commons by Practice of the French King every where in Tumult, and the few who wish'd well to their Princess's Affairs, either not daring to declare themselves, or suffering Death or Imprisonment for their Faith. They concluded with Intreaty, That the King would engage his Arms in so just a Quarrel; which, as it could not but be most honourable to his Name and no way unprofitable, so likewise would it cast a perpetual Obligation upon their Princess, and devote her Power hereafter to his Service.

This Embassy carried with it every Way so much Justice, that it begot a general Approbation. For the Opinion was, that England never had so fair an Opportunity to win Honour to the Nation, relieve an oppressed Princess, check an insolent and unfaithful Neighbour, and provide for its own Safety. So that in the Court no Person of Honour, not corrupted by the French Pension, but passionately desired the Undertaking; and thought it necessary in every Point to begin this defensive War. But the King, who was in so deep a Lethargy that no Danger could wake him, nor Touch of Honour make him sensible, heard this with a fair Respect, and dismissed the Ambassadors with some faint Comfort. And tho' he could not but perceive what a Cloud it would be upon his Reputation to permit so foul an Injury to the young Princess, and sit still; yet he resolv'd to listen to the safer Counsels of Peace, and believe (how improbable soever) the many Protestations of King Lewis.

Who, as soon as he understood of these Addresses made to England, which at the very first he expected, dispatch'd his Ambassadors to undo whatsoever had been wrought by the former Solicitation. And whereas the Dutches of Burgundy perswaded King Edward to this War by the Arguments of Honour and a generous Pity. He dissuaded it, by menacing an absolute Breach of the Peace sworn at Picquigny, whereby the King should be frustrated of his Tribute, and the so mighty Marriage of his Daughter. He shewed farther, how it was not only against the so near Amity begun and likely to continue between them and their Posterity, but even against the Custom of common Confederacies, to oppose a neighbouring Prince in League, when he only attempted the Recovery of his own Right. And if the Truth of his Actions were laid open to the World, it would appear, that the Re-assumption of those Towns into the Power of France, (what Interpretation soever they might suffer among the ignorant or malicious,) was

The Embassy of the Dutches of Burgundy approv'd by the Nobles, but not by the King.

K. Lewis sends an Embassy to K. Edward to answer the Arguments of the Dutches of Burgundy.

A. D. 1476. *was but an Act of Justice; since those many Places in Picardie were no way of Right belonging to Duke Charles, but permitted him only to avoid the Continuance of War, which was notorious to any Man who would but call to Memory, how they were mortgaged to Duke Philip. The absolute Alienation of them from the Crown having never been either in the Will or Power of any French King. Then for the Dutchy of Burgundy, the original Grant and the common Practice in France would manifest, that it only was confer'd upon the Heirs Male; which failing in the present Dutchess, implies a Return of it back to the Crown, whence it past at first by an inconsiderate Transaction. Lastly, that his taking Arms was only to recover and justify his Right, and reduce the Princess Mary to perform her Homage, which never was denied by any Earl of Flanders. And if there be any Infidelity or Tumult among her Subjects, she ought either to blame the evil Disposition of her People to Rebellion, or the Misfortune of her own Government.*

The English desirous to relieve the Dutchess of Burgundy, cause a second Embassy from France. This was the Effect of King Lewis his Answer at first, which the King was joyful to have divulg'd, because it gave his Slowness to Action, a specious Shew of Justice and Discretion. But the Relief of the oppressed Lady grew so much into the Desire of the Commonalty, and even the better Sort of People bend'd so much to Compassion, that the French began to suspect the King might be induced to undertake her Protection. Whereupon new Ambassadors came with new Instructions something more plausible than the former, in which they were to keep the King upon any Terms at home. These offer'd to his Majesty a full Relation of King Lewis his Proceedings hitherto, with Promise, 'To refer it wholly to him, if any Violence had been by the Licence of War committed. That their Master's Aim was so far from Injury, that he would submit to indifferent Judgment all the Passages in this Quarrel, and bind himself to any Restitution the King of England should order. For all his Desire by these Arms was only the Reduction of his own, and Maintenance of the Prerogatives of the Crown of France. And ever among these Excuses he mingled some Discourse concerning the Dauphin, his so forward Growth, and the great Expectation of him; something too of the Lady Elizabeth, and the Joy all France conceiv'd of the future Marriage. Neither was the Ceremony of paying the Tribute ever omitted at the Day, nor the great Lords forgotten to be presented with Pensions, and something too of Addition to increase their Diligence.

K. Lewis his Policy to keep K. Edward from assisting the Dutchess of Burgundy. By these Arts he won Time, a Merchandize he then traffick'd for, and the Purchase of which so nearly concern'd his present Design: For it was his, and certainly a politic Course, to send often, and still several Ambassadors; who, if in their Overtures they were contradictory, laid the Fault on their Instructions, and desired respite, till they had some farther Understanding of their Master's Intentions: And when any new Thing was propos'd, they embraced it, intreating only Time to inform the State of France. But when by frequent treating, the Business was come oftentimes to Necessity of absolute Resolution, then suddenly was the Ambassador recall'd, and some new Person sent to supply his Place, wholly ignorant, or at least pretending to be wholly ignorant of all former Passages.

A. D. 1477. *Reg. 17.* At the length when he saw there was an Impossibility farther to dissemble, by pretending Restitution of whatsoever had been wrested

away from the Dutchess, he discover'd the Treachery of his former Carriage, and made Propositions advantageous to the King's Profit. Offering, 'If he would pass the Seas with a full Army and join in the Quarrel, to defray half the Expence of the War, and never forsake the English, untill he had settled them in Possession of Flanders and Brabant, so that the Spoil might be equally divided between the Two Kings. In this one Overture he expressed the Deceit of his former Purchase, to make which good he tender'd so great a Brokage.

But the King refused this Proposition, nor out of Conscience unwilling to enter upon Estates to which he had no Title; nor Greatness of Spirit, disdain'd to make Advantage of the Misfortune of a Lady oppress'd by an over-potent Neighbour, and forsaken by an ungrateful and disobedient People, but only out of Consideration of the Difficulty: Since the Towns were of Strength to make Resistance against the most powerful Army, that every Fort would require much Time and Charge in the Gaining; and if gain'd would prove as costly and difficult to keep. The People, tho' naturally prone to Innovation, and upon the slightest Grounds ready to rebel, yet by no Art to be so tamed as to endure the Yoke of a Stranger. And if the Conquest was still to be made good by Garisons of English, (the Natives being both unruly and unfaithful) it would draw much Blood and Treasure from England, and return neither Honour nor Profit. Nevertheless the King offer'd immediately to declare himself in common League against the Dutchess; and to lead over an Army Royal into her Territories, promising to share in all future Danger if he might be admitted to share in what was already conquer'd. But that the French denied, as loath ever to quit Possession, yet never so peremptorily refused any Proposition; as to leave the English, perswaded by Despair, to enter into new Counsels; even in their Denials leaving some Way open to Expectation.

During this Time spun out to the utmost length by these tedious Negotiations, the French effected their Ends, and almost undid the afflicted Princess. Who left no way untried that might lead her into a perfect Friendship with the English, and engage their Arms to her Defence. Among the rest she tried one which being singular in the Event deserves a particular Observation. Either by her Commission or Permission, a Motion was made of a Marriage between her and George, Duke of Clarence, who had lately buried his Lady. By which very Overture she doubted not but the King ambitious of so ample a Fortune for his Brother, would run into her Quarrel. But, as sometimes Physick misapplied, it wrought a contrary Effect, and with other Circumstances procur'd his Ruin. For he having by the Levity of his Actions, weaken'd his Reputation with the World in general, and particularly drawn a hatred from the Queen's Kindred upon him, the King and the Duke of Gloucester likewise, having him either in Contempt or Jealousie, stood in a manner alone. So that the very first Whispers of this Marriage were heard with Emulation by some, with Scorn by others, and with Dislike by all. Which gave Occasion that his Destruction was suddenly plotted, and almost as suddenly executed. For the King, altho' he ow'd his Restitution to the Crown when he was expell'd from England; to the Duke's Revolt from Warwick; yet he remembred more perfectly the Unnaturalness of his first Rebellion. And howsoever

A. D. 1477. *Reg. 17.* K. Lewis offers to give K. Edward Flanders.

K. Edward offers to join with K. Lewis against the Dutchess of Burgundy.

Dutchess of Burgundy to engage K. Edward to her Assistance, offers a Marriage with the Duke of Clarence.

Duke of Clarence's Death contrived upon the Motion.

The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1477. he showed outwardly all the Arguments of a reconcil'd Brother, yet certainly the Memory of the Injury at first done remain'd deeply imprinted in his Mind. So that *Clarence* by his after-Service never regain'd that Place in the King's Heart, which his former Disloyalty had forfeited. This he perceiv'd and repin'd against, and the King understanding that he resented the Truth, hated him yet the more: And so far grew this Hatred, that no Discourse was more harsh to the King's Ear than that of *Clarence's* Marriage with the Heir of *Burgundy*; by which it was suspected he being furnished with Power might hereafter prepare for Revenge. For according to the Disposition of Man he saw all his Actions in a flattering Glass: Looking upon his Revolt from his Brother, as an Error of seduced Youth; and on his Return back, as on so great a Merit, that it lay scarce in the King's Power to recompence: The King enjoying by it all the Greatness he possessed.

Duke of Gloucester's Policy to hasten *Clarence's* Fall. *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, upon whose Nature and Friendship he built most, deceived him most. For *Gloucester*, who studied nothing but his own Purposes, and cared not by what Violence all Obstacles of Nature and Friendship were remov'd, so the Way were plain'd to his Ambition; endeavour'd to add more Poison to their Discontent: Knowing that bad Intentions never receive Growth but from Mischiefs. He therefore perswaded him to be sensible of the King's Neglect, and boldly to express his Resentments: A silent Patience being in a Subject Loyalty, but in a King's Brother Cowardize. While on the other Side he whisper'd in the King's Ear the Danger of *Clarence's* Spirit apt to receive any Discontent, and wanting only Power to seek unlawful Remedies; and whatsoever Council came from him was receiv'd by the King with more Attention and Belief, in regard of his great Judgment and Professions of Love to his Brother. And indeed *Gloucester* much disdain'd the Advancement of *Clarence* this Way, not that he had any particular Ground for Malice, but only that he hated any Man, and especially a Brother, should have the Start of him in Fortune.

The Queen and her Kindred's Malice against *Clarence*. But the Queen and her Kindred shallower in their Spleen, spoke loud against him; while *Gloucester* deep in Mischiefs was not heard to their murmur. For they suggested continually to the King with what Contempt they were treated by *Clarence*, how all their Honours were mention'd as Mockeries: As if the King wanted Power to confer his Favours according to the Discretion of his own Bounty. They urged the Memory of his Rebellion at his first Marriage with *Warwick's* Daughter, and the much more Danger of his Intentions in affecting so much Greatness in the Second. And so far by Aggravations of every slight Error they wrought, that the King was willing to have his Brother suffer; but only wanted some Offence capital enough to make his Death appear an Act of Necessity and Justice, not of Plot and Malice.

The Cause of the Duke of *Clarence's* Death. It is generally receiv'd among the Vulgar, and wants not the Approbation of some Chronicles, that the chief Ground of the King's Assent to his Death was the Misinterpretation of a Prophecy: Which foretold that one, the first Letter of whose Name was *G.* should usurp the Kingdom and dispossess *K. Edward's* Children.

Of which there is much of Probability; however by his other Actions I should not judge the King easie to believe in such Vanities. For Credulity in that Nature, falls for the most part upon weak Minds, as those of Women and Children; or upon the timorous, whose Apprehensions are soften'd to receive every slight Impression; or upon the Over-zealous, whom an Evil regulated Piety bends to Superstition. And with these three the King had no Participation in Humour. Yet this serv'd for the present, and carried with it a strong Accusation against the Duke for this Prophecy, was alledged to be spoken by some of his Servants, who by Necromancy had understood this from the Devil: Which with other Circumstances serv'd to hasten the King to this foul Mischiefs.

The Duke was in *Ireland*, the Country that gave him Birth, during the Time of these Controversies, not suspecting any Design against himself. Upon his Return to the Court he understood that *Thomas Burdet* (k) of *Arrow* in the County of *Warwick* Esquire, who even was dependant upon him and ran his Fortune, had been in his Absence apprehended, indicted, arraign'd and executed (l) all in the Compass of two Days. The Crime upon which his Accusation was principally grounded, were inconsiderate Words by which upon a Report, that the white Buck in which he much delighted was killed as the King was hunting in his Park, he wish'd the Head and Horns and all in the King's Belly, whereas indeed he wish'd it only in his Belly, who counsel'd the King to kill it. With this Accusation were mingled many other of Poisoning, Sorceries, and Inchantments: Crimes which every judicious Man easily perceiv'd, were only put in the Scale like Grains, to make his rash Language full Weight, which otherwise would have been too light to deserve the Sentence of Death. These Proceedings *Clarence* resented, as they were intended, and expostulated with the King about the Injustice done to his Servant, and Injury to himself. And according to the Custom of Expostulations, his Words were bold and disorderly, and having receiv'd an apparent Injury, built to much on the Right of his Cause, and provok'd the King too far into Indignation; so that soon after he was committed close Prisoner to the Tower, where being by Act of Parliament attainted, he was secretly put to death. The Manner, as it is generally received, was by Thrusting his Head into a But of *Malmesey*, by which he was stifled (m).

In his Attainder, according to the Form, are Crimes enough to make his Death have Appearance of Justice, the Execution of which the King seem'd rather constrain'd to, than to have sought. For there are reckon'd, how the Duke of *Clarence* to bring the present Government into Hatred with the People, and thereby the present State into Trouble, had not only in his Speeches frequently laid Injustice to the King's Charge in attainting *Thomas Burdet* falsely, convict of many notorious Treasons, but suborn'd many of his Servant and divers others, corrupted with Money, to divulge the like seditious Discourses; That he had spread Abroad impious Rumours that the King dealt by Necromancy, and upon Offence against such of his Subjects, whom by Order of Law he could not

(k). Son to Sir *Nicholas Burdet*. a famous Soldier in the French Wars, and great Butler of *Normandy*.

(l) At *Tyburn*.

(m). His Body was expos'd lying on his Bed, to amuse the People, as if he dy'd of Melancholy; but the Attainder and the King's Temper rendred that Artifice ineffectual.

A. D. 1477. Reg. 17. destroy, he was accusom'd to take away by Poyson; That he had not rested there, but thereby to advance himself to the Kingdom, and for ever to disable the King and his Posterity from the Crown, had contrary to Truth, Nature and Religion, Viper-like destroying her who gave him Life, publish'd that the King was a Bastard and no way capable to Reign; That to make this his so monstrous Ambition more successful and already to begin his Usurpation he had caused many of the King's Subjects to be sworn upon the most blessed Sacrament to be true to him and his Heirs, without any Exception of their Allegiance; after which solemn Oaths, he discover'd to them his Resolution to right himself and his Followers, who had both suffered by the King's violent wresting away their Estates: And in particular to revenge himself upon the King, who (as he most impiously and falsely suggested) had by Art-Magick contrived to consume him, as a Candle consumeth in burning. And, what most expressed the Treason of his Designs, that he had got out an Exemplification under the great Seal of Henry VI. late King; wherein was shew'd how by the Parliament it was enacted, that if the said Henry and Edward his Son should die without Issue-male, the Kingdom should descend upon the Duke of Clarence and his Heirs; whereby clearly appear'd his Intention, immediately to possess himself of the Crown, with Destruction of King Edward and his Children by Pretence of a general Election of the Commonwealth. This was the Sum of his Attainder, which we may well believe had not so easily past but by the King's publick declaring himself, the secret working of the Duke of Gloucester, and the passionate Urging of the Queen's Kindred. But this Attainder had in it one Thing most Remarkable, that Clarence here falsely was accused, of laying Bastardy to the King, to endeavour Possession of the Crown: Which afterward was alledg'd indeed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, to the absolute Disinherit of the King's Sons. Whereby God's severe Judgment manifests, how unsafe it is in a Prince, by false Accusations to condemn an innocent, or but to aggravate the Fault of one less Guilty, to the End that Cruelty may be reported an Act of Justice.

The Duke of Clarence's Death e-very where condemn'd. The Crimes alledg'd false. The Death of this Prince being sudden and extraordinary, begot every where an extraordinary Censure; the unnatural severity, taking away all Excuse, even from their Discourse, who most favour'd the King. At Home it was generally condemn'd, both in regard of the Manner, it being prodigious to be drown'd without Water, upon dry Ground, and the Quality of the Person: He being the First Brother to a King in this Country, that ever was attainted. And what increased the Murmur, a Faction appear'd at Court triumphing in his Ruin, all the Accusations were strangely wrested, and no matter of Fact, scarce an Intention prov'd against the State. Whereupon this Punishment was thought to have been inflicted upon him for no new Attempt: His first taking Part with Warwick, being his only Crime. For which War, tho' somewhat against Nature, he had many Examples in France, Spain, and other Parts of Christendom: Whereas for the Death of a younger Brother, upon bare Suspicion, the King could borrow no Precedent nearer then the Turkish Government. But Clarence imagin'd the Privilege of his Birth a sufficient Defence against Danger, and omitted to fortifie himself with Faction; which laid him open to every Assault

of Envy. And because he had heretofore been in Opposition against the King, the Liberty in censuring any Defect in Government was interpreted a Desire to be in Arms again. Every Word of Distast being held Criminal in him, from whom the King was alienated by his own Disposition, open Invectives of the Queen's Kindred, and secret Trains of the Duke of Gloucester; who now began to look high over all Respects of Nature and Religion. He was certainly ambitious beyond Proportion, which made him so attentive to any new Counsels, and of an easie Nature, which render'd him apt by Practice to be wrought to Mischief. He was a good Master, but an uncertain Friend; which delivers him to us to have been, according to the Nature of weak Men, sooner perswaded by an obsequious Flattery, than a free Advice. We cannot judge him of any evil Nature, only busie and Inconstant, thinking it a Circumstance of Greatness to be still in Action. He was too open-breasted for the Court, where Suspicion looks thro' a Man, and discovers his Resolutions tho' in the Dark, and lock'd up in Secrecy. But what was his Ruin, he was, whether the House of York or Lancaster prevail'd, still second to the Crown: So that his Eye by looking too stedfastly on the Beauty of it became unlawfully enamour'd with it; and that being observ'd by the King's Jealousie, he suffer'd as if he actually had sinned. He left two Children by the Earl of Warwick's Daughter, Edward, who inherited his Grandfather's Honour, and was beheaded in the Reign of Henry the Seventh, and Margaret afterwards by Henry the Eighth created Countess of Salisbury, who was marry'd to Richard Poole of the Welsh Family of the Poles.

While this Mischief was secretly in contriving against Clarence, in the Court appear'd no Face, but that of Jollity and Magnificence. For at that Time was Edward eldest Son to the King (during Christmas, to mingle the Solemnity with Liberty) inaugurated Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester; and his younger Brother Richard, created Duke of York; The Fate of their Honour and their Ruin, being still the same. At this Creation according to the Ceremony, many young Lords and Gentlemen of principal Name were made Knights of the Bath, among whom Brian Cheif-Justice of the Common-Pleas, and Littleton, that learned Father of the Laws, are registred.

But the publick Glory of these extraordinary Poms, and the Wantonness of his private Pleasures could not be maintain'd with the ordinary Revenue. Therefore to make good the Expence of his own Errors, the King began to look narrowly into those of his Subjects; that by this Art, in a manner, he might sin upon free Cost. And as it hath been a certain Observation, that the most delicate and voluptuous Princes have ever been the heaviest Oppressors of the People; Rior being a far more lavish Spender of the common Treasure, than War or Magnificence; so those Parts of the King's Life, which were wanton'd away with variety of Delights, are noted to have been severest. But perhaps the Subjects repents not the free Gifts of the Kingdom's Substance, when he sees the Return of it in Triumph; but repines if the least Part of his Contribution be the Reward of Parasites, or Persons to whom Fortune, not Merit gives a Growth. And Historians likewise have more Leisure to examine the Crimes of Princes in the Silence of Peace, than in the Noise of War. Or else Princes want

The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1478. Opportunity to inclose their Thoughts to the Study of private Gain, when the Soldier in a Manner lays the Wealth of the Kingdom open, and makes a Common of every Man's particular Treasure. For now the King began to cause the Poenal Laws to be put in Execution, and wanting higher Aims, to look downward into every sordid Way of enriching himself; so that a general Fear possessed the People, that his after-Government would be both sharp and heavy, considering the first Part of it was not without a foul Blemish in that Kind. For in the Seventh Year of his Reign, he proceeded against many of the wealthiest Citizens with so much Severity, that it was reputed Tyranny. The chief of them were Sir *Thomas Cook*, Sir *John Plumer*, Knights, *Humphrey Hewward* and other Aldermen. And their Crime was, their having given Assistance to King *Henry*: Which, considering the Circumstance of Things could hardly bear any capital Accusation had it been clearly proved: But against these Men there was no Testimony but what was forc'd with Torture; and even that Testimony, not high enough to bring them to the Bar; yet the King commanded them to be arraign'd of High Treason at *Guild-Hall*; and withal expressed an earnest Desire, that upon any Terms they might be found guilty. Their Wealth being the principal Witnels that gave Evidence against their Lives: But the Jury well directed by Sir *John Marckham*, Knight, chief Justice of the King's Bench, acquitted them of their Treason: Which, nevertheless released them not, their Estates however were found guilty, and the greatest Part escheated to the King. With the Offenders the Judge was condemn'd, and because he prefer'd his Integrity before a severe Command, made Forfeiture of his Dignity.

K. Edward's Severity to Sir *Thomas Cook*, Judge *Marckham* and others.

Judge *Marckham's* Justice.

The Queen blam'd for the King's Severity.

The Memory of these Carriages heretofore, in a Business that concern'd the Life of a Man reputed innocent, drew the World into much Fear that he would now decline to Rigour. Neither was the King totally excused, although this cruel Avarice was laid to the Queen, who, having a numerous Issue and Kindred, by Favour raised up to the highest Titles, was almost necessitated for Supportance of their Honours, to wrack the Kingdom. And happily the universal Malice that waited on her and hers, serv'd well for the King; they being as a Screen between him and the unwholesome Air of Envy, which otherwise might have endanger'd his Reputation with the People.

From this rugged Way of Governing, he was soon diverted by Necessity to look abroad, and perhaps by the Gentleness of his Nature, or Repentance of his former Severity. For the Face of the World adjoyning began on the sudden to change, and while the Kings of *England* and *France* were dividing the Territories of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, a Third step'd in, and got Possession of her and her rich Country, *Maximilian*, Archduke of *Austria*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick III.* entertain'd heretofore politickly by Duke *Charles*, was now seriously invited to this Marriage. For the Lady dispairing to receive Succours from the *English*, to the Affection of whom she was perhaps inclin'd by the Neighbourhood of the Country, and Perswasion of the Dutchess Dowager, whom deservedly she much honour'd, condescended in the end to the Desire of her Subjects, who ever laboured to marry her to some Prince of *Germany*, in regard of the Nearness in Language, and Concordance in Dispositions. And although the hereditary Countries of this Prince

Dutchess of *Burgundy* married to *Maximilian* the Emperor *Frederick's* Son.

A. D. 1479. Reg. 19.

lying far remote, were unlike to be any Support to her weakned State; yet considering him as Son to the Emperor, and in all Probability like to succeed (for in an elective Kingdom scarce ever is the Heir put by, if equally deserving) he might appear necessary to her present Affairs. For he was young, of a noble Spirit, strong and healthful in Constitution, bold in any Attempt of Honour, and what won upon the Affections of the *Low-Country* Men, extraordinary affable and courteous. I know both his Actions and the Histories of that Time deliver him to us of no deep Judgment, and so negligent, that he ever left Things imperfect, oftentimes in main Business betrayed by his Credulity. But this I impute to him as an Error of the Climate under which he was born, and a certain generous Honesty, which is above Suspicion. The Motion of this Marriage was embraced with much Joy, to the Accomplishment of which he instantly prepared. Neither could King *Lewis* with all his Engines batter the Resolution of the Emperor, who, tho' a most passionate Lover of Peace, (which oftentimes he bought with Loss) ran the Hazard of a War from *France*, rather than let his Son lose the Advantage of so great a Country. And suddenly sent him to the Dutchess, attended by many great Commanders, who among a People so oppressed with Arms, would be the best Witneses of a Marriage. His Presence, altho' it did not absolutely turn the Stream of Fortune, yet gave a Stay to the *French* Conquests: And after he appear'd in the Quarrel, Victory doubtfully inclin'd, sometimes flattering *Maximilian*, at other Times King *Lewis*. *Maximilian* by his brave Valour, overtaking *Lewis*, who had the Start in Experience and Policy: So that frequent Truces were concluded between them, and unfaithfully observ'd; the first Opportunity of Advantage renewing the War.

A. D. 1479. Reg. 19.

K. Lewis endeavours to hinder the Marriage, but could not.

Lewis handled these Business apart, never admitting King *Edward*, tho' he ever officiously labour'd to interests himself in them, into any Part of the War or Peace. For, as he knew the Strength of his Understanding such, that he in Treaty could lose nothing by the Arch-Duke; so he well consider'd, that the safest Way to preserve the *English* in Amity, was to keep them at home. Whereupon, he frequently entertain'd the King with Embassies full of Courtesie; such as might appear rather the Arguments of a sincere Friendship than the forc'd Expressions of Ceremony; and ever communicated with him his private Counsels, requiring his faithful Advice; when indeed he reserv'd his Resolutions of any high Nature wholly to himself, and always in the Conduct of Affairs, tho' he would listen to the Opinion of King *Edward*, he still obeyed his own. But this, with his other Arts continu'd his Reputation good with the *English*, and purchased that Quiet, he suspected might by our Arms be interrupted.

K. Edward not concern'd in the *Burgundian* War.

And what render'd his Security the more Troubles began between us and *Scotland*; which we may well believe he underhand increased. The Occasion of them was, the evil Inclination and ungovern'd Spirit of *James III.* who disdain'd to listen to the temperate Counsels of sober Men, obeyed only his own Judgment, which his Passion threw headlong into rash Attempts. The Freedom of Advice by the Lords of that Country us'd toward their Princes, render'd the Speaker hateful; and frequently was rewarded with Imprisonment or Exile, if not with Death. Among the Multitude of them

K. Edward instigated to a War with *Scotland* by the Duke of *Albany*, who was banished by the King of *Scotts*.

cast

A. D. 1479. Reg. 19. cast out of Favour by him, *Alexander, Duke of Albany*, the King of Scotland's Brother, banish'd into France, resented the Injury, and endeavour'd Revenge. So that as he pass'd thro' England towards his Exile, being admitted to the King, by all Arguments he incens'd him to a War, which could not but prove most successful, the Hatred of the Commons consider'd, against so violent an Oppressor. And he protested, *That he knew the King fallen into so low Esteem even with those he cherish'd, and into such Hatred with all Mankind, that if assaulted by the English, he would be constrain'd by Submission of his Crown to intreat for Safety.*

War with Scotland determin'd, and the Duke of Gloucester sent General. This Importunity of the Duke of Albany soon prevail'd with the King; who by many Injuries had been exasperated, and had only waited Opportunity to make War upon Scotland. For the Borders on the English Side had been often infested, and upon Complaint no Redress, nor Reparation of Damage made. Moreover, the King having heretofore condescended, upon a Motion from King James, *That his Second Daughter the Lady Cicily, should marry James, Prince of Scotland*, and upon the Agreement paid in a large Part of the Portion, had receiv'd no Satisfaction to his Expectation; the Articles of Marriage neither being performed, nor yet the Money lent upon the Bonds of the Provost and Merchants of *Edinburgh*, according to Covenants repayed. He was therefore the sooner won to undertake the Business, which he committed to the Order of the Duke of Gloucester, who now had no Competitor in Greatness both of Judgment and Power: No Prince of the House of York remaining, but such whom the Want of Years, or Love of Ease indisposed to Action. For the King willing to decline Labour, waved the Expedition; and Gloucester ambitious to gain Opinion, especially with the Soldier, most forwardly undertook it. The King desired to live to the best Advantage of his Pleasure; Gloucester of his Honour. And indeed, Gloucester began now like a cunning Physician, to examine the State of the King's Body; which, tho' he found strong and healthful, and by the ordinary reckoning of Men likely to continue many Years, yet withal he observ'd evil Symptoms of Death in him, being overgrown with Fat, and both in his Diet and Lust subject to Disorder: Disorder a greater Enemy to Mankind, and which hath destroy'd more than Age, the Sword, or Pestilence. This Gloucester perceiv'd, and hence drew Poison, which swell'd his Ambition higher.

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20. Duke of Gloucester marches against Scotland with an Army. He therefore with much Alacrity prepared for the War, and with the Title of Lieutenant General, soon after set forward toward Scotland. The Army consisted of 22500, all commanded by Men of great Authority and Experience. Of the Nobility in his Retinue went *Henry, Earl of Northumberland; Thomas, Lord Stanley; Lord Steward of the King's House; the Lords Lovell, Graistock, Fitzhugh, Nevill, and Scroope of Bolton*: Of Knights, *Sir Edward Woodville, Brother to the Queen; Sir William Par, Sir John Elrington, Treasurer of the King's House; Sir James Harrington, Sir John Middleton, Sir John Dickfield* and others. The particular Names of whom I mention, only to shew how great a Shadow Gloucester began to cast toward the Sun-set, both of the King's Glory and Life. The Vanguard was led by the Earl of Northumberland, the Rereward by the Lord Stanley, the main Battle by the Duke himself; in whose Company was the Duke of Albany; Gloucester willing perhaps to have him still in Sight, least

if apart, with Sale of the Army, he might purchase his own Peace.

A. D. 1480. Reg. 20. Their first Attempt was upon *Berwick* (sur-rendered heretofore by Queen Margaret to gain a Sanctuary for King Henry, when he was expelled England) into which, partly by Terror of their Forces, partly by the Suddenness of their Approach, they enter'd without Opposition. The Town was soon at their Discretion; but the Castle, the strongest Fort then in the North, by the Earl *Boithwel*, was made good against all Battery. Gloucester foreseeing by the Strength both of the Place, and the Commanders Resolution, that this Siege would spend much Time, committed the Charge to the Lord Stanley, Sir John Elrington, and Sir William Par, with 4000 Soldiers; while he with the Body of the Army march'd higher into Scotland, perswaded, as indeed it happened, that they might force the King of Scotland either to an inglorious Flight, or else for Safety to lock himself up in some strong Hold. By which they might so imprison him, that his Release should not be without a full Discharge for all Injuries both against England and the Duke of Albany. And according to Expectation it happen'd, the King upon the first Rumour of an Enemy, inclosing himself in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. For in his Government having not studied the Safety of his People (which is the supream Law given to Kings) he found himself now forsaken by them, so far, that in Opposition to the English, against whom the Scots ever shewed a fair Resolution, no Army now took the Field, the Country lying open to the Mercy of the Invader.

Gloucester therefore, burning many Towns by the Way to strike a Terror in the Inhabitants, march'd directly to *Edenborough*; into which he entred, receiving such Presents as the Citizens offer'd to him; for at the Intreaty of the Duke of Albany, he spared the Town from Spoil. His Entry was only a Spectacle of Glory, the People applauding the Mercy of an Enemy, who presented them with a Triumph, not a Battle; and welcom'd him as a Prince, who took Arms not for Prey or Malice, but for the Safety of a neighbouring Kingdom, disorder'd and laid waste more by the License of a Tyrant in Peace, than it could have been by the Hand of War. The Lords of Scotland considering the Danger of their State, and desirous to prevent Ruin, sent from *Haddington* to the Duke of Gloucester to intreat a Suspence of Arms, and to desire a firm Peace in future. They there offer'd, if the Occasion of beginning this War, were as it was pretended; to give the English full Satisfaction: So that he could have no Colour of continuing in Hostility, but only a Desire to execute his Indignation upon a Country, already sufficiently destroy'd. For concerning the Marriage, they were prepared when it should please the King of England to accomplish it; and for any other Injury offer'd to the English, they were ready to make Restitution. The Duke of Gloucester return'd in Answer, *That his coming thither was to right the Honour of his Country, often violated by the Scots, and restore the Duke of Albany unjustly commanded to Exile, to his native Soil and the Dignity of his Birth. As for the Marriage of the Prince of Scotland with the Daughter of England, he knew not how his Brother's Resolution stood at the present: Whereupon he required Repayment of the Money lent to their King upon the first Agreement; and withal a delivery of the Castle of Berwick up into his Hands; without which he protested to come to no Accord.*

The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1480. *Reg. 20.* *Accord.* But the *Scottish* Lords laboured by all Means to have avoided the Surrender of a Place so important, by pretending how anciently it ever appertain'd to their Crown, by parting with which now they should appear at too dear and base a Price, to have purchased Peace. No Argument could prevail against *Gloucester's* Resolution; whereupon they yielded *Berwick*, with Covenant too by no Art hereafter to labour the Reduction of it. They likewise appointed a Day for Restitution of all those Monies lent by King *Edward*, and promised upon a full Discussion, to make Satisfaction for all Damages done the *English* by any Inroad of the *Scottish* Borderers. And for the Duke of *Albany's* Provision, whose Safety in this Expedition was principally pretended; (n) a general Pardon for him and his Followers was granted, together with an Abolition of all Discontents: Whereby he was reinvested in all his former Dignities and Places; and by consent of the Nobility of *Scotland* proclaim'd Lieutenant of the Kingdom.

Duke of Albany restored.

Duke of Gloucester engages the Duke of Albany to his Friendship.

Duke of Gloucester returns to London, and with great Applause is receiv'd.

With this Lord the Duke of *Gloucester* endeavour'd to make a most entire Friendship, and by all Industry imploy'd for his Advancement in Authority, studied how to make him firm to his Purposes, if Occasion should hereafter present it self to require his Aid: And questionless, howsoever the Fortunes of these two Dukes accorded not in every Point, yet there was in their Ambitions some kind of Sympathy. Both being Brothers to Kings, and both the Kings by the Insolency or Licentiousness of their Actions become obnoxious to a publick Scandal. But *Albany* had the Advantage in a more deserv'd and universal Hatred to the King his Brother, whereby he might not improbably expect to be King in Fact, however his Brother were in Title. And *Gloucester* had the Start in that the King's Brother's Ease apparently tended to the shortning of his Life; and then he, remaining the only Prince of the Blood fit to govern, was not unlikely to govern as King both in Fact and Title. To the Advancement of such a Design, a perfect Amity with *Scotland*, *Gloucester* could not but imagine most necessary.

Having therefore settled Business there with all increase of Glory to the *English* Name, (and by Consequence to his own) he return'd to *Berwick*; which according to the former Agreement had been yielded to the Lord *Stanley*. Thence in all Solemnity of Greatness he came towards *London*, to yield an Account of his prosperous Enterprize. By the Way he permitted the Honour of this Action to be divulged with the greatest Applause, thereby to insinuate his Reputation into the Opinion of the Commons; and to show how much more nobly he in this Expedition against *Scotland* had managed the Peace for the Honour of the *English* Nation, than his Brother had in his Undertaking against *France*. Considering that in Lieu of a little Money, which King *Edward* got from King *Lewis*, he had taken the only Place of Strength whereby the *Scots* might with Safety to themselves have endanger'd us, and brought them to what Conditions he pleased, forcing the King to immure himself, while the *English* at Liberty spoil'd the Country, and possessed themselves of his capital Town of *Edenborough*. And farther by *Gloucester's* Flatterers it was urged, that if their General had but had Commission ample enough, he would not have return'd without Reduction of the Kingdom of

Scotland to the Crown of *England*. Obedience to a superior Command fixing so sudden a Period to his Actions. And certainly in this Expedition the Duke of *Gloucester* laid the Foundation of all his after-Atchievements: For here having by a free Spoil of every Town, except only *Edenborough*, purchased the Affection of the common Soldiers, whose Aim in War is Gain and License; and by sober Order and great Courage, together with a brave Zeal ever to bring Honour to his Side, won Estimation from the Nobler Sort; he began to imagine himself reputed generally only unhappy in wanting a good Title to the Kingdom. The Difference between him and his Brother, was, that the one possessed, the other deserv'd the Crown. And his Thoughts farther flatter'd him, that it could not prove hereafter Difficult, upon any handsome Occasion to perswade the People, who already thought him Worthy, also to think it fit to make him King.

A. D. 1480. *Reg. 20.* Duke of Gloucester's Ambition.

But these his black Intentions came not yet to Light; and indeed they were so monstrous, that they would not only have manifested the Ugliness of their Shape had they now appear'd, but like imperfect and deform'd Births, been buried, as soon as produced. Cunningly therefore by Pretences of a most serious Love to his Brother, and publickly ascribing the whole Glory of the Action to his Direction, he declin'd Suspicion. Being welcom'd by the King with all the Demonstrations of Joy, who congratulated his own Felicity in having with so little Charge and no Loss, tamed all the Insolency of the *Scots*, and reduced *Berwick*. He therefore to show how much he approv'd the Conditions of the Peace, went solemnly in Procession from *St. Stephen's* Chappel, accompany'd with the Queen and a mighty Retinue of the greatest Lords, into *Westminster-Hall*; where in Presence of the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *James Liddall*, Embassadors extraordinary from *Scotland*, the Peace was ratified.

King Edward's obliging Carriage to his Subjects in the End of his Reign.

During the War with *Scotland*, and after the Conclusion of this Peace, the King discover'd to the People his natural Disposition. Which being bountiful and Courteous, far from the proud State then in Practice with the Tyrants of the East; begot a general Affection, and made the Subject, comparing their Felicity with the Misery of their Fathers, to bless the present Government. The Administration likewise of the Laws being orderly, without Violence or Partiality, caused all the former Injustice to be cast either upon the License of War, or the Predominancy of some Faction; and the King absolutely acquitted in Mens Opinion. And even from Lust, which was reputed his Bosom-sin, towards the latter end of his Life, he was somewhat clear: Either Conscience reforming him, or by continual Satiety grown to a Loathing of it: For the Abstinence could not be imputed to Age, he at his Death not exceeding Two and Forty. But what endeard him so much to the Affection of the People, and especially to the Citizens of *London*, was his being rich by his Tribute from *France*, and therefore not likely to lie heavy on them; as likewise the so fam'd Bounty of his Hospitality; Two thousand Persons being daily serv'd in his Court at *Eltham*, where most solemnly he celebrated the Feast of the Nativity. And to recompence the great Love which in both Fortunes the *Londoners* had shov'd him, to his last Hour he us'd towards them a particular Kind-

A. D. 1481. *Reg. 21.*

(n) The Duke of *Albany* deserted the *Scots*, and was chosen to be their Governour, *Hol.*

A. D. 1481. Reg. 21. nefs: Even so much, that he invited the Lord Mayor (o) and Aldermen, and some of the principal Citizens to the Forrest of *Waltham*, to give them a Friendly not a pompous Entertainment. Where in a pleasant Lodge they were feasted, the King himself seeing their Dinner serv'd in: and by thus stooping down to a loving Familiarity, sunk deep into their Hearts: Ordinary slight Courtesies, order'd thus to the best Advantage, taking more often even with sound Judgments than churlish Benefits. And that the Sex he always affected might not be unremembred, he caused great plenty of Venison to be sent to the Lady Mayores and the Aldermen's Wives.

The Queen's Pride and Indiscretion. Thus was the Outward Face of the Court full of the Beauty of Delight and Majesty; while the Inward was all rotten with Discord and Envy. For the Queen by how much she consider'd her self more unworthy the Fortune she enjoy'd, by so much she endeavour'd in the exteriour height of Carriage to raise her self; foolishly imagining Pride could set off the Humility of her Birth. She was likewise (according to the Nature of Women) Factionous; as if her Greatness could not appear clear enough without Opposition. And those she opposed were the chiefest both in Blood and Power; the Weaker she disdain'd to wrastle with, and they fearful to contest with her. But what subjected her to an universal Malice, was the Rapine, which the necessary Provision of her Kindred engaged her to. For they being many and great in Title could not be supplied according to their Ambition, but by so common an Injury as made her Name odious through the Kingdom. Moreover the Lords of her Blood, by reason of their Nearness to the King's Children being insolent, and in regard of their Youth, indiscreet; frequently ran into those Errors which betray'd them to the publick Scorn or Hatred. Against the Queen (for through her Kindred they aim'd at her) the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Hastings, and others of the most ancient Nobility opposed themselves. And to render both her and hers odious, Gloucester laid the Death of the Duke of Clarence (which Fratricide himself most barbarously contriv'd) altogether upon their Malice; pretending a more than ordinary Caution for his own Safety, least his Person might by the same Practices be brought in Danger. By which Calumny he both clear'd his own Reputation, and clouded the Fame of a Faction he endeavour'd so much to ruin. For this Side had much the Start in Opinion and Policy, over the other, who were Young, and unexperienced; and the President of whose Council was a Woman.

The Queen's Enemies. To compose these Quarrels it begot the King much Trouble: Neither could he without extream Anxiety hear the continual Complaints of Persons so considerable both in Power in the Kingdom, and Kindred to his Children, not knowing to how dangerous a Height this Discord in time might grow. But to increase his Discontent every Day his Jealousie increased concerning King Lewis's Faith, who now began to unmask his Intention, and show how much he had deluded the English. For having ever since Maximilian's Marriage with Mary, Dutches of Burgundy, been upon unkind Terms with him; sometimes at open War, other times in an unfaithful Truce, he was now

growing to an absolute Peace. And the Conditions were whisper'd contrary to the Treaty at Picquigny, which made the King suspicious they two might enter into some League prejudicial to the Honour of the English. For Maximilian having kept Lewis all the Life-time of his Lady, from any further incroach upon her Territories, and by his Fortune gotten into Opinion with the French, grew to be much desired in the nearest Friendship by them: And he having buried his Dutches (who owed her Death to her Modesty, in respect that having broke her Thigh by a Fall from a Horse, she denied to expose it to the Sight of Chirurgeons) was willing to stand upon good Terms with France, Knowing how slender and how unfaithful an Obedience those Countries would yield to a Prince, who was to rule by Courtesie; since to their natural Lords, they had ever shewed themselves Insolent and Rebellious. These Considerations prepared both Sides to Peace; and the Conclusion of it to beget a more perfect Amity was that the Lady Margaret, a Child of two Years Old, Daughter to Maximilian and the Dutches of Burgundy, should be affianced to the Dauphin, then upon the Age of Twelve. So that King Lewis in the Marriage of his Son, was ever most Disproportionable; the Daughter of England as much too old, as this Lady too young; but indeed his End was the same with Charles, Duke of Burgundy and many other worldly Fathers, to match his Son for the best Advantage of his Profit and Convenience.

To confirm the uncertain Rumours of this Perjury in King Lewis, the Lord Howard return'd out of France, and made Relation, how he saw the Lady Margaret brought with all Pomp and Ceremony to Ambois and there married to Charles the Dauphin: And to heap yet more Injuries, not long after the Tribute hitherto so carefully paid was denied. The French now disclosing the innate Malice they bore the English, and with how little Scruple they could dispence with the most solemn Oath, when no apparent Danger threatned the Crime: For though the Dauphin when he had attain'd to the Age of Consent, might have broke off this Marriage; and it could have been only term'd an Act of Discourtesie; yet King Lewis who had sworn to this Article with so much Ceremony, cannot be excused from a most foul Impiery.

But what Reason of State prevail'd with him, who heretofore awed by his Fears had condescended in a manner to compound for his Kingdom, thus now to slight the English, is not delivered in History. And it may appear Difficult to imagine, considering King Edward was now; if possibly, more absolute in his command at Home, his People better disciplin'd, and no Appearance of an Enemy from Abroad. Add to that, his Coffers full, increast every Year by the Tribute from France, and his Reputation high by the Victory lately purchased against the Scots; a Nation though inferior to the French in the Riches and Extent of Territory, yet in martial Courage equal; and in warring with whom, we have found more Sweat and Danger than with France. It is therefore hard to know the Cause of King Lewis's Proceedings in this injurious Way, if we look on our selves only as at Home: But if we consider the State of Business Abroad, we may easily discern his Policy. For now had the

(o) Sir Robert Chanry, he did it says Holinshead, to encourage the Lord Mayor who being a great Merchant paid the King vast Sums for Customs, and had besides entertain'd him very Magnificently before.

The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. 1482. French Arts or the Change of Time quite dissolved all our Confederacies, and left us to maintain with our own Arms our own Quarrel. St. Paul was annihilated, in whose Death expired all the Discontents of the factious Nobility in France.

Duke of Brittain mad. The Duke of Brittain by an extream Melancholy (which scarce was reputed less than Madness) was become unfit for Government, much less for any great Attempt: And being overcharged by the Practices and Arms of the French, in a manner made Resignation of his Dutchy to the Disposition of some Officers easie to be corrupted. And Burgundy (which in the Victories of Henry the Fifth, had so much advanced the English Enterprizes) was by the last League with Maximilian wholly at the Devotion of the French. So that all they who heretofore had brought us over, were now either reduced to be unprofitable for our Aid; or else become Enemies, should we renew our ancient Quarrel. Moreover the long Ease the King of England had lived in, and the Pleasures with which he appeared altogether fascinated, render'd him to the World nothing Formidable. And King Lewis having with so little Difficulty hitherto deluded him, and retain'd him in a kind of servile Amity, while he threw Injuries thick upon him; was now heighten'd to a Presumption, that the English would either connive at this Affront, or that by some new Cunning they might be appeased, were the Indignity never so much resent'd. And if the worst should happen, the French nothing fear'd the Enmity: Considering that King Edward alone would be unable to prevail against them seconded by the Forces of Maximilian, whom his Daughter now interess'd in the War.

These Considerations of Security to do Wrong according to the Nature of Wicked Princes, made King Lewis so boldly attempt it: And what was strange in a Man so cunning, he left himself no Excuse for the Fact, either in the Way of Honour or Conscience: And scarce in human Policy. Unless his Expectation reach'd beyond common Reason, in thought that Prince Philip, Son to Maximilian, and the Dutches (for she was Mother only to a Son and a Daughter) might chance to die, and thus by the Falshood dy Margaret all those large Countries devolve to him, into the Power of France. But how slight so ever King Lewis's Opinion was of the English, this Breach of Faith was no sooner related to King Edward, but he resolv'd severely to take Revenge.

And calling together all the Council and Nobility, who for the Suddenness could be summond, he to this Purpose made a Declaration of his Wrongs, and Intentions how to right himself.

King Edward's Speech to his Council complaining of King Lewis's Deceit, and Resolution to Correct it. Perjury. My Lords, THE Injuries I have received are divulged every where, and the Eye of the World is fix'd upon me, to observe with what Countenance I suffer. And I must confess they are of so strange a Nature, that I remain rather amazed than enraged: Had I dealt with any Prince not civilized by Laws, or inured to Commerce; I had yet the Religion of so many Oaths, and the Reason of every Politick Circumstance so clear, that I could no Way have suspected this foul and foolish Breach of Faith, in a Christian King (and who pretends to be most Christian) I have met with so horrid a Perjury, and so disgraceful to our Nation; that as all Mankind must abhor him as barbarous, so in my own Particular I must neglect the principal Office of

A Prince, if I omit to chastise him. Most of you (my Lords) are Witnesses to the Solemnity of his Vows, when humbly he declined Ruin to his Kingdom: And I to avoid so great a Massacre as the War would have endanger'd, condescended to end all Controversies by a Peace. My Clemency is now become my Scorn; and I reap Indignities where I sow'd Favours. For this ungrateful Man; Prince I must not term him, who hath by Purjury forfeited that sacred Title, and in Contempt of all Law both Human and Divine, denies not only the Marriage of the Dauphin to our Daughter, which would have prov'd so great an Honour to his Blood, and Security to his Kingdom; but even the annual Tribute of Fifty Thousand Crowns; a slender Rent for so large a Country, as by our Permission he hath hitherto enjoy'd.

This Contumely I am resolv'd to punish; and I cannot doubt Success; Almighty God strengthens still his Arm, who undertakes a War for Justice. In our Expeditions heretofore against the French, Prosperity waited upon the English Arms, is to the World divulg'd; and yet Ambition then appeared the chief Counsellor to War. Now beside all that Right, which led over Edward the Third our glorious Ancestor, and Henry the Fifth our Predecessor, we seem to have a Deputation from Heaven, to execute the Office of the supream Judge in chastising the Impious.

When we were last in France, an innate Fear in this false Man forced him down to a sordid Purchase of Security: How low will a wicked Conscience, (which even makes the Valiant, cowardly to tremble) bend him now? Now, when an implacable Resolution for Revenge sets a far sharper Edge upon our Swords: Now when he hath no Hypocrisie left undiscovered, nor Subterfuge for his former Perjury, nor Art to gain Belief to new Dissimulation: Now, when our Ears shall be deaf to all Submission, and when our Conscience is so well resolv'd for the Necessity of this War, that Mercy will be thought a vicious Lenity, and the most savage Cruelty but an Act of Justice.

I need not repeat how much Age hath infirm'd him (and indeed I think it was his Dotage committed this so foolish Crime): Nor yet how hated he is rendred Abroad by his unfaithful Dealings, and at Home by his severe Government. The Commonalty sunk down by his heavy Impositions; the Nobility by his proud Neglect; exasperated to desire any Innovation. But we want not these Advantages; in the Justice of our Cause, and Valour of our People we have enough.

It is confessed our Confederacies are quite dissolved: And I rejoice in that alone we shall undertake this great Business: For Experience in our last Attempt show'd, that Princes of several Nations (however they pretend the same) have still several Aims: And oftentimes a Confederate is a greater Enemy to the Prosperity of a War, than the Enemy himself: Envy begetting more Difficulty in a Camp, than any Opposition from the adverse Army. Our Brother of Burgundy and Uncle of St. Paul are both dead. How little their Amity advanced us, nay how a just Jealousie of their secret Practices hindered our Design then on France, you all may well remember. And how in our Return towards England, we had more Fear to have been assaulted by their traiterous Weapons, than by any Arms from the Enemy. But we will spare their Memory; they labour'd their own Safety, not our Glory. This I am secure, that as by Death they are render'd unprofitable to us, so likewise not dangerous. And as for Brittain, if his Weakness disable him to our Aid,

A. D. 1482. *Aid, I am confident it will continue him a Neutral. Neither is it to be forgot, how securely now we may leave England rather than heretofore: Considering our so entire Friendship with the Scots; whose Hospitality was always sharp upon us at Home when we attempted Victory Abroad.*

But I detain you, by my Speech, to long from Action. I see the Clouds of due Revenge gather'd in your Brow, and the Lightning of Fury break from your Eyes: Which bodes Thunder against our Enemy. Let us therefore lose no Time, but suddenly and severely scourge this perjured Coward to a too late Repentance, and regain Honour to our Nation, and his Kingdom to our Crown.

War with France desired and resolv'd on. The Lords resent'd the Affront with Indignation as high as the King's, and desired that instant Preparations might be made for the War. But above all, the Duke of Gloucester appear'd zealous in the Quarrel; expressing aloud his Desire, *That all his Estate might be spent, and all his Veins emptied in Revenge of this Injury.* All the Court was presently for the Design, and the whole Kingdom with a fierce Appetite desired to arm: So that no Language was heard but Martial; and all the Gallantry was in new Armour, or other Conveniences for Service. The King most passionately pursued his Determination, and that very Spring resolv'd to begin the War. But he was diverted

A. D. 1483. Reg. 23. on the sudden from calling King Lewis to a Reckoning for this Crime; and summon'd by Death to give a strict Account for all his own. Death arrested him, and in the Space of not many Hours, instructed him in more than all the Oration from Pulpits had done for Forty Years.

K. Edward suddenly seized with a mortal Sickness. For as soon as he found himself mortally sick, he began to consider the Vanity of all his Victories, which with the Expence of so much Blood he had purchased, and at the Heart repented his too hard Bargain. He looked back upon the Beauty of his sensual Pleasures, and now discern'd it was only fair in the outside, inwardly rotten and deform'd. He cast up the Accounts of his Tribute both at home and abroad, and all those Treasures gather'd either by Proscription of his Enemies, or exacting from his Subjects, and found himself a Bankrupt. For till now, he wanted Leisure to search into that which most concern'd him; and being delighted too much in the Pomp and Pleasure of the Inn where he was not to stay, forgot he had a Journey, and unawares was overtaken by Night, an endless Night which no Day succeeds.

His Behaviour in his Sickness and his last Advice. Perceiving his Doom inevitable, and no Hope of the least Reprieve, he began to order Business as fully as the Shortness of the Time would licence. The great Affair of his Soul, and indeed the only that is necessary, he committed to the Mercy of his Redeemer; and by the Sacraments then in use with the Church of England, and real Contrition, he labour'd for a full Expiation of the Crimes and Errors of his Life. And as his Death is describ'd to us by an excellent Author who liv'd near his Time; Almighty God seems to have struck Water even from the Rock (as he Moses's Wand by did for the Israelites) in touching this Prince to the Heart, and forcing a most religious Repentance,

from a Soul obdurate in Sin, as we may conjecture by his Life.

The Revenge of the Injury he receiv'd from K. Lewis, he referr'd to the Judgment of Heaven, whose Work it is to punish Perjury. And Lewis suffered for it according to his Deservit: For that Son, in marrying whom he so busied his Imaginations, and slighted all Faith and Religion, liv'd but a short Space, and died issueless. Not one Branch remaining of that great Tree, whose Root was in Perjury and Dissimulation.

The Protection of the King and Kingdom he left to the Lords nearest in Kindred to his Children, advising them, *To Amity and Concord; by which the Nation would flourish in Greatness abroad and Safety at Home; the young King be secured from Flattery, and instructed in the best Discipline for Government; and they themselves live in much Honour and Felicity, if united to advance the Commonwealth, and oppose all foreign Danger: Whereas Discord would beget Civil War, and that endanger Ruin.* So that this Christian King like Christ himself, when he departed bequeath'd Peace to the World. And had this Doctrine been as zealously followed as it was utter'd, the succeeding Time had not been guilty of so many sad Confusions. But for the present a perfect Reconciliation appear'd, both Sides lovingly embracing, and protesting all Amity for the future. So that with Comfort he forsook the World, and may well be said to have deserv'd a general Applause in this last Scene of his Life.

Among his Words of farewell at his Death, it is worthy Observation; *That he solemnly protested his Repentance, for Obtaining the Crown with so much Blood, as the Necessity of the Quarrel spilt.* Which certainly shews a most singular Piety, considering the indubitable Justice of his Title; and withal teacheth Princes a new Lesson, *That the Power of Sway, which great Men so superstitiously adore, is but the Idol of Folly and Ambition; whose Oracles delude the Living, but on our Death-beds we discern the Truth, and hate the Irreligion of our former Error.*

Concerning the Occasion of his Death, there is much Variety of Opinion; for by several Authors, it is severally imputed to Poison, grief, and Surfeit. They who ascribe it to Poison, are the passionate Enemies of Richard Duke of Gloucester's Memory; who permit not Nature at that Time to have been obnoxious to Decay, but make the Death of every Prince an Act of Violence or Practice. And in regard this cruel Lord was guilty of much Blood, without any other Argument, condemn him for those Crimes, from which he was however actually most innocent. The French affirm it to have proceeded from Grief conceiv'd upon Repudiation of his Daughter, and Detention of the Tribute. But they looking on our Affairs afar off, mistake the Shadow for the Substance, desiring perhaps that King Lewis should kill a King of England by a new Weapon: And certainly Lewis did persuade himself, that King Edward was slain this Way; and congratulated his Wit much in the Accident. But this carries not the least Appearance of Probability (p). Great Sorrows kill for the most part suddenly, else by a languishing Decay of Nature; whereas King Edward died not presently

(p) Philip de Comines writes *Tout soudainement il est mort & Comme par Melancholie du Mariage de Notre Roy, qui regne a Present, avec Madame Marquesse d' Autriche, & tantost apres qu il en eut des Nouvelles ill prit La Maladie. &c.* He died on a sudden, as one would think out of Melancholly for our King now reigning, his Marriage with the Princess Margaret of Austria; for as soon as he heard the News he fell sick &c.

The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. upon the Report, nor yet grew Melancholly
1483. from this Injury, but a brave Anger fierce to
Reg 23. seek Revenge. Moreover Grief hath then been
observ'd most powerful over Life, when the
Disconsolate hath no Ear to which he may ex-
press himself, and no Hope left for Remedy:
Whereas King *Edward* breath'd forth Passions to
his Council, and found in them a Sympathy both
in the Sorrow and the Rage: And as for Re-
venge, certainly the State of *England* was ne-
ver better prepar'd to exact it; the King being
a valiant and fortunate Leader, the People in-
ured heretofore to the Exercise of Arms, and
never so forward to any Quarrel, as against
the *French*, from whom they ever reaped Vi-
ctory and Treasure: And concerning Money,
the Strength of an Army, the Exchequer was
full enough, without any burdensome Imposi-
tion to begin the War.

Thirdly, It was therefore questionless a Surfeit
A Surfeit brought this great Prince so suddenly to his
the true end. For who observes well the Scope of his
Cause of his Death, and the Time of it. Pleasure, finds it to have been placed much in
Wantonness and Riot, the Two mighty De-
stroyers of Nature: And commonly by those
Excesses with which we solace Life, we ruin it.
He died upon the Ninth of April 1483. (9) at his
Palace of *Westminster*, and was interr'd at *Wind-
sor*. *Sixtus* the Fourth being Pope, *Frederick*
the Third Emperor, *Fredinand* and *Isabella* King
and Queen of *Arragon* and *Castile*, *John* the Se-
cond, King of *Portugal*, *James* the Third, of
Scotland, and *Lewis* Eleventh of *France*. Be-
K. Ed- tween whom and King *Edward*, as there was
ward's Parallel with K. much Intercourse in Business, so was there
Lewis. great Concurrence in Fortune. Both began and
ended their Reigns in the same Years: Both
were held in Jealousie by the precedent Kings,
Edward by King *Henry*, *Lewis* by his Father
Charles the Seventh; both had Titles disputa-
ble to the Crown. The House of *Lancaster*
usurping against *Edward*; the House of *Eng-
land* claiming against *Lewis*. Both were per-
plex'd with Civil War, and both successful.
Lewis infested by an insolent Nobility; *Edward*
by a Saint-like Competitor. *Lewis* victorious
by Art, *Edward* by Courage. Both were re-
bell'd against by their own Brothers; *Lewis*, by
Charles, Duke of *Berry*, *Edward*, by *George*,
Duke of *Clarence*: And both took a severe Re-
venge; *Lewis* freeing himself from so bosom an
Enemy, by poisoning *Charles*; *Edward* by drown-
ing *Clarence*. Both ended this Life with Ap-
pearance of much Zeal; *Edward* religiously,
Lewis something superstitiously. Both left their
Sons, yet Children to inherit, who died Issue-
less, and left their Crown to their greatest
Enemies; *Edward* the Fifth to his Uncle *Rich-
ard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, *Charles*, the Eighth,
to his Kinsman *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*.

But who looks upon the Lives of these Two
Princes on the other Side, may, as in a Table
which presents several Faces, perceive as great
Disparity. But I am only to give you the Pi-
cture of King *Edward* without Flattery or De-
traction; which is rare in History, consider-
ing Authors fashion for the most part Ideas in
their Minds, and according to them, not to
the Truth of Action form a Prince; which tho'
happily it win Applause to the Writer, is a
high Abuse to the Reader.

But this King was, if we compare his with A. D.
the Lives of Princes in general, worthy to be 1483.
number'd among the best. And whom, though Reg. 23.
not an extraordinary Vertue, yet, a singular
Fortune made conspicuous. He was born at K. Ed.
Roan in *Normandy*, his Father at that Time Re- ward's
gent in *France*. The so fatal Division between Chara-
the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* with him in a ster.
Manner having both its Birth and Growth; for His Birth
as he, so the Faction of his Family gathered Educa-
Strength. His Education was, according to tion.
the best Provision for his Honour and Safety, in
Arms: A strict and religious Discipline, in all
Probability likely to have softned him too much
to Mercy, and a Love of Quiet.

He had a great Extent of Wit, which cer- Wit and
tainly he owed to Nature: That Age better- Parts.
ing Men little by Learning, which howsoever
he had wanted Leisure to have receiv'd; the
Trumpet sounding still too loud in his Ear, to
have admitted the sober Counsels of Philosophy.
And his Wit lay not in the Sights of Cunning
and Deceit; but in a sharp Apprehension, yet
not too much whetted by Suspicion.

In Counsel he was judicious, with little Diffi- His Judg-
culty dispatching much: His Understanding open ment.
to clear Doubts, not dark and cloudy and apt
to create new. His Wisdom look'd ever directly
upon Truth, which appears by the Manage-
ment of his Affairs both in Peace and War: In
neither of which (as far as concern'd the po-
littick Part) he committed any main Error.
'Tis true, he was over-reach'd in Peace by King
Lewis, abused concerning the Marriage of his
Daughter; in War by the Earl of *Warwick*,
when upon Confidence of a final Agreement he
was surpriz'd: But both these Misfortunes I
impute to want of Faith in his Enemies, not of
Judgment in him. Though to speak impar-
tially, his too great Presumption on the Oath of
a dissembling Prince; and want of Circum-
spection, a Reconciliation being but in Treaty,
cannot scape without Reprehension.

His Nature certainly was both noble and ho- His ex-
nest, which if rectified by the strait Rule of cellent
Vertue, had render'd him fit for Example, Dispo-
whereas he is only now for Observation. For sition.
Prosperity rais'd him but to a Complacency in
his Fortune, not to a Disdain of others Losses,
or a Pride of his own Acquisitions. And when
he had most Security in his Kingdom, and conse-
quently most Allurements to Tyranny, then
shewed he himself most familiar and indulgent.
An admirable Temper in a Prince, who so well
knew his own Strength, and whom the Love of
Riot necessitated to a Love of Treasure, which
commonly is supplied by Oppression of the
Subject.

The heavy Fine laid upon Sir *Thomas Cook*, The Se-
and his Displacing the Chief Justice *Markham*, verity
blemisheth him with Violence and Avarice, of his
But that Severity, and the other, when he be- Reign not
gan to look into the Poenal Laws, were but imputed
short Tempests, or rather small Overcastings, to K. Ed-
during the glorious Calm of his Government. ward.
And whatsoever Injury the Subject endured,
was not imputed to the King, but to *Tiptoft*,
Earl of *Worcester*, and some under-Informers;
or else to the Queen and her necessitous Kin-

A. D. 1483. The World either judicially or else favourably diverting all Envy from his Memory.

Reg. 23.

His Courage and Conduct in War.

Great Judgment in leading his Armies, and Courage in fighting personally, speaks him both a daring Soldier, and an expert Commander. And the many Battles he fought, in all which he triumph'd, make him as much to be admired for his military Discipline, as his happy Success. Fortune not deserving to have all his mighty Victories ascribed to her Gift; Valour and good Conduct share at the least with her in the Fate of War. But as in Arms he appears most glorious to Posterity, so likewise most unhappy: For all those bloody Conquests he obtain'd, were against his own Nation; and the greatest Adversaries he overcame, were near in Consanguinity to him; so that he may more properly be said to have let himself Blood, than his Enemies; or rather for Preservation of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and most necessary Limbs. For beside those many Princes of the House of Somerset, Buckingham, Excester, Oxford, Devonshire, Northumberland, Westmerland, Shrewsbury, and finally the Tree it self, and the only Branch, Henry the Sixth and his Son Prince Edward; He slew even the Earl of Warwick and the Marquess Mountague; Two Brothers, who having lost their Father in his Quarrel, hazarded their Lives and those mighty Possessions and Honours which peaceably they might have enjoyed, only to advance his Title. But this was rather his Fate than his Fault; and into this Sea of Blood he failed not voluntarily, but violently driven by the Tempests of his Fortune. And for the Cruelty laid to him in the Death of the Duke of Clarence, he was certainly wrought to it by the Practice, and the Misinformation of an envious Faction in Court; the Horror of which Patri-cide possessed him to the last Hour of his Life; frequently complaining against the unhappy Severity of his Justice, and against the hard Nature of his Counsellors, who would not interpose one Word to him for Mercy, whereby so black a Deed might have been prevented. But howsoever we may wash away much of this Blood from his Memory, yet there continue many foul Stains upon it; since publick Mischiefs seldom happen, but that the Prince, tho' not actually innocent, is in some Degree guilty.

The Turk's Success in Europe, his Grief.

As these so many Confusions at Home were the Misfortune of his Time, so was Abroad that so scandalous Loss of the Eastern Empire to the Turk. For though King Edward were not the Occasion of so great Ruin to the Christian Commonwealth, and this happen'd before he attain'd the Sovereignty, his Father being Head of the Faction; yet the civil Wars of England raised about the Quarrel which he was soon after to maintain, and the universal Division among the Princes of the West, gave Courage to the Infidels; and denied Succours to the miserable Emperour oppressed by an over-potent Enemy. Whereby a City was prophaned, in which the Christian-Faith had flourish'd without Interruption for a Thousand Years. But as the Sea is said to gain in another, if it loseth in this Place: So about this Time Religion, by the singular Piety and Valour of Ferdinand and Isabella, won Ground upon the Moors in Spain, whence not long after they were totally and (I hope) for ever expell'd.

His Care of Justice.

But when the War licens'd the King to attend his Government, we find the Administra-

tion of Laws just and equal; and many new Statutes enacted, wholesome against Diseases crept into the State; so that he appear'd diligent both to heal up any Wound, which the Tumults of his Reign had given the Commonwealth, and provident for the Health of future Ages. And certainly no Prince could Husband the Benefits of Peace better for the outward Magnificence; For his Glory was much in Hospitality, and a pompous Celebration of the principal Feasts of our Redemption. In which Way of Bravery settling much of his Happiness; he had been doubtless the most Fortunate of any King of the Norman Line, had he not fail'd in the Expectation of his Daughter's Marriage.

His Buildings were few, but sumptuous for that Time, or more properly but Reparations: Which are yet to be seen at the Tower of London, his House of Eltham, the Castles of Nottingham and Dover: But above all at Windsor, where he built the new Chappel (finish'd after by Sir Riginald Bray, Knight of the Order) and indowed the College with mighty Revenues; which he gave not, but transferred thither; taking from King's-College in Cambridge, and Eaton-College a thousand Pound by the Year to enrich this at Windsor.

But our Buildings like our Children are obnoxious to Death; and Time scorns their Folly, who place a Perpetuity in either. And indeed the safer kind of Fate happen'd to King Edward in both these Felicities: His Posterity like his Edifices, lost in other Names. For his Two Sons, before they had survived their Father, the ceremonious Time of Mourning, were themselves inhumanely murder'd, and as obscurely buried. His Eldest Daughter the Lady Elizabeth, was married to the Earl of Richmond, known by the Name of Henry the Seventh; whose Heir in a strait Line not liable to any Doubt or Question, is his most sacred Majesty, now glorious in Government of this Realm. The Younger Daughters were bestowed, one in a Monastery, others upon inferior Lords. Cicily married John, Viscount Wells: Anne, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk: Bridget was a professed Nun at Dartford: Mary was contracted to the King of Denmark, but died before Consummation of Marriage: Margaret died an Infant: Katherine, married William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire. But of none of these younger Princesses at this Day remains any Thing but their Memory. All dying issueless but the Lady Katherine, whose Posterity failed likewise in the Third Descent: Henry her Son, Marquess of Exeter suffered by Attainder in the Reign of his Cousin German, Henry the Eighth, being not long before designed Heir Apparent to the Crown (an Honour fatal in England:) and his Son Edward untimely came to his Death at Padua in Italy, in the Reign of Queen Mary, by whose Favour he had regain'd his Father's Honours and Possessions. So that all the clear Stream from the Spring of York flows in the House of Scotland: The troubled and impure runs in many Veins of the English Gentry. For by the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, he had an illegitimate Son, named Arthur, who by his Wife's Right was Viscount Lisle, and dying without Issue-male, left to his Three Daughters and their Posterity some Tincture of the Blood Royal.

This Disease of his Blood was the Crime which procured both to his Government and Memory.

The LIFE and REIGN of EDWARD the Fourth.

A. D. Memory many hard Censures. For tho' some
1483. excuse his Lust, as a Sin, tho' black to the Eye
Reg. 23 of Heaven, yet no way generally injurious; in
regard the Incontinency of one Man could not
be so diffusive as to wrong a Multitude: Never-
theless, who observes the Revolutions of King-
doms, shall find no one Iniquity in Princes so
punish'd. The Dishonour of one Lady abused ex-
tending to the Disgrace of several Families, and
mighty Factions knitting together for Revenge:
In the whole Stock of Injuries none being so cruel
to human Nature, and which with less Patience
can be dissembled.

His Per- jury. His frequent Perjury, (a Sin, which strikes
like a Sword with two Edges, both against
divine and humane Faith) was the Crime which
render'd him most odious to the Society of
Man. For impiously he appeared in this to
brave Heaven, slighting all solemn Covenants
made with God; and foolishly preferring before
a holy Promise, a little Profit, or the Satisfac-
tion of his Revenge. Which Crime, however
for the present it might stand him in some Bene-
fit, yet certainly it might have involv'd him in
much Loss in all after-Enterprizes, which de-
pended upon his Faith. The Death of *Wells*
and *Dimmock*, of *Fauconbridge*, of *Somerset*, Lord
Prior of *St. John's* and others, were the Wounds
Perjury gave his Soul, the Scars of which re-
main yet foul upon his Fame. But perhaps he
thought no Faith was to be held with an Ene-
my, or promised not with Intention of Perfor-
mance: An impious Equivocation; but then in
Practice with his Neighbour Princes both of
France and *Burgundy*: So that the Custom may
in some Sort seem to privilege the Fault.

His Care- lessness and Con- fidence. In his Youth he was so uncircumspect, and
even when he had the strongest Arguments for
Jealousie, so over confident, that it engaged him

to extream Difficulties, and endanger'd abso-
lute Ruin. But his Fortune, almost miracu-
lously, made up all those Breaches, which had
been by his Carelessness and Presumption laid
open; and delighting something wantonly to
boast her Power and Favour to him, raised him
then highest, when all the World, and almost
his own Hopes forsook him. For presently up-
on the Slaughter of his Father at the Battle of
Wakefield, and the Overthrow of his great Sup-
porter the Earl of *Warwick* at that of *St. Albans*:
She inthron'd him in the Kingdom, making
the Queen and all the Favourers of *Lancaster*,
when doubly victorious, retire as overcome;
and the universal Acclamations of the People
set the regal Diadem upon his Head; whose Fa-
ther's Head at that Time, like a Traytor's was
fixed upon the Walls of *York*, scorn'd with a Pa-
per Crown. And afterward when from a migh-
ty Prince he was become a miserable Exile, for-
ced by the Treason of his chiefest Counsell-
ors and Powers of his greatest Enemy to fly
into *Burgundy*, where he likewise met with but
a dissembled Amity: She restored him to what
at first she gave: And whereas his Forces were
so weak upon his Return into *England*, that de-
spairing of more, he humbly only desired to be
invested in his Father's Duchy, and vowed ne-
ver to attempt the Crown: She violently forc'd
it on him, protesting, by the Mouths of the
Nobility who resorted to him at *Nottingham*)
not to afford him Safety if he refused the So-
veraignty; by which amorous Way of threat-
ning, she in a manner wooed him to accept,
what he durst not then hope to recover. And
had the Appetite of Glory more prevail'd with
him, than the Sence of Pleasure, as far as we
may conjecture of his Fortune, he might have
extended his Victories over the World, which
are now straitned within the narrow Limits of
our Island.

The End of the Reign of King EDWARD the Fourth,

THE Remarkable OCCURRENCES

IN THE *Reign of EDWARD the Fourth.*

IN the beginning of this Government it rain'd Blood in *Bedfordshire*, the red Drops appearing on some Linnen that was hung out to be dry'd. *Hol.*

Tho' it may seem below the Dignity of History to take Notice of Fashions in dress, yet we do not think any Thing that may entertain the Curious too trivial to be inserted in this Place.

In the Seventh Year of the King's Reign, the People had an extravagant Way of adorning their Feet, which was thought of such ill Consequence, that a Proclamation was put forth against it. They wore the *Beaks* or *Pikes* of their Shooes so long, that it incumber'd them in their Walking, and they were forced to tie them up to their Knees; the fine Gentlemen did it with Chains of Silver, or Silver-gilt; and those who could not afford to be at the Charge of them, with Silk Laces: Which ridiculous Fashion had been in Vogue ever since the Year 1382, above Fourscore Years, and now 'twas prohibited on the Forfeiture of twenty Shillings, and the Pain of Cursing by the Clergy.

This Year the King concluded a League with *Henry K. of Castile*, and *John, K. of Arragon*; at the Conclusion of which he allow'd that certain *Cotswold* Sheep should be transported into *Spain*, where the Breed so increased, and the Wool was so much finer than that of *England*, that King *Edward's* Complacency for the Kings of *Spain* has been very detrimental to his own Country.

In the Eleventh Year of his Reign, Anno 1471, *William Caxton* a Mercer of *London*, a Lover of Letters, and a good Historian for those Times, Author of the Chronicle, call'd *Fructus Temporum*, brought the Art of Printing into *England*, and practised it first in *Westminster-Abby*.

In his Seventeenth Year there was so dreadful a Plague, that Historians relate more People were destroy'd by it, than by Fifteen Years War before.

In his Nineteenth Year, *Robert Bisfield, Esq.* one of the Sheriffs of *London*, was fined Fifty Pound by the Court of Aldermen, for affronting the Lord Mayor, which it seems was only in kneeling too near him at Prayers in *Paul's Church*.

In the following Year two notorious Thieves were pressed to Death for robbing *St. Martin's Le Grand Church* in *London*, and three others of the Gang hang'd and burnt.

In the Reigns of this King's Predecessors, Glory inspired the English Nobility with Valour, and produced many Heroes: Ambition, Envy and Revenge did the same now. Faction made the Barons of *England* Enemies to one another, and Hatred and Envy animated them to such daring Actions in destroying each other, that one would think their Courage was as Invincible as their Hate. Of these the most Famous on the Part of King *Henry* were,

Henry and *Edmund Beaufort*, Dukes of *Somerset*; *Henry Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Thomas Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*; *James Butler*, Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*; *John*, Earl of *Oxford*, his Son the Lord *Aubrey Vere*, and the Brave and Loyal Lord *John*, Earl of *Oxford* his other Son and Successor; the Lord *Hungerford*, the Lord *Rafs*, the Lord *Molins*; *John Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*; the Lord *Clifford*; *Ralph Nevil*, Earl of *Westmoreland*; the Lord *Wells*; the Lord *Bardolf*; the Lord *Fitz Walter*; Sir *Ralph Piercy*; Sir *John Newill*; Sir *Henry Newill*, Son to the Lord *Latimer*; Sir *Ralph Grey*, and Sir *Robert Wells*, Son to the Lord *Wells*. These all died for the Cause of the House of *Lancaster*, except the Earls of *Wiltshire* and *Oxford*.

On King *EDWARD's* Part the most Eminent were,

John Tiptoft, Earl of *Worcester*; the Earl of *Rivers*, and his Son Sir *Anthony Woodville*; *William*, Earl of *Kent*; the Lord *Cobham*; *Henry*, Lord *Bourchier*; the Lord *Audley*; the Lord *Clinton*; *William*, Lord *Hastings*, his Chamberlain and Favourite; the Lord *Scroop*; Sir *Walter Blunt*; *William*, Lord *Herbert*; Sir *Richard Herbert*; Sir *Thomas Burroughs*; Sir *John Howard*; the Lord *Say*; and Sir *Richard Walgrove*. The greater Part of these lost their Lives in the Quarrel of the House of *York*.

The following Lords were sometimes on the One Side, and sometimes on the Other; but at last they all dy'd in Defence of the Claim of the *White Rose*, as the *Lancastrians* were term'd, and the *Yorkists* the *Red*.

The first of these and of all the English Hero's was *Richard Nevill*, Earl of *Warwick*, surnam'd the King-Maker. He was a chief Instrument in deposing King *Henry* and crowning King *Edward*; In expelling King *Edward* and restoring King *Henry*; of the same Principles were his Brother *John*, Marquis *Mountacute*; *John*, Lord *Wenlock*; *Thomas Nevill*, call'd the Bastard of *Falconbridge*, and Sir *William Terrell*, equally Famous for their Courage and Inconstancy.

The Writers who liv'd in King EDWARD the Fourth's Days were,

Nicholas Kenton of *Suffolk*, Provincial of the *Carmelites* in *England*.

Henry Parker, a *Carmelite Fryer* of *Lancaster*, who preach'd against the *Pride* of the *Prelates*, for which he was imprison'd with one *Thomas Holden*.

John Gunthorpe, *Dean* of *Wells*, and *Keeper* of the *Privy-Seal*. He travell'd into *Italy*, where he studied *Rhetorick* under *Guarinus* of *Ferrara*.

Dr. William Ivy, *Prebend* of *Pauls*.

Thomas Wilton, *Dean* of *Pauls*.

Juliana Bemis, a *Lady* who wrote several *Treatises* of *Hawking* and *Hunting*, the *Laws* of *Arms* and *Heraldry*.

John Stamberie, a *West-Country-man*, *Bishop* of *Hereford*.

John Slueleis, Provincial of the *Augustine Fryers*.

Sir John Fortescue, *Lord Chief Justice* of *England*, wrote several *Treatises* of *Law* and *Politicks*.

Fryer Rochus, born in *London*, but studied in *Paris*. He was a *Poet*.

John Phreas studied under *Guarinus* of *Ferrara*, became very *Eloquent*, and was an eminent *Physician* and *Lawyer*.

Walter Hunt, a *Carmelite Fryer*, one of the *English* *Deputies* at the *Council* of *Ferrara*, where he disputed with the *Greeks* in *Defence* of the *Discipline* and *Ceremonies* of the *Roman Church*.

Thomas Wigenhall, a *Monk* of *Durham*.

Dr. John Hambois, a *Doctor* of *Musick*.

John Tiptoft, *Earl* of *Worcester*, wrote divers *Treatises* on various *Subjects*; He was beheaded in the *Year* 1471, by *Order* of the *Earl* of *Warwick* for siding with this *King*.

John Milwerton, a *Carmelite Fryer* of *Bristol*, Provincial of his *Order* thro' *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. He defended some of his *Fryers*

who were persecuted for writing against endowing the *Church* with *Temporal Possessions*; for which, being an unpardonable *Crime*, he was cited to *Rome*, imprison'd in the *Castle* of *St. Angelo*, and had not his *Liberty* till three *Years* after, when he was deliver'd by *Sentence* of the *Cardinals* appointed to be his *Judges*.

David Morgan a *Welsh Man*, *Treasurer* of the *Church* of *Landaff*, wrote a *Discription* of *Wales* and of its *Antiquities*.

John Shirwood, *Bishop* of *Durham*.

Thomas Kent, an excellent *Philosopher*.

Robert Huggen, a pretended *Prophet* of *Norfolk*.

Dr. John Maxfield, a learned *Physician*.

William Green, a *Carmelite Fryer*.

Thomas Norton of *Bristol*, a *Chymist*.

Dr. Rich. Porland, a *Franciscan Fryer* of *Norfolk*.

Dr. Thomas Milling, *Bishop* of *Hereford*.

Mr. Scogan, a *Student* of *Oxford*, a celebrated *Wit* according to those *Times*: He was sent for to *Court*, and diverted the *King*, *Queen* and *Courtiers* with his *Frolicks* and *Jests*.

Those that follow were Historians.

Nicholas Mountacute, *A. M.* of *Eaton School*.

Roger Albanus, a *Carmelite* of *London*.

William Caxton, a *Mercer* of *London*, whom we have elsewhere mention'd: he wrote a *Hi-ry* stil'd *Fruetus Temporum*, an *Appendix* to *Trevisa*, and translated several *Books* into *English*.

John Harding, *Esq*; wrote a *Chronicle* in *English Verse*: Wherein he collected all the *Homes* paid by the *Scots Kings* to the *Kings* of *England*, proving the *Superiority* of the *Crown* of *England* over that of *Scotland*.

John Rouse of *Warwickshire*, a *Canon* of *Osney*, who dy'd *Anno* 1491.

THE





T H E
LIFE and REIGN
O F
K. EDWARD V.
A N D
RICHARD III.

By Sir THO. MOOR.

An. Reg.
I.
1483.

His Suc-
cession,
and Age.

State of
Affairs at
his Fa-
ther's
Death.

The
Queen's
Contri-
vance, for
his Securi-
ty and Suc-
cession.

BY the Death of King *Edward IV.* the first Prince of the *York Line*, the Inheritance of the Crown descended by the Right of Succession to his Eldest Son *Edward*, then Prince of *Wales*, who from that Day (viz. *April 9. 1483.*) was stil'd King of *England*, and proclaim'd such by the Name of *Edward V.* being then about 13 Years of Age. (a) In his Father's Sickness, which was something long, and tho' lingering was judg'd mortal, Necessities of State, and the Peace of the Nation had oblig'd that King to separate his Nobles and Kindred from him; which gave them an Opportunity of forming new Contrivances and Schemes among themselves to be put in Execution after his Death; which, notwithstanding the King's Foresight and Endeavours to prevent, prov'd fatal to his Son. The Prince of *Wales* himself was sent down to *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, that by his Presence he might Compose the Disorders of the *Welsh*; who, tho' not in actual Rebellion, yet were grown so Unruly, and Disobedient to their Governours and Superiors, that the Magistrates with all their Power, were not Able to suppress the Dissentions and Disorders, Robberies and Wrongs committed by them. The Wildom of this Action appear'd in the present Effect it had upon them: for the *Welsh*, who have always been very Affectionate to those Princes, who have born the Title of their Principality, as being Memorials of their Ancient Liberty and Dominion; shewed a wonderful Respect to him; and tho' but a Child, were more Obedient to him, than ever they were known to their Ancient Magistrates. The Queen, who had a mighty Sway over the King's Affections, and never more than at this time, had so framed Matters, that for the Security of her Son, the Prince, as well as for their Honour

and Interest, all her own Kindred and Relations were placed in the greatest Offices about him; by which Contrivance she thought to secure his Right and their Power, against all her and their Enemies: for the Queen's Brother *Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers*, a Wife and Valiant Man, was appointed his Governour; and *Richard Lord Grey*, the Queen's Son by her former Husband, with others of her Friends and Kin, had other Offices about him; and that *London* the Regal Seat might be kept to her Son's Interests, in his Absence, *Thomas Grey* her Eldest Son, being created *Marquess Dorset*, was made Governour of the *Tower*, and not only the Arms of that Magazine, but the King's Treasure put into his Hands. These things the Ancient Nobility of the Nation, of whom *Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham*, and *William Lord Hastings*, Chamberlain to King *Edward*, were the Chief, bore with much Indignation, as knowing, that if the Queen, and her Kindred were so insolent and imperious when they had a King over them, who, tho' too willing to yield to their Humours and Desires for the Queen's Sake, yet kept them within some Bounds of Modesty and Subjection, they would grow most intolerable when they had a Young Prince under their Command, and might abuse his Power as they pleas'd, to fulfil their Wills, and so they should be in greater Danger and Contempt under the New King, than they had been under the Old; tho' even by him few of them were trusted, or regarded. These Pre-sages of Unhappy Times, made them entertain the Thoughts and Resolutions of getting the Prince into their Power, if the King should Die, and to put him under the Government of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who might justly Claim that Place, as the next Prince of the Blood, and their Uncle by Father's Side, and would certainly put

1483.

The An-
cient No-
bility's re-
sentments
of her
Actions.

(a) This Unfortunate Prince was Born in Sept. 1470. His Mother, Queen *Elizabeth*, was Delivered of him in Sanctuary; which she was escap'd from the Earl of *Warwick*, who had driven her Husband King *Edward* out of *England*. The Abbot and Prior of *Wistmister* were his Godfathers, the Lady *Scroop* his Godmother, and the whole Ceremony of his Christning as mean as a Poor Man's Child.

1483. the Affairs of the Nation into the Right Current, by Honouring and Entrusting the Ancient Nobility more. But whether they had Communicated their Designs to the Duke of Gloucester or no, is uncertain, because he was then at York, being lately return'd from his Expedition to the Borders of Scotland, whither he had been sent by his Brother to repress the sudden Invasions of those People, who, upon the Breach with Lewis XI. the French King, were grown very troublesome Neighbours to the English. This Duke remaining here unemploy'd, began to cast his Thoughts upon the Succession to the Crown, and to consider, how many things made for his Title, tho' his Brother's Children stood between it and him, in the Eye of the World: which yet ought to be no Hindrance to his Claim, if Justice and Right were on his Side. And first, He call'd to Mind, that in the Attainder of his Brother George Duke of Clarence, it was alledg'd against him, "That to advance himself to the Kingdom, and for ever to disable the King, and his Posterity from inheriting the Crown, he had contrary to Truth, Nature, and Religion, Viper-like destroying her who gave him Life, publish'd, that King Edward was a Bastard, and so no Way capable to Reign; and that he himself therefore was true Heir of the Kingdom, and the Royalty and Crown belong'd to him and his Heirs. As also that there was a Report grounded upon vehement Presumptions, that the Duke of Clarence himself was a Bastard. Which Malicious Calumnies, tho' he did not believe, and was more loath to Alledge against his Mother as true, yet he thought they might be thus far serviceable to him, that since both his Brothers were now Dead, or Dying, he was the Only Legitimate Issue of Richard Duke of York; and so unquestionably the Right Heir to the Crown, if the Issue of his Brothers were either thereby, or any other Ways made incapable of it. And as to the Children of the Duke of Clarence, they were render'd incapable of the Crown by the Attainder of their Father, and need not that Bastardy be pleaded against them. The only Bar of his Title was then the Children of his Brother King Edward, by the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Marriage with whom having at first begotten a great Contest, and being violently Opposed by his Mother the Duchess of York upon this Ground, because he was before married to the Lady Eleanor Butler, Widow of Thomas Lord Butler, Baron of Sudesley, and Daughter of John Lord Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; he resolv'd to search narrowly into the Truth of it, not only to Vindicate his own Right, but to keep the Royal Line from the foul Blot of an Illegitimate Succession. This Inquiry he made by Men both Diligent and Faithful, by whose labour he got the Depositions of several Persons concerning it; and among others. (as Philip de Comines relates) the Testimony of Dr. Thomas Stillington, Bishop of Bath, to this Effect, according to the Words of the Author; "Le Evesque de Bath (lequel avoit este Counciller du Roy Edward) disoit, que le dit Roy avoit promis Foy de Mariage à une Dame d'Angleterre, & que il avoit nomme Dame Eleanor Talbot, & que le Roy avoit fait la Promise entre les Mains du dict Evesque, & dit aussi c'est Evesque, qu'avait apres Espouse, & n'y avoit, que luy, & ceux deux. Which is thus English'd: The Bishop of Bath, a Privy Councillor of King Edward, said, That the said King had Plighted his Faith to Marry a Lady of England, whom the Bishop named the Lady Eleanor Talbot,

and that this Contract was made between the Hands of the said Bishop, who said that afterwards he Married them, no Persons being present but they two, and he the King charging him strictly not to reveal it. These Proofs the Duke caused to be drawn up into an Authentick Form, and consulted the most Eminent Doctors and Proctors of the Civil Law, who unanimously gave their Judgments, that King Edward's Children were Bastards, the King having another Wife before their Mother; and consequently that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only undoubted Heir to the Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who was adjudged to be the true Heir to the Crown of this Realm by Authority of Parliament. And thus the Duke of Gloucester having cleared up his Title to the Crown kept it secret, till he should have a fair Opportunity after his Brother's Death to vindicate his own Right, with as little Disturbance to the Peace of the Nation, and Dishonour to his Nephews, as was possible; tho' it is probable, that one Potter of Redcross-street without Cripple-gate, a Servant of the Duke's, who was Privy to the Business, unwarily discover'd it, by telling one Mistlebrunke, who brought him the News of King Edward's Death; Then, says he, will my Master the Duke of Gloucester be King: which Words tho' startling to him, yet the Grounds of them not being known, made little Noise, till the Duke of Gloucester was on the Throne.

These Foundations of Discord being laid, tho' privately, in the Life of the Father, receiv'd a Perfection immediately after his Death, and began with the Reign of the Son; tho' to satisfy the King on his Death-Bed the two Parties had shaken hands as Friends, and promis'd to forget all former Injuries. For the Queen, as if she had been conscious that her Pride had been too great to be forgiven, presently after her Husband's Death, writes down to her Brother the Earl of Rivers to raise such a Body of Men, as might be sufficient to defend him against the Lords, and bring her Son up to London to be crown'd, that it might not be in the Power of her Enemies to keep him from the actual Possession of the Throne; which Order the said Earl as carefully obey'd. On the Other-side, the Duke of Buckingham, as Zealous to carry on the Design of himself and his Party, to take the King out of the hands of his Mother's Kindred, sent a Trusty Servant of his, named Pursival, to the City of York, to propound their Design to the Duke of Gloucester, and to offer him, if need requir'd, a Thousand stout Fellows to assist him in the Effecting of it. The Duke of Gloucester looking upon this Tender, as the first Step to his greater Design, willingly comply'd with the Proposal, and sending the Messenger back with many Thanks to his Master, and other private Instructions, contrived a Meeting soon after about Northampton; where the two Dukes, with all the Lords and Gentlemen their Friends, and 900 Men in their Retinue, came at the time agreed on. Here they entred into a Consultation immediately upon their Arrival, and the Duke of Gloucester, who was the Chief Man in the Action, communicated the Necessity and Reasonableness of the Undertaking, to all the Lords and Gentlemen assembled, in words to this Effect: "That it was neither reasonable, nor tolerable, to leave the Young King their Master in the Hands and Custody of his Mother's Kindred; who to engross all Honour to themselves, would exclude the Rest of the Nobility from their Attendance on him, tho' all of them were as ready and willing to perform all the Services of

The Civil
ians con-
sulted a-
bout King
Edward's
Issue.

The Acti-
ons of dif-
ferent Par-
ties.

The Lords
to take
the King
And Glou-
cester's
Speech to
encourage
them to it

D. of Glou-
cester's Ti-
tle to the
Crown af-
ter K. Ed-
ward's
Death.

Anno 17.
Edu. 4.

In vita
Lud. XI.
c. 112. and
122.

1483. " of a good Subject to him, as themselves, and
 " many of them a far more honourable Part of
 " his Kindred, than those of his Mother's Side,
 " whose Blood, (saying that it was the King's
 " Pleasure to have it so) was very unfit to be
 " match'd with his. But granting it allowable
 " for the King to do as he pleased; yet that
 " all the Ancient Nobility should be remov'd
 " from the King's Presence, and only the least
 " Noble left about him, is neither honourable
 " to his Majesty, nor to Us, and must in the
 " issue be both dangerous to the Nation in ge-
 " neral, and unsafe to his Majesty; for will not
 " this Strangeness make the King's most Potent
 " Friends either turn his utter Enemies, or be-
 " come very indifferent to his Service, when
 " they see their Inferiors both in Birth and
 " Power in greatest Authority and Credit with
 " him, and themselves likely to live in Dis-
 " grace for ever, because the King, being in his
 " Youth fram'd to the Love and Liking of them,
 " and to a Dislike of others, will very hardly
 " in his Riper Years alter his Affections. They
 " could not but remember, that the late King
 " Edward himself, altho' he was a Man of Age
 " and Discretion, yet was often so over-ruled
 " by his Wife and her Friends, that he did ma-
 " ny things inconsistent with his own Honour,
 " our Safety, and the Nation's Welfare, merely
 " to advance them and establish their Power.
 " And if the Friendship of some Persons had
 " not prevail'd more with the King, sometimes,
 " than the Suits of his Kindred, they had be-
 " fore this brought some of us to Ruin, as they
 " did some of as great Degree as any of us.
 " And tho' indeed those Dangers are now past,
 " yet as great are growing, if we suffer the
 " Young King, still to remain in their Hands,
 " who, we see, value not the Destruction of any
 " that stand in the Way of their Designs, or
 " the Road to their Greatness. Will they not en-
 " gross all Honours, and Places of Trust to them-
 " selves, and whenever they have occasion, abuse
 " his Name and Authority to any of our De-
 " structions? Can we imagin, that their old
 " Resentments are so quite bury'd, that they will
 " not remember to revenge them upon the least
 " Disgust, and, now their Pride is arm'd with
 " Authority, become implacable to most of us,
 " to whom they have ever had malice enough
 " to ruin us, and wanted nothing but what they
 " have now, Authority to vent it upon us?
 " That these things consider'd, it was their
 " greatest Wisdom to take the Young King out
 " of their Enemies Hands, and not suffer things
 " to continue in the Posture they are now in
 " any longer: for tho' indeed there appears an
 " outward Friendship for the Present, which
 " was, and is the Effect more of the King's de-
 " sire than their own; yet we shall find, that
 " their old Enmity will revive with their Power,
 " and their long accusom'd Malice will be
 " strengthen'd with their Authority, in which
 " if we endure them once to be settled, it will
 " not be in all our Powers to oppose them
 " effectually; and therefore now's the Time to
 " prevent all Mischiefs by taking away the Cause
 " of them. These Words and Perswasions mo-
 " ved all present to engage heartily in the Busi-
 " ness; and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord
 " Hastings, who were Men both of great Power
 " and Interest, shew'd such a Forwardness in the
 " Attempt, that all the rest were encourag'd by
 " their Example to be Assistants and Followers of
 " them; and many, which were not present, were
 " drawn in by the Duke of Gloucester's Letters to
 " promise their help in the same Affair, if there
 " were further Occasion.

Queen's
Kindred
accused.

1483. While the Lords were thus consulting, and
 contriving to get the King into their Hands, with-
 out the Knowledge or Privy of the Queen and
 her Friends, the Duke of Gloucester receiv'd the
 News, that the Lord Rivers had gather'd a strong
 Body of armed Men, and with them was ready
 to bring up the King to London to his Corona-
 tion; which unexpected report surprized them
 much, because it broke all their Measures at
 once, it being impossible for them, tho' they had
 a good Number of Attendants, to effect their
 Design, if he were brought to London under a
 strong Guard; especially considering, that as on
 the one hand the Earl of Rivers was a Valiant
 and Experienc'd Soldier; so if they should gain
 the King by Force, besides the danger of the
 King's Person, it would look like an Open Re-
 bellion: Whereupon the Duke of Gloucester, and
 his Friends, rather chose to overturn Force by
 Policy, and to that end privately order'd some
 of his Friends, who were about the Queen, to
 represent to her, " That as it was no ways ne-
 cessary to bring the King to London with an
 Army of Attendants, as tho' he were to pass
 thro' an Enemy's and not his own Country,
 so it would be dangerous to the King's Per-
 son and Government; for whereas now all
 the Lords seem'd to be perfect Friends, and
 to study nothing but the Honour of the King,
 and the Triumph of his Coronation, if they
 see the Lords about his Royal Person, whom
 so lately they thought their Enemies, to gather
 great Numbers of Men armed about them in
 the King's Name, they will immediately sus-
 spect and fear, that those Men are intended
 not so much for the King's Safety as their
 Destruction, and so they would take them-
 selves obliged for their own Defence to raise
 an equal Force, and fill the Nation with Up-
 roar and Confusion, to the Danger of the
 King and Breach of the Peace; and therefore
 such Methods of Action ought carefully to be
 avoided, especially since her Son was a Child,
 and in the Beginning of his Reign. These
 Reasons seem'd plausible to the Queen, who was
 not suspicious of the Evil designed, and very
 willing to submit to any thing for the Good of
 her Son, and his quiet Settlement on the Throne;
 and therefore without delay wrote Letters to
 her Brother the Lord Rivers, ordering him to
 dismiss all her Son's extraordinary Attendants
 and Guards, and hasten to London with only
 his own Household Servants and usual Retinue.
 The Duke of Gloucester also, much about the same
 time, sent Letters to the Lord Rivers, with full
 Assurances of Duty and Subjection to the King
 his Nephew, and Love and Friendship to him-
 self; so that he seeing all things Calm and
 Peaceable, concurred readily with the Queen's
 Desires, and leaving his armed Men behind him,
 came up with no greater Number of Followers,
 than was necessary to shew the King's Honour
 and Greatness. In their Way about Northampton,
 the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, with
 their Retinues, had layn some Days, and hearing
 of the King's Arrival met him at Northampton;
 but because that Town was not big enough to
 hold both their Companies, they advis'd, that
 the King should go forward to Stony-Stratford to
 lodge there, and they would stay at Northam-
 pton, inviting the Lord Rivers to lodge with
 them, that they might enjoy his Company that
 Evening. The Lord Rivers, hoping to improve
 his Friendship with them by Compliance, dis-
 missed his Company, and took his Lodgings with
 the Dukes, who feasted him that Night with
 all Demonstrations of Joy, and Signs of Friend-
 ship.

1483. The Duke
of Gloucester
dis-
swadesthe
Q. from
bringing
the King
to London
with a
Guard.

Queen
submitted
his Ad-
vice

1483. ship, till they parted with him to his Lodgings. But as soon as he was gone, the two Dukes with a Select number of their Friends enter'd into a Consultation, and spent the greatest part of the Night in it: what their Resolutions were, the next Day's Actions shew. In the Morning they got up very early, and by private Orders had all their Servants ready to Attend them, before the Lord Rivers or his Servants were stirring. The Keys of the Inn, wherein they all were, they took into their own Custody; and pretending that they themselves would be the first in the Morning, who should be at *Stony-Stratford* to Attend the King, they sent a certain Number of their Retinue to Line the Way, and suffer none to enter that Town, till they should arrive to wait on his Majesty; for the Dukes were resolv'd (as it was given out) to be the first that Morning who should go to the King from *Northampton*. All this was done without Lord Rivers Knowledge or Advice, who therefore when he came to hear it, was very much surpriz'd at the thing, and so much the more, because neither himself, nor Servants were permitted to go out of the Inn. His Thoughts were in a great hurry, and what the Reason should be, he could not conjecture. He easily saw thro' their weak Pretences, and began to fear, that his last Night's Cheer might prove a bait to Falshood and Treachery: Fly he could not if he were Guilty, but not being conscious of any Wrong done them, which might provoke them to Revenge, he resolv'd to go to the Dukes, and demand of them the Reason and Cause of this Action, which he accordingly did: But instead of giving him an Answer, they quarrell'd with him, and told him with great Passion, "That he was one of them, who had labour'd all he could to alienate the King's Mind from them, and stir up a Diffension between the King and his Nobles, that he might bring them and their Families to Confusion: but now they would take Care that it should not lye in his Power." The Lord Rivers was an Eloquent and well-spoken Man, and began to make his Defence calmly and coolly; but they would hear no Excuses, nor suffer him to make Answer, and committing him to the Custody of some of their Servants, till they should give further Orders concerning him, they mounted their Horses, and rode in haste to the King at *Stony-Stratford*. When they were come into the Royal Presence, (the King being ready to Mount to leave Room for their Companies) they alighted from their Horses with all their Attendants, and saluted the King upon their Knees, who received them freely and favourably, not mistrusting in the least what had been done. They pretended that they came only to wait on his Majesty in his Journey, and to that end the Duke of Buckingham call'd aloud to the Gentlemen and Yeomen to keep their Places, and march forward. But before the King was out of the Town they pick'd a Quarrel with the Lord Richard Gray, the Queen's Son and the King's half Brother, charging him in the King's Presence, "That he and the Marquess Dorset, with his Uncle the Lord Rivers, had conspir'd together to rule the King and Realm while the King was in his Minority; and to that end had stirr'd up Divisions among the Nobles, that by subduing some of them, they might destroy the rest: And for the more effectual Accomplishment of this their Design, the Lord Marquess had enter'd into the Tower of London, and had taken from thence all the King's Treasure, and sent several Ships to Sea with it, that none might be able to

1483. oppose him. The King, who not only was Young, and unexperienc'd in State-Affairs, but having been absent sometime, was ignorant of such Matters of Fact as his Brother was charged with, yet gave a very Judicious Answer to the Accusation; That he could not tell what his Brother the Marquess had done; but in good faith, he said, he dare well Answer for his Uncle Rivers, and his Brother Richard, that they were both Innocent of any such Matter, having been continually with him. The Duke of Buckingham reply'd, That they had kept the knowledge of their Actions from his good Grace, and forthwith they Arrested the said Lord Grey, with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Howse in the King's Presence; and then instead of going forward, return'd back again with the King to *Northampton*; where they displaced all such Persons, who had any Offices about the King, as they could not confide in, and enter'd into serious Consultation about their farther Proceedings. The King was much troubled at these Dealings, and wept because he had not Power to defend Himself or his Friends, but the Lords had now obtain'd their Designs, and valu'd not who took, what they did, well or ill: yet they gave the King all the respect of good Subjects; and promis'd the Queen's Kindred that all should be well; but when they left *Northampton*, they sent them to divers Prisons in the North for a time, and at length, tho' they pretended they should have a fair Tryal to answer to several Misdemeanours which they had to lay to their Charge, they were all brought to *Pomfract* Castle in order to their Execution.

These Actions of the Lords being done under a shew of Friendship, and carrying in them something of Violence and Treachery, begat a great Amazement in all Places where they were known, and few Men construed them, as the Lords wish'd, but look'd upon them as the Prologues to the King's Destruction. The Queen, who was particularly certify'd of the same Night, that the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, and others of their Party, whom she look'd upon as her implacable Enemies, had taken her Son the King, and imprison'd her Brother Rivers, and Son Richard Grey, with other of her Friends, in Places Remote and Unknown, fell into a bitter Passion of Grief, and bewailed the Destruction of her Child, and other Friends, Cursing the Hour in which she credulously harken'd to the Perswasions of her false Friends, and by ordering her Son's Guards to be dismiss'd, had expos'd him and her Kindred to the Malice and base Designs of her Enemies. But since to indulge herself in her just Grief, and neglect a Provision for her own, and those Childrens Safety which she had with her, would make her Case worse than it was at present; therefore she resolv'd to lay aside her Sorrow for the present, and get herself, the Duke of York her 2d Son, and her five Daughters, with what Goods were Necessary for her Use into the Sanctuary at *Westminster*; and thereupon at Midnight order'd her Servants, and what help could be had, to remove them with all speed thither; where being receiv'd into the Abbot's Lodgings, she and her Children and all her Company were immediately Registred for Sanctuary Persons, and so look'd upon themselves, as in an inviolable Fortrefs against their Enemies Power or Malice. The Lord Hastings, who was Chamberlain, was at the same time at Court, and tho' a Conspirator with the Lords, yet made a quite different Interpretation of the Lords Actions; because he being truly Loyal, and heartily desiring the Welfare of the

The Duke of Gloucester and Buckingham quarrel with the Lord Grey, and arrest him.

The Queen, and her Children fly to Sanctuary at Westminster.

The Lord Hastings.

1483. the King, believed, that they had no further Intent, then to take him out of the Government of the Queen's Kindred, whose Insolencies were intolerable; and from whom he himself in the late Reign was often in danger of his Life: He was therefore much pleas'd to see the Queen and her Friends in such a Fright, and not doubting but the Nation would be much better govern'd than before, and the King much happier in the Hands of the Ancient Nobility, rejoiced to see the Downfall of the Queen, and her Relations, whose Pride they had felt long enough in the late King's Reign; but that he might give the Nobility about the Court a true Information of the Lords Action, he dispatch'd a Messenger the same night to Dr. Rotherham (a) Archbishop of York, and then Lord Chancellor, who liv'd in York-Place by Westminster, to assure him, "That the Lords Intentions were honourable, and for the Nations Welfare: and tho' the Imprisonment of the Queen's Kindred, and the Queen's Fears, who was flying in great haste and confusion into Sanctuary, had no good Aspect; yet he should find that all things would in the end prove well. The Archbishop, who was awaked out of his first Sleep by his Servants, and something amazed at the suddenness of the News, reply'd, Say'st thou, that all shall be well? I can't see what good can be expected from such Demeanour. Pray tell him, That be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as we have seen it: and so he sent the Messenger back again to his Master. But the Archbishop was in too great a Disturbance to return to his Rest; and therefore immediately rose, and calling up all his Servants, went with them arm'd to the Queen at her Palace, and carried the Great Seal along with him. He found all things there in a Tumult, the Servants removing Trunks and Householdstuff to carry them into the Sanctuary: The Queen he saw sitting upon the Floor on Mats, lamenting her own and her Children's Miseries and Misfortunes. The Archbishop, who was no ways engaged in the Conspiracy against her, much compassionated her Case and Grief; and endeavouring to comfort her, told her the Message which he had received from the Lord Hastings not an Hour before, by which he was assured, that Matters were nothing so bad as she imagin'd, that the King was in safe Hands, and doubted not but all would be well. The Queen, who had an invincible Odium to Hastings, as soon as she heard his Name, reply'd, "That nothing was to be believ'd that came from him, being one of them that sought the Destruction of herself and her Blood. The Archbishop seeing her not thus to be comforted, assur'd her for himself, That he would be Constant to her; and if the Lords should deal ill with the Prince, and crown any other Person King besides her Son, he would on the Morrow crown his Brother the Duke of York, whom she had then in Sanctuary with her. And; that, Madam, (says he) you may be certain of my Integrity, Lo! here I leave with you the Grate Seal of England, the Badge of Regal Power, without which nothing of Moment in State Affairs can be done. His Father your Husband gave it me, and I here return it to you to keep it for his Children, and secure their Right; and if I could give you any greater Testimony of my Loyalty, I would do it: and so he departed to his own House in the dawning of the Morning, not considering what he had done in resigning the Seal. The next day the City of London was in an Up-

roar, and divers Lords and Gentlemen took Arms, and assembled great Companies of Citizens and others for their own Defence, till they should see what the Lords intended; for the general Report was, that what was done to the Lord Rivers, and the others with him, was but a Blind to the People: the real Design of the Nobility was to keep the King from his Coronation, and deprive him of his Right; and this they were the more confirm'd in, because great Numbers of the Duke of Gloucester's Servants and Friends were about the City and on the Thames, who examin'd all that pass'd, and kept any Persons from taking Sanctuary. In these Tumults Archbishop Rotherham, fearing least there should be a just Occasion to shew his Authority, and troubled that he had deliver'd up the Great Seal to the Queen, to whom it did not belong, without the King's Order, sent privately for the Seal again and obtain'd it. In the mean time, the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, whose Loyalty was not question'd, and who was suppos'd not to be ignorant of the Lords Intentions, went into the City to appease the Tumults, and calling the Lords and Gentlemen together who headed the Commonalty, told them, That tho' the Suddenness of the Lords Actions was surprizing, because the Reasons were not generally known; yet he could assure them, that the Duke of Gloucester was true and faithful to his Prince, of which he had given many undeniable Proofs in his Brother's Reign, and would continue the same to his Son: That the Lords Rivers and Grey, and the Knights apprehended with them, were imprison'd for certain Conspiracies plotted against the Life of the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, as would appear evidently at their Trials, which was design'd shortly to be had before all the Lords of his Majesty's Council: That their taking Arms in such a Riotous and Seditious manner would prove of very dangerous Consequence to themselves, if they did not speedily lay them down, as they had without just Reason or Cause taken them up; and therefore he advis'd them to depart to their Dwellings, and not pretend to Judge or Censure the Actions of their Superiors, who meant nothing but the Common good, till they knew the Truth of their Designs, lest they themselves should be the only Damages to the Publick, and hinder the King's Coronation, which the Lords were coming up to London to effect with all convenient speed. With these words the Chamberlain so pacify'd the Discontents of the Citizens, that all things were for the present at quiet.

By this time the Lords, who seem'd as Zealous for the King's Coronation as his Uncle had been, and behaved themselves with such wonderful Reverence and Respect to the King, even from the time that he came into their Hands, that he suspected no ill Designs in them, were upon their march to London, which caus'd the People to be the more Easie, since they thought that now they should soon discern their Intentions. By the Way as they pass'd, the Duke of Gloucester assum'd nothing upon the Account of his Birth or Greatness, but demean'd himself as a Dutiful Subject; and that he might give a Demonstration to the People of the treacherous and cruel Designs of the Lord Rivers, and the Queen's Friends, against himself and the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke's Servants shew'd the Barrels of Harness which they had privily convey'd in their Carriages to Murder them;

Archbishop Rotherham sends for the Seal again.

Lord Hastings appeases the Tumults.

The King brought to London.

(a) His Name was Thomas Scot, he was call'd Rotherham from the Place of his Birth in Yorkshire.

1483. and tho' indeed some laugh'd at the Weakness of the Suggestion, because if they really intended to have so used them, their Harness had better been on their Backs than in Barrels; yet they pretended they were seized before the Plot was come fully to Execution, and so aggravated Matters, that the common People believ'd the truth of it, and cry'd out, *That it would be a great Charity to the Nation to hang them.* When the King and Dukes drew near the City of London, *Edmund Shaw* Goldsmith, then Mayor, and *William White* and *John Matthews* Sheriffs, with all their Brethren the Aldermen in Scarlet, and 500 Commoners on Horseback in Purple-colour'd Gowns met them at *Harnsey-Park*, and with great Honour and Reverence conducted him thro' their City to the Bishop of London's Palace, near *St. Paul's Church*, on the 4th of May.

In this Solemn Cavalcade the Behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester to the King was very remarkable, for he rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud Voice said to the People, *Behold your Prince and Sovereign*; giving them on all Occasions such an Example of Reverence and Duty as might teach them how to honour and respect their Prince; by which Actions he so won upon all the Spectators, that they look'd on the late Misrepresentations of him as the Effects of his Enemies Malice, and he was on all hands accounted the Best, as he was the first Subject in the Kingdom. At the Bishop's Palace he did the King Homage, and invited all the Nobility to do the same; by which he put his Loyalty out of dispute with the Nobles, as he had done before with the Commons. Within a few days after, a Great Council of the Nobility

met to settle the Government, and choose a Protector according to the usual Custom in the Minority of their Kings, and the Duke of Gloucester was, without the least Contradiction appointed to Manage that Honourable Station, not only as the King's Uncle, and the next Prince of the Blood, and a Person fit for that Trust, as of eminent Judgment and Courage; but as one that was most Loyal and Loving to the King, and likely to prove the most Faithful in that Station. By this Council was the Archbishop of York much blamed for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen, and being deprived of his Councillorship, the Seal was given in the beginning of June to Dr. *John Russel* Bishop of Lincoln, a Wise and good Man, and of very great Experience in State Affairs. Several other Inferior Officers of the Court were displaced, and others more fit put in their Room. The Lord Chamberlain *Hastings* was continu'd in his Office, with some others whom the Protector and Council had no great Objections against; and so the Council being dissolved, the Protector betook himself to his Double Care: 1. Of the King to Content and Please him, as well as Educate him and Crown him. 2. Of the State and People, to rule so well as might be for the King's Honour and general Good and Welfare of the Nation.

The Protector desires the Duke of York to be brought to the King. King *Edward*, who was now under the sole Care and Government of his Uncle *Richard* Duke of Gloucester, made Protector by the Nobility, and general Approbation of the People, being displeased at the Violent Actions of the Lords towards his Mother's Relations, whom not only continual Converse, but Nature had endeared to him, and seeing his Mother and Brother in Sanctuary, as if she had fear'd the same

hard Usage, if not worse, was not contented with the present Disposition of Affairs; and tho' he being Young could not help what was done, yet he could not willingly submit to it. The Protector, who was a very Sagacious Person, and shew'd all Readiness to satisfy the King's Will, and discharge his Station well, soon discern'd the Causes of the King's Uneasiness, and considering how much the Reasons of the King's Grief reflected upon his Reputation, as well as hinder'd his Designs in bringing the King to his Coronation, (for why should the Queen with her Children continue in Sanctuary, unless it were that she was Jealous of some Wrong and Injury from him, who having the Supream Power now in his hands could only hurt her? And what a lame Ceremony would the Coronation be, if the Queen and the King's only Brother bore not a Part in it, but instead of that were deterred from it) he resolv'd to remove these Rubs in the way of his Government and Designs; and to that end calling a Council, he deliver'd himself to this Purpose: (a) "Let me perish for ever if it be not my greatest, my continual Care to promote the Happiness and Welfare of the King my Nephew, and all my Brother's Family; being sensible, that not only the Nation's, but my own Ruin is the unavoidable Consequence of their Misfortunes: and therefore since it hath pleased you, who are the Nobles of the Land, and to whom it belongs chiefly to Provide for the good Government of it in the Minority of the King, to confer that weighty Employment of Ruling all upon my self, as I shall always look upon my self only as the King's and your Deputy, so I shall, in all difficult Matters of State, look upon you as my Helpers and Assistants, and not dare to move one Step without your Council and Advice, that so I may have your Approbation in all I do, that it is for the Good of the King and Welfare of all. In the Management of the Station you have placed me in, I do find, that the Queen's Continuance in the Sanctuary with her Children, is such an invincible Impediment in the Execution of my Place, that I cannot but propound the manifest Inconveniencies of it; and so much the rather, because I expected, that so good a Settlement as your Lordships had made in the last Council would have remov'd her Womanish Fears, and she would have return'd to Court to the Contentment of his Majesty and us all: but since she persists in her Mischievous Purposes, it is evident, that if Fear drove her into the Sanctuary, 'tis nothing but Malice that keeps her there; for she, who is no impolitick Woman, sees several unavoidable Mischiefs redounding to the Publik, and to his Majesty by this her Action, which had she not some ill Designs she would carefully avoid. And first, what greater Affront can be offer'd to you of his Majesty's Council, than for the Queen and Children to remain in Sanctuary? Will not the People upon so unexpected a Resolution make these Inferences from it, that doubtless they are in very great Danger, and that you who are in Power are her implacable Enemies, since neither her Son's Authority, nor her own and Children's Greatness, are sufficient to Secure them, but they are forc'd to seek Protection from the Church, which is the Asylum of the greatest Criminals? And

(a) This Speech did not begin with a Curse, according to the Copy in *Holinshed*, nor is it entirely the same as in *Holinshed*, Pag. 717.

1483. " what an intolerable Injury is this to you? But
 " if you shall think fit to pass this Wrong over,
 " yet his Majesty's Discontents are not to be
 " over-look'd, who wanting the Company of his
 " Brother, with whom chiefly he uses to Re-
 " create himself, leads a melancholy and dis-
 " contented Life, which doubtless if not timely
 " prevented may endanger his Health; for the
 " good State of the Body does not long last usu-
 " ally, when the Mind is disturb'd. Sorrow of
 " Mind drieth up the Bones, especially in Youth,
 " and want of moderate Recreation and suitable
 " Company begets a Dulness and Pensiveness,
 " which brings Diseases and Distempers on the
 " Body, which proves fatal. Wherefore since
 " even Kings themselves must have some Com-
 " pany, and they are too great for their Sub-
 " jects generally, it seems Necessary that his
 " Brother, who comes nearest an Equality with
 " him, should be sent for to him, that he may
 " refresh himself with him. And thus we may
 " hope that the King will not only be satisfy'd
 " and pleas'd, but we shall be freed from the ill
 " Opinion which certainly all foreign Princes
 " have of us; for as long as he continues in
 " Sanctuary, they will either censure us as
 " cruel or tyrannical, or deride us as impo-
 " tent or weak. But besides, the Coronation
 " of the King being the main thing now in Agi-
 " tation, how can we proceed in it with any heart
 " or earnestness, while the Queen and Duke of
 " York are in Sanctuary? What sort of Men shall
 " we be thought, who at the same time we
 " crown one Brother, so terrifie the other, that
 " he is forc'd to abide at the Altar of the same
 " Church for his Safety. Who can with Satis-
 " faction officiate at this great Ceremony, while
 " the Duke of York, whose Place is next to the
 " King, is absent from it. It is therefore my
 " Opinion, these Reasons and Considerations be-
 " ing well weighed, that some Honourable and
 " Trusty Person, who cannot be doubted to
 " tender the King's Wealth, and Reputation of
 " the Council, and is in Credit with the Queen,
 " be sent to her to demand the Release of the
 " Duke of York: And for this Office, I think
 " no Person better qualify'd than the most Re-
 " verend Father my Lord Cardinal, (a) the
 " Archbishop of Canterbury, who may be the
 " most prevailing Mediator in this Matter, if
 " he pleases to take the Trouble upon him,
 " which of his great Goodness, I do believe he will
 " not refuse for the King's Sake and ours, and
 " the Wealth of the Young Duke himself, the
 " King's most honourable Brother, and for the
 " Comfort of my Sovereign Lord himself, my
 " most Dearest Nephew, considering that it will
 " be a certain means to stop the Mouths of our
 " Enemies abroad, and prevent the Ill-construc-
 " tions of censorious Persons at home, and a-
 " void the ill Consequences which arise from it,
 " both to his Majesty, and the whole Realm.
 " And tho' the Cardinal may go no further
 " in treating with the Queen, than to perswade
 " her by the best Arguments of Reason and
 " Necessity to yield to our Desires, which his
 " Wisdom knows best how to Use and Apply;
 " yet if she prove so obstinate and wilful, and
 " will yield to no Advice and Counsel which he
 " can give; then 'tis my Opinion that we fetch
 " the Duke of York out of that Prison by force,
 " and bring him into the King's Company and
 " Presence; in which we will take such Care of
 " him, and give him such honourable Treatment,
 " that all the World shall perceive, to our Ho-
 " nour and her Reproach, that it was nothing
 " but her Frowardness and groundless Suspicion,
 " that first carried, and then kept him there.
 " This is my Judgment in this Affair; but if any
 " of you, my Lords, are of contrary Sentiments,
 " and find me mistaken, I never was, nor by
 " God's Grace ever shall be so wedded to my
 " own Opinion, but I shall be ready to change
 " it upon better Reasons and Grounds.
 " When the Protector had thus deliver'd his The
 " Mind to the Council, they all approv'd of his Council
 " Motion, as a thing good and reasonable in it affents to
 " self, and honourable both to the King, and the his Propo-
 " Duke his Brother, agreeing with him, that the sal, but
 " Archbishop of Canterbury was the fittest Person, the Arch-
 " in all respects, to be a Mediator between the bishop ob-
 " Queen and them; not doubting, but by his Can- jects a-
 " dour and Wisdom this Business might easily be gainst ta-
 " effected, and the Queen without more a-doe Duke from
 " perswaded to deliver him. Nor did the Arch- Sanctuary
 " bishop at all refuse the Office, which much be- by force.
 " came his Station, being to Compose a growing
 " Difference among Persons of the Greatest Qua-
 " lity: but he with the Lords Spiritual present
 " told the Council with Submission, (b) That as
 " he consented to the Motion that the Duke of
 " York should be brought to the King's Presence
 " out of the Sanctuary by Perswasions, and would
 " himself do his Best to effect it, since they had
 " pleas'd to impose that task upon him; yet he
 " could not by any means consent to that Pro-
 " position, That if the Queen refus'd to deliver
 " him, he should be taken out of Sanctuary by
 " force; because it would be a thing not only
 " Ungrateful to the whole Nation, but highly
 " displeasing to Almighty God to have the Pri-
 " vilege of Sanctuary broken, in that Church,
 " which, being at first consecrated by S. Peter,
 " who came down above 500 Years ago in
 " Person accompany'd with many Angels by
 " Night to do it, has since been adorn'd with
 " the Privilege of a Sanctuary by many Popes
 " and Kings; and therefore as no Bishop ever
 " dare attempt the Consecration of that Church,
 " so no Prince has ever yet been so fierce and
 " indevout as to violate the Privilege of it:
 " And God forbid, that any Man whatsoever
 " shall at this time, or hereafter, upon any world-
 " ly Advantages or Reasons, attempt to infringe
 " the Immunities of that most Holy Place, that
 " hath been the Defence and Safety of so many
 " Good-mens Lives. However, he said, he hop'd
 " they should not be driven to use such Extre-
 " mities, and doubted not, when the Queen,
 " who was a Person of known Judgment and Un-
 " derstanding, once heard their Reasons, she
 " would for her Son's sake, the King, readily
 " yield to their Desires; and if it otherwise
 " should happen, he would so perform his Part,
 " that they should be convinc'd, that there want-
 " ed no good Will, or Endeavour in himself, but
 " the Queen Dread, and Womanish fear was
 " the only Cause of it. The Duke of Buckingham, The Duke
 " who impatiently heard the Archbishop's Obje- of Buck-
 " ction against taking the Duke out of Sanctuary by ingham's
 " force, immediately resumes the Discourse, and in Reply to
 " a Passion replies with an Oath, " Womanish bishop.
 " Fear, say you my Lord? Nay, Womanish Fro-
 " wardness; for I dare take it upon my Soul,

(a) Cardinal Thomas Beaufort descended of the Noble Family of the Beauforts Earls of Essex.

(b) In Sir Thomas Moor's History as Printed in Holinshead, p. 717. 'tis as that the Archbishop of York made this Speech; and for a Proof of St. Peter's descending from Heaven to Consecrate the Church of Westminster, the good Prelate affirm'd St. Peter's Cope was still to be seen in the Abbey.

1483.

that she knows she has no just Occasion to fear any Danger to her Son or her self. But as to herself, here is no Man that will contend with Women, and I would to God some of her Kindred were so too, and then should the Contest be soon at an end with them. Yet I dare be bold to say, that none of her Kindred are the Less belov'd for the Relation they have to her, but because of their own Demerits, and for joyning with her in her Malicious Designs. However let it be granted, that we love neither her nor her Kindred; yet there can be no just Ground to infer from thence that we hate the King's Brother, who tho' her Son, yet is also a-kin to us; and if she desir'd his Honour, as we do, and had not more regard to her own Will, than her Son's Welfare, she would not be so obstinate, but would be as unwilling to keep him from the King's Presence, as any of us are. Some of whom at least she must acknowledge to have as much Wit as her self, and can't doubt of their Fidelity and Love to the Duke, who they would be as loath should come to any harm as she her self can be; and yet they would have him from her to continue with the King, if she will carry there; but if she pleases to come out her self with him, and her other Children, and take up her Habitation in such a Place where they may be with Honour to her self and them, every Man of us shall be better content than if she sends him alone. Now if upon these Grounds she refuses to deliver him, denying to follow the Wisdom of them, of whose ripe Judgment and Fidelity she hath had good Experience, it is easie to discern that it is her Frowardness, and not her Fear, that is the Cause of it. But we will suppose that her Distrusts are invincible, thro' the greatness of her Fears, (as what can hinder her from fearing her own Shadow, if she will so much indulge her Passions) we have the greater reason to take heed, how we leave the Duke in her Hands: for if she causelessly fear his hurt out of Sanctuary, she may also fear that he may be fetch'd from thence; (for 'tis easie for her to imagin, that if we be resolv'd to have him from her, we will not value the Sacredness of the Place she is in; as indeed I think Good Men without Sin might somewhat less regard them than they do) and so for greater Security convey him out of the Realm, which if she should be so lucky as to effect, (and without any great Difficulty it may be done) all the World will scorn and deride us, saying, That we are a wise sort of Counsellors about the King, to suffer his Brother to be cast away under our Noses. And therefore I assure you, for my part, I am for fetching him away against her Will, rather than by humouring her Fears and Peevishness, give her an Opportunity of conveying him away. And yet I shall be bold to assert, that I do not break any Privilege of Sanctuary, but rather rectify one of the Abuses of it: for tho' indeed Sanctuaries, as they were appointed and used under the Jewish Law, were, and still may be of very good Use in several Cases, as to be a Refuge for such Men as the Chance of Sea, or their evil Debtors have brought to Poverty, to protect them from the Cruelty of their Creditors; and because the Title to the Crown of these Realms had often come in Question, in which Contests each Side counts the other Traitors, and the Conquering Side, tho' sometimes the worst Rebels, treats the adverse Party as such, it is Necessary there

The Use
and Abuse
of Sanctu-
aries.

1482. should be a Refuge in this Case to the Unfortunate: but as for Thieves and Murderers; whereof these Places are full, and who seldom leave their Trade when they have once begun, it is an horrid Shame that any Sanctuary should save them; and especially wilful Murderers, whom God himself commands to be taken from the Altar, and put to Death. Yet if we look into our Sanctuaries, as now they are managed, how few are there whom Necessity of their own Defence, or their Misfortunes have driven to take Shelter there? But on the other side, what numbers are there in them of Thieves, Murderers, and malicious and heinous Traitors, and especially in the two chief Ones in this City, the one at the Elbow, and the other in the very Midst of it? Insomuch that if the Good they do were balanc'd with the Evil, we shall find 'twere better for us to be without them, unless such as are in Power would effectually correct their Abuses, and amend them. And indeed, 'tis a gross Shame not to be endur'd, to see St. Peter made a Patron of Thieves, Prodigals, Knaves and Whores! Surely neither God, nor that Apostle can approve of these Abuses; and therefore they may be reformed with thanks of Both. Let Sanctuaries then continue in God's Name in their full force, as far as Religion and Reason will permit, and I am sure no lawful Privilege granted to them can hinder us from fetching the Duke of York from thence, where he neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary-Person. A Sanctuary serveth to defend the Body of Man, who is in danger from not only some great, but unlawful hurt? and what Danger is that Duke in? Is not the King his Brother, and all we his Special Friends? As he has never done any Man an Injury, so no Man designs him any Wrong, and then what Grounds can there be for him to be left in Sanctuary? Besides, Men come not to a Sanctuary, as to Baptism by Godfathers, but they must ask it themselves if they will have it; for none but such as can alledge there just Fears and Dangers ought to be admitted thither. And how can the Duke of York be justly entertain'd or kept there, who cannot thro' his Infancy require it; and if he were sensible of the Place he is in, would rather desire to be released from it: So that I think with the Clergy's Leave, 'tis no Breach of Privilege, if he and many others be taken by Force out of it. And to convince them of it more fully, let me ask them a few Questions. If a Man go into Sanctuary with another Man's Goods, may not the King, leaving his Body at Liberty, take them out of Sanctuary, and restore them to the right Owner? can either Pope or King privilege a Man from paying Debts that is able to pay them? Several of the Clergy present agreed, that by the Laws of God and the Church, a Sanctuary-Man may be deliver'd up to pay his Debts, or restore stolen Goods, his Liberty being allow'd him to get his Living by his Labour. Then the Duke said, "There's the same Reason to do it, if a Man's Wife ran from him to Sanctuary, or a Child take Sanctuary because he will not go to School, and many like Cases. And therefore I conclude, that since he can be no Sanctuary-Man who hath no Discretion to desire it, (for I never yet heard of Sanctuary-Children) nor Malice to deserve it, whose Life and Liberty can in no wise be in Danger, he that taketh such an one out of Sanctuary to do him good, breaks no Privilege of that Holy Place.

When

1483. When the Duke had finish'd this long Discourse, it was generally Agreed by all the Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, (a) That if the Queen would not Deliver up the Duke by Perswasions, he should be forced from her by the King's Authority: But it being judg'd convenient that all fair Means should be first try'd, the Cardinal, with several Lords to accompany him, was sent into the Sanctuary to the Queen; the Protector, and the rest of the Council going into the *Star-Chamber* at *Westminster* to expect the Event. When the Cardinal was come into the Queen's Presence, after all Dutiful Salutations, he Deliver'd to her the Cause of his Coming, Saying, "That he was with those other Lords, sent by the Protector, and the Privy Council to her Majesty, to let her know, how much her Detaining of the Duke of *York* in that Place was Scandalous to the Publick, and dislike'd by the King his Brother; it being an Action that must needs produce ill Effects: That the King himself was much grieved at it, and the Council offended, because it look'd as if one Brother was in Danger from the other, and could not be Preserved by the other's Life: That it would be a very great Comfort to his Majesty to have his Natural Brother in Company with him; nor would it be of Less Advantage to the Young Duke himself, because it would Confirm and Strengthen their Loves to be brought up together, as well at their Books, as Sports: That in the King's Court the Duke could only Live answerable to his State and Condition: That it would much Please the Protector and Council to send him to the King's Presence, and in Effect might prove of no Small Advantage to her Friends, that were in Prison. Upon which Accounts, as he was sent by his Majesty and Council to demand the Duke of her, to be brought to his Brother; so he could not but earnestly entreat her to comply with a thing so very Reasonable, and every way Convenient.

The Queen's Reply.

The Queen, who was of a sharp Wit and graceful Speech, answer'd the Cardinal; and said, "My Lord, I cannot deny, but it is very convenient that my Son, the Duke, should be in the Company of his Brother the King as well for Society, as Love's sake; but since they are both so Young, as that it is the most suitable for them to be under the Government of their Mother; It is better for the King to be with me here, than that I should send the Duke to him: Tho' was it really otherwise, that Duty obliged the Duke to go to him, yet Necessity in this Case creates a Dispensation, because he hath been of late so sorely afflicted with Diseases, and being not perfectly recover'd is in so great a Danger of a Relapse (which generally Physicians say is more fatal than the first Sickness) that I dare trust no Earthly Person as yet with the Care of him: For tho' I doubt not, but that he might have such about him as would do their Best to Preserve his Health, yet since I have ordered him all along, and am his Mother, it must be allow'd by all Men, that as I am the most Able, so I shall be the most Affectionately Careful and Tender of him. And for these Reasons, I hope both the King and his Council will dispense with his Absence a-while, till he is perfectly Recovered, and in Health; and before that, I can't endure to hear of Parting with him.

The Cardinal hearing this Reply, answer'd; 1483. "No Man, Good Madam, doth deny but that your Majesty is the fittest Person to take Care of all your Children, and I am sure the Council will be very Glad to hear that it is your Pleasure so to do; yea, they would beg it of you, Provided you would be contented to do it in such a Place as is consistent with their, and your own Honour; Whereas, if you resolve to tarry in this Place, then they judge it more convenient, that the Duke should be with the King at Liberty, to the Comfort and Satisfaction of them both, tho' with some small Danger to his Health; than to remain in Sanctuary, to the Dishonour of the King, Duke himself, and the whole Council: for it is not always so Necessary that the Child should be with the Mother, but there may be Reasons sometimes of taking him from her, and that for the Best, as your Majesty knows there was, when your Eldest Son, then Prince of *Wales*, and now King, was sent to keep his Court at *Ludlow* for his own Honour and the Good Order of the Country, of which your Majesty was so well convinced, that you seem'd Contented with it.

The Queen grew a little Warm, and smartly retorted, "Not so very well Contented neither at that Separation; tho' the Case is much different now: For the Prince was in good Health, the Duke is now Sick; for tho' the height of the Distemper is past, yet he is Weak, and not so fully recovered, but that without great Care he may fall into a Relapse; in which Condition, while he remains, I wonder that the Protector and Council should be so Earnest to have him from me, since if the Child should grow Sick again and Miscarry, they would incur the Censures of some Ill-dealings with him. And whereas you say that it is Dishonourable to my Child, and to them, that he remain in this Place, I think the Contrary; for certainly 'tis most for their Honour to let him Abide, where no Man can doubt but he will remain Safest, and that is here so long as I continue here: and I do not intend to leave this Place and endanger my Life with my Friends, who, I would to God were rather in Safety here with me, than I were in Hazard with them. Why, Madam, (saith the Lord *Howard*) "Do you know any Reason, that they are in Danger? No truly, (said she roundly) "Nor why they should be in Prison neither, as they now be: but I have great Cause to fear, least those, who have not scrupled to put them in Prison without Cause, will as little value to Destroy them without Law or Right. Upon these Words, the Cardinal wink'd upon the Lord to put an End to that Discourse; and then added himself, "That he did not doubt, but that those Lords, who being of her Kindred remained under Arrest, would upon a due Examination of Matters, discharge themselves well enough of any Accusation alledged against them: And as to her own Royal Person, there neither was, nor could be any kind of Danger. How shall I be certain of that (said the Queen)? Is it, that I am Innocent? It doth not appear that they are Guilty. Is it, that I am better beloved of their Enemies? No; but rather, they are hated for my Sake. Is it, that I am so nearly related to the King? They are not much further off: and therefore since it seems to me, that as

The Queen's Return.

Lord Howard's Answer.

The Queen's Reply.

Cardinal's Answer.

The Queen's Reply.

(a) Several of the Bishops were against fetching him out by Force.

1483. *The Cardinal's Answer.* "I am in the same Cause, so I am in like Danger; I do not intend to depart out of this Place. And as for my Son, the Duke of York, I propose to keep him with me till I see how Business will go; for the more greedy and earnest some Men are to have him into their Hands without any substantial Cause, the more Fearful and Scrupulous am I to deliver him. And the more Suspicious you are, Madam, (answer'd the Cardinal) "the more Jealous are others of you, least under a causeless Pretence of Danger, you should convey him out of the Nation; and so if they permit him to remain with you now, it shall not be in their Power to have him for the Future. Wherefore it is the Opinion of many of the Council, that there is a Necessity of taking the Duke of York immediately into their Care and Government, and since he can enjoy no Privilege by Sanctuary, who has neither Will to Require it, nor Malice or Offence to need it, they judge it no Breach of Sanctuary, if you finally refuse to deliver him by fair means, to fetch him out of it: And I assure you, Madam, that the Protector, who bears a most tender Love to his Nephews; and the Council, who have an equal Care and Respect for your Children, will certainly set him at Liberty, unless you resign him to us, least you should send him away. Ay, (says the Queen) "hath the Protector his Uncle such a Love for him, that he fears nothing more than that he should Escape his Hands? I unfeignedly declare, that it never so much as entred into my Thoughts to send him out of this Place into any Foreign Parts, partly because his Health will not bear any Journeys, and partly because, tho' I should not scruple to send him into any Part of the World, where I knew him out of all Danger, yet I do not think any Place more secure than this Sanctuary, which there never was any Tyrant so devilish, who dare Violate; and I trust that the Almighty God will so awe the Minds of his, and my Enemies, as to Restrain them from offering Violence to this Holy Place. But you tell me, That the Lord Protector and the Council are of Opinion that my Son can't deserve a Sanctuary, and therefore may not be allow'd the Privileges of it: He hath found out a goodly Gloss, as if that Place which can Protect a Thief, or Wicked Person, is not of greater Force to Defend the Innocent, because he is in no Danger, and therefore can have no need of it; which is an Opinion as Erroneous as Hellish. But the Child, you say, can't require the Privilege of a Sanctuary, and therefore since he has no Will to Choose it he ought not to have it: Who told the Protector so? Ask him, and you shall here him Require it. But suppose it were really so that he could not ask it, or if he could, would not, but would rather choose to go out; I think it is sufficient that I do Require it, and am Registered a Sanctuary Person, to make any Man guilty of breaking Sanctuary to take my Son out of it by Force and against my Will: For is not the Sanctuary a Protection in that Case as well for my Goods as my Self? No Man can lawfully take my Horse from me, if I Stole him not, or Owe nothing; and surely much less my Child. Besides by Law, as my Learned Council sheweth me, he is my Ward, because he hath no Lands by Descent holden by Knights Service, but only by Socage, and then I being the Guardian of my Son by Law, no Man can take him by force from me without Injustice in any Place, and without Sacrilege

from hence. And upon this Right I do insist, and Require the Privilege of Sanctuary for him, as my Pupil and Infant, to whom alone by Law the Care of him belongs: and if this triple Cord may be broken, I mean, the Right which I have to keep him with me by the Law of Man, as his Guardian; by the Law of Nature, as his Mother; and by the Law of God, as being in Sanctuary with him; If all this be not enough to secure him from any Human Force, I think nothing under Heaven can: But I do not despair of Safety where I have always found so much. Here was I brought to Bed of my Son who is now King, and tho' his Enemy Reigned, and might have used the same or like Pretences to have taken us both from Sanctuary, yet he did not; and I hope no Man will have the Boldness to act contrary to all former Precedents, but the Place that protected one Son, will be as great a Security to the other: For to be plain with you, My Lord, I fear to put him into the Protector's Hands, because he hath his Brother already, and since he pretends to be the next Heir to the Crown after them, notwithstanding his Sisters, if they any ways miscarry, his Way to the Throne lies Plain and Easy to him. Now this is so just a Cause of Fear, that even the Laws of the Land teach me it, which as Learned Men tell me, forbids every Man the Guardianship of them, by whose Death they become Heirs to their Inheritance; and if the Law is so careful of such as have the least Inheritance, how much more ought I to be fearful that my Children come not into his Power, who by their Death will have the Kingdom for his Inheritance. By these Reasons I am confirmed in my Resolutions of keeping my Son in Sanctuary with me, and my Right so to do, and think them so far to Out-balance the Protector's frivolous Reasons of keeping his Brother company, and being Dishonourable to him, that I cannot alter my Mind: For I have reason to think that whoever he proves a Protector to, he will prove a Destroyer to them, if they be once in his Hands and Power. I know the Protector and Council have Power enough, if they have Will, to take him and me from this Place; but whosoever he be that shall dare to do it, I pray God send him shortly Need of a Sanctuary, but no Possibility to come to it. The Cardinal seeing the Queen grow more and more Passionate by Discoursing, and to reflect sharply upon the Protector, which he was unwilling to hear, because he believed them inconsiderate Effects of Passion, thought it time to break off Arguing with her, and therefore to bring all things to a Conclusion, said unto her; "Madam, I will not Dispute the Matter longer with you: It is equal to me, whether you deliver him, or not. I am with these Lords, but the Messenger to know your Resolution, and beg you will but tell us plainly, whether you will, or will not deliver him to us? For tho' if you resign him to us, I durst Pawn my own Body and Soul to you for his Safety; yet if you Deny it, I will immediately Depart and finish my Trust, resolving never to engage in the Matter again, since I see you so Resolute in your own Judgment, as if you thought both me, and all others lack'd either Wit or Honesty; Wit, in that we, not perceiving the Protector's ill Designs, were made the Tools of his Wicked Craft; Honesty, in that knowing his Intentions we have labour'd to bring your Son in to the Protector's Hands to Destroy him; an Execra-

Hey Suspicion of the Duke of Gloucester.

Cardinal's Answer.

1483. " Execrable Treason, which as our selves abhor,
 " so we dare boldly say was far from the Pro-
 " tector's Thoughts, and cannot be imputed to
 " any in this Case, but you must brand the whole
 " Council with Short-sighted Advice and Dis-
 " loyalty to their Prince.

These Words of the Cardinal's being Perem-
 ptory and Short, much amused the Queen, being
 put to it on a sudden to resolve whether she
 would send him, or no. The Cardinal she saw
 ready to depart, and the Protector and Council
 were near she knew; what to do she could not
 tell: she fear'd that by Delivering him, she cast
 him into the Mouth of Ruin; and by Keeping
 him, she did but provoke the Protector and
 Council to be more Rough and Severe with them
 both. She saw there was no way to save him
 from the Protector's Hands, but by Conveying
 him out of his Knowledge or Power; which tho'
 she Wish'd, yet she had no Way to effect it:
 Wherefore she resolv'd to make the best use of
 Necessity, and since the Protector must have him,
 take the best Way to Secure him in his Hands.
 She consider'd, that her Fears were but ground-
 ed on vehement Presumptions, and therefore hop'd
 Things might not prove so Bad as she imagin'd
 She could not doubt of the Cardinal's Sincerity
 and Loyalty to her Son, and tho' she indeed fear'd
 he might be deceived, yet she did not believe
 either he, or the Lords present, would be any ways
 Accessory to his Destruction: and for these Rea-
 sons she thought it better to deliver him to them,
 who were ready to Pawn their Honour and
 Lives for his Security, and would therefore
 look upon themselves engaged for his Safety,
 than suffer him to be taken from her; and there-
 upon taking her Son, the Duke of York, in her
 Hand, she led him to the Cardinal and Lords,
 and with great Earnestness said to them, " My

The Queen's
 Speech at
 the Deli-
 very of
 the Duke
 of York to
 the Lords.
 " Lord Cardinal, and you my Lords, I am not
 " so opinionated of my self, or ill-advised
 " concerning you, as to Mistrust either your
 " Wisdom or Fidelity, as I shall prove to you
 " by reposing such Trust in you, as, if either of
 " them be wanting in you, will Redound to my
 " Inexpressible Grief, the Damage of the whole
 " Realm, and your eternal Shame and Disgrace:
 " For Lo! Here is my Son, the Person whom
 " you desire; and tho' I doubt not but that I
 " could keep him Safe in this Sanctuary from
 " all Violence; yet here I resign him into your
 " Hands. I am sensible that I run great Hazards
 " in so doing, no whit less than my Fears sug-
 " gest; for I have some so great Enemies to my
 " Blood, that if they knew where any of it lay
 " in their own Veins, they would presently let
 " it out; and much more in others, and the near-
 " er to me the more Zealously. Experience
 " also convinces us all, that the Desire of a
 " Kingdom knows no Kindred. The Brother
 " in that Case hath been the Destruction of the
 " Brother, and the Son of his Father; and have
 " we any Cause to think the Uncle will be more
 " tender of his Nephews? Each of these Chil-
 " dren are the other's Defence while they are
 " asunder; if one be safe they are both secure;
 " but being both together they are in great Dan-
 " ger: and therefore as a Wise Merchant will
 " never adventure all his Goods in one Ship,
 " so it looks not so Politickly in me to put
 " them both under the same Hazards. But not-
 " withstanding all this, (whether rightly foreseen
 " or no, I leave you to think on, and pre-
 " vent.) I do here Deliver him, and his Brother
 " in him to your Keeping, of whom I shall ask
 " him again at all times before God and the
 " World. I am Confident of your Fidelity, and

1483. " and have no reason to distrust your Wisdom,
 " Power, or Ability to keep him, if you will
 " make use of your Resolution when it is re-
 " quired; and if you are unwilling to do that,
 " then I pray you leave him still here with me:
 " and that you may not meet with more than
 " you did expect, let me beg of you, for
 " the Trust which his Father ever reposed
 " in you, and for the Confidence I now put in
 " you, that as you think I fear too much, so
 " you would be cautious that in this weighty
 " Case you fear not too little; because your
 " Credulity here may make an irrecoverable
 " Mistake. Having thus spoken, she turn'd to
 " the Child, and said to him, " Farewel, mine own
 " sweet Son, The Almighty bethy Protector: Let
 " me Kiss thee once more before we part, for
 " God knows when we shall Kiss again; and then
 " having kissed him, she Blessed him, and turn'd
 " from him and wept, and so went her way, lea-
 " ving the Child with the Lords weeping also for
 " her Departure.

The Cardinal and Lords having obtain'd their The Duke
 Desire thus, and gotten the Duke of York from of York
 his Mother, immediately led him to the Star- brought
 Chamber, where the Protector and Lords of the to the
 Council staid in Expectation of him. The Protector.
 Protector receiv'd him with all the seeming Kind-
 ness and Respect that was due to him, as the
 King's Brother and his Nephew; and taking him
 in his Arms kissed him, and said, *Now Welcome*
my Lord with all my very Heart: and the same
 Day carried him to the King his Brother, who
 was at the Bishop of London's Palace near S. Paul's
 Church. Here he left them a few Days toge-
 ther; and because all Things were in a great
 forwardness for the Coronation, which he was
 Zealous to Promote, he caused the King and
 the Duke his Brother to be remov'd to the Tower,
 the usual Place from whence that Solemnity be-
 gan, with much Pomp and State. But now the
 Protector was at a stand how to Proceed: He
 look'd upon himself, as the Lawful King of these
 Realms, by the Judgment of such as were best
 Able to determine such Doubts; but yet since
 his Brother's Children were generally presumed
 the True Heirs, and their Illegitimacy not un-
 derstood, or Disregarded, he was Afraid to
 Claim his Right against the Common Opinion,
 and yet as loath to throw it up himself, as he
 must do by Crowning his Brother's Son. There
 was almost a Necessity the Coronation should go
 forward; it had proceeded so far, that the Na-
 tion would grumble extreamly at the Expence
 if it were now laid aside; and on the other side,
 if his Nephew were crown'd he must give up
 his Right, and not only deprive himself but his
 Children: Wherefore he resolv'd with himself
 to seem as Earnest as ever in carrying it on, A Council
 and to that end, appointed a Council of such appoint-
 Lords as he knew to be most Faithful to the ed to car-
 King his Nephew, of whom the Lord Hastings ry on the
 the Chamberlain, and Lord Stanley were the Coronat-
 Chief, to Assemble *De die in diem* at Baynard's- tion.
 Castle to consult and contrive the Ways and
 Ceremonies for the Coronation of his Nephew;
 but in the mean Season he contriv'd secretly to
 make known his own Title to certain Persons
 that he could Confide in, and by delaying the
 Coronation try how far his own Interests might
 be Advanced; that he might obtain his Right
 Peaceably and Quietly; but being Sensible how
 great Prejudices he was to Encounter with on all
 Hands, he knew he must proceed very warily
 in it. The Duke of Buckingham in all his Mo-
 tions hitherto had been his chief Friend and
 Assistant. He in a manner had made him Pro-
 tector,

1483. tector, and it would be such a Disobligation if he should not make use of him in his Councils, that he certainly would turn his Enemy, and being of such mighty Interest would pull him down, as he had set him up. And yet he could hardly hope for any Encouragement from him; because tho' the Duke was a Male-content in the Days of the late King, yet he seem'd very Loyal to his Son, as if he had Buried the Enmity to his Father in his Grave. But the Protector knew old Enmity is easily Reviv'd, and to prepare the Duke of Buckingham for his Designs, he Suborn'd certain Persons about the Duke to represent to him the King's Displeasure for imprisoning his Mother's Kindred, and into what a miserable Dilemma, he had run himself by that Action; for if they were Released they'd bear him an Immortal Grudge, and if they were put to Death, he was sure to incur the King's Anger so much, that he could hope for nothing, but Misfortunes on all Hands; for the King did not Refrain from such Expressions as shew'd, that whenever he had Power he would Revenge it upon him to the Utmost. These Relations struck him with a Fear of Danger, and predispos'd him to lay hold upon any Opportunity of Securing himself; which the Duke of Gloucester, who laid the Train, soon offer'd him; for a little after inviting him to a Conference, he desired him to Assist him in taking upon him the Crown of England as his Right, shewing him the Judgment of the Civil Lawyers concerning the Illegitimacy of his Brother's Children, and promising, as the Reward of his Faithful Services to him, that his Son should Marry the Duke's Daughter; that he would give him the Earldom of Hereford with all the Appurtenances, which tho' his Inheritance, yet had been Unjustly kept from him by his Brother; And lastly, That he would Allow him a large Share of K. Edward's Treasure, and so much of the Wardrobe as should furnish his House, and settle upon him and his Posterity the Office of the High-Constable of England, which his Ancestors by Descent for many Generations had enjoy'd.

The Duke of Buckingham was not hard to be won to engage in such an Action as secur'd him from his present Fears, and afforded a Prospect of so much Gain and Advantage, and so became a Zealous Actor for the Protector in making him King; for he soon brought many of his Friends into the same Design, and with the Protector constituted a Council, which sat at Crosby's Place, the Protector's Mansion House, to contrive the most Artificial and Politick Ways to Settle the Crown upon his Head: but they were to meet very Secretly and Privately.

The Protector's Private Council suspected by the other. This Council had not sat long, but both their Persons and their Actions were Discerned: for Cardinal Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Rotherham Archbishop of York, John Morton Bishop of Ely, the Lord Stanley, Lord Hastings, and other Persons of Quality, who were busie to order the Coronation, perceiv'd that, notwithstanding their Endeavours, Matters mov'd slowly, and they saw Cause to suspect contrary Motions.

The Common People began to Murmur at the Delays of the Coronation, and talk'd as tho' there were some bad Designs on foot, tho' no Man could guess at what was really intended; but it was generally look'd upon as a bad Omen that the Protector took upon him a State and Magnificence above his Place, and would endure none but his own Servants about the King, who gave an unkind Welcom to all Persons, that either desir'd to see the King out of Cu-

riosity, or wait on him out of Duty; as tho' they would tell Men that they must seek the King elsewhere, viz. at their Master's Palace, which was soon so well understood by such as expected any Honours and Preferments at Court, that the Protector was Flatter'd and Caress'd as King, while his Nephew was little regarded, and bore only an insignificant Name.

These Actions increased the Jealousie of the Lords who sat at Baynard's-Castle to Direct the Coronation; and the Lord Stanley, who was a Wise and Sagacious Man, began to declare openly to his Brethren, "That he much dislike'd these Doings, and could not believe that two different Councils could Produce any good Effects: We are conscious of the Loyalty and Integrity of our Actions; but who knows what the Cabal at Crosby's-Place Talk of, and Contrive? I fear, what we are Building, they are Plucking down; and unless we could Unite, or know their Councils, ours will be in Vain. Peace, My Lord, said the Lord Hastings, never fear or misdoubt any thing; I durst assure you upon my Life All's well, or at least nothing Ill is intended against Us: For while One Man is there, who is never Absent, I am sure there can be nothing propounded which shall sound Ill to me, but it will be in my Ears as soon as it is out of their Mouths almost. This the Lord Hastings meant of one Catesby a Lawyer, who was his special Confident, and being put into a Considerable Trust in the Counties of Leicester and Northampton, where this Lord's Interest and Power lay, merely by his Means, was reputed by him so Faithful and Grateful, that he would neither do, nor suffer to be done any things Injurious to his Patron: which indeed he had great reason to have done, but he much deceiv'd him, as will after appear, and so was the Chief Instrument of Working the Protector's Will and Aims; for the Lords generally saw so many Signs of Distrust, that had they not rely'd entirely upon the Lord Hastings's Word, whom they knew Firm and Loyal, they had all departed every Man to his own Country and provided for their own Safety, which had certainly broken all the Protector's Measures; for they were Men of great Power and Interest with the People, and could easily have kept Matters in the Right Current had they been at Home; but Catesby carrying all fair to Hastings, and he perswading them that nothing could be done amiss till he should know it and advertise them of it, they trusted to him, and denying their own Senses almost to construe all things for the best, laid themselves open to Ruin, and made way to the Protector's Designs, which both himself and his Council were vigilant to improve.

The former Jealousies of the Council at Baynard's-Castle were soon known to the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham, and tho' they would not seem to be sensible of it, yet they took up Resolutions with themselves either to win them over to their Side, or if not to secure them from being their Enemies, and to this end they shew'd great Favour to the Lord Hastings, who much influenc'd the Actions of all the Rest, and kept him much in their Company, hoping by Familiarity and friendly Endearments to dispose him to a Compliance with their Designs, which they not long after caus'd Catesby his familiar Acquaintance to Propound to him, but at some distance, least his Refusal should betray all; for if they could gain him, they were sure of the greater part of the Rest. Catesby, who now had forgotten all former Obligations, and

1483. and was courting greater Favours, readily undertook the Employment, and coming to the Lord *Hastings*, who had not yet the least Mistrust of him, after much other Discourse about the present Circumstances of Affairs, asks his Opinion about the Title and Claim that the Protector had to the Crown; insinuating, that if it might Lawfully be done, it would be better that an Experienc'd Person and a Brave Commander should Rule than a Child. The Lord *Hastings*, who was firmly Loyal to K. *Edward's* Children, presuming upon *Catesby's* Fidelity, freely open'd his Mind to him without any Circumlocutions, and having shew'd him what Jealousies the Council had of the Protector's Actions, with Indignation expressed his utter Dislike of it in Words to this Effect: "That he had rather see the Death and Destruction of the Protector and D. of *Buckingham*, than the Young King deprived of the Crown; and that if he discern'd any Designs that Way in any Persons whatsoever, he would engage his utmost Power and Ability against them. These Words, which 'tis believed the Lord *Hastings* would never have spoke, had he suspected (a) either the Mission, or Treachery of *Catesby*, were carried to the Protector immediately, and represented to him not with the mollifying Terms of a Friend, but Aggravations of an Enemy, because he hop'd by his Death and the Protector's Favour, which for this ill Office alone he had reason not to doubt of, to obtain most of the Rule and Trust, which that Lord had in his Country, and so his Ruin would be his own Making.

Catesby's
Treachery.

Hastings
Death
contriv'd.

The Protector received the Account of *Hastings's* Aversion to his Designs with much Trouble and Regret, not for the Disappointment only, but because he had a great Love for him, who had always been his Friend, and had done him many Kindnesses in his Brother's Days, and therefore engaged *Catesby* to win him, if possible: but *Catesby* willing to see his Downfall, represented him so irreconcilable to his Proceedings, that he chang'd the Protector's Love into Hatred to him, and made him lay hold upon any slight Pretences to take away his Life, without which he saw he must meet with a great Impediment in the Road of his Ambition, and so the Way was Agreed upon in this Manner. The Protector call'd a Great Council at the Tower on Friday the 13th of June, on pretence of concluding all Things for the Coronation, which drew on apace, the Pageants being making Day and Night at *Westminster*, and Victuals killed ready for it. The Lords of this Council assembled Early in the Morning, and sat Close to their Business to settle every Thing for that Solemnity.

The Protector came about Nine a Clock to them, and having Saluted all the Lords very courteously, excus'd himself for coming to them so late, saying Merrily, That he had play'd the Sluggard this Morning. Then he sat down and discoursed a-while with them about the Business in hand, and was very Pleasant and Jocular in all his Speeches. Among other things more Serious he by the Bye said to the Bishop of *Ely*, My Lord, You have very good Strawberries in your Garden at Holborn, I desire you to let us have a Dish to Dinner. Gladly, my Lord, will I do that, (quoth the Bishop) I wish I had some better Thing as ready for your Service as they; and thereupon sent his Servant in all haste for a Dish of Straw-

berries. A little after this, the Protector obliging them to go on in their Councils, requested them to dispense with his Absence a-while, and so departed.

In the space of little more than an Hour he return'd again, but with such an angry Countenance, knitting his Brows, frowning and biting his Lips, that the whole Council were amaz'd at the sudden Change. Being set down, he said nothing for a good while, but at length spoke with great Concern, and ask'd them this Question, What Punishment do they deserve who had Plotted his Death, who was so near in Blood to the King, and by Office the Protector of the King's Person and Realm? This Question he had rais'd out of *Catesby's* Account of the Lord *Hastings's* Words and Discourse, which he so represented to him, as if he had Wish'd and Contriv'd his Death. The Lords of the Council were much startled at it, and thinking with themselves of whom he meant it, return'd no Answer. The Lord *Hastings* who was always familiar with him, and thought this general Silence not respectful, reply'd, That they deserv'd to be punish'd as heinous Traitors, whosoever they were. Then said the Protector, And that hath that Sorceress my Brother's Wife, (meaning the Queen, but disdaining to call her so) with others her Accomplices endeavour'd to do. These Words begat fresh Fears and Disturbances among them; because they most of them favour'd the Queen: but *Hastings* was well enough Content that the Crime was not laid upon any that he lov'd better, tho' he lik'd not that the Protector had not communicated it to him, as he had done his Designs to put the Queen's Kindred to Death: (which was by his Advice and Approbation to be done that Day at *Pomfret-Castle*.) The Protector still went on in his Complaints, and said, See, in what a miserable manner that Sorceress, and *Shore's* Wife, with others their Associates have by their Sorcery and Witchcraft miserably destroy'd my Body: And therewith Unbuttoning his Left Sleeve, shew'd them his Arm fleshless, dry and wither'd, Saying, Thus would they by degrees have destroy'd my whole Body, if they had not been Discover'd and Prevented, in a short time. This Proof, which the Protector thought to give of his Accusation, convinc'd the Council that he had only a Mind to Quarrel with them, for they all knew that his Arm was never otherwise, and that as the Queen was too nice to engage in any such Foolish Enterprize, so if she had done it, she would not have made *Shore's* Wife, whom of all Women she most hated, because she was her Husband's best-beloved Concubine, one of her Council.

The Lord *Hastings*, who from King *Edward's* Death had kept *Shore's* Wife (for whom he had a great Kindness in the King's Life, but in Revenge to him forbore her) was inwardly troubled to hear her, whom he lov'd, and knew to be Innocent of any such thing, so highly and unjustly Accused, and because he had made the first Answer to the Duke's Question, he took himself obliged to return as Modest an Answer as he could to his Accusation; and therefore said, Certainly my Lord, if they have indeed done any such Thing, they deserve to be both severely punish'd: But this Answer discover'd the Lord *Hastings's* Opinion so much, that he thought the Accusation false and forged, that

1483.

The Q.
accused of
Witchcraft.

Shore's
Wife.
He is At-
tended.

(a) Sir Thomas Moor makes it a Doubt whether he spoke the Words, or not; or indeed, whether *Catesby* try'd him, or not.

1483. the Protector in Anger catch'd hold of his Words, and said, Do you Answer me with *If's* and *And's* as if I charg'd them falsely? I tell you, they have done it, and thou hast joyn'd with them in this Villainy; and therewith clapped his Fist down hard upon the Board, at which Sign several Men in Arms rush'd into the Room, crying, Treason, Treason. The Protector seeing them come in, said to the Lord *Hastings*, I Arrest thee, Traitor. What me, My Lord, said *Hastings*? Yea, thou Traitor, said the Protector. Whereupon he was taken into their Custody. In this Bustle, which was all before contriv'd, a certain Person struck at the Lord *Stanley* with a Pole-Ax, and had certainly cleft him down, had not he been aware of the Blow and sunk under the Table: yet he was wounded so on the Head that the Blood ran about his Ears.

The Archbishop of *York*, Bishop of *Ely*, and Lord *Stanley*, with divers other Lords who were thought averse to his Designs, Imprison'd in several Places in the *Tower*; and the Lord *Hastings* order'd forthwith to Confess and Prepare himself for his Death, for the Protector had Sworn by *St. Paul* that he would not Dine till his Head was off.

It was in vain to complain of Severity, or demand Justice, the Protector's Oath must not be broken: so he was forc'd to take the next Priest that came, and make a short Confession, for the Common Form was too long for the Protector's Stomach to wait on, and being immediately hurried to the Green by the Chappel within the *Tower*, his Head was laid on a Timber-logg which was provided for Repairing the Chappel, and there stricken off. His Body and Head were carried to *Windsor*, and there buried by his Master King *Edward IV.* late deceased, it being very Convenient that he should have a Place next him at his Death, who had lost his Life for his Unmovable Loyalty to his Children.

Omens of *Hastings's* Death. The Death of this Great Lord, as it was sudden and unsuspected, so it may seem to have been particularly regarded by Heaven, from whence he had many Omens of it given him either to avoid it or prepare for it, if he had had but Wisdom to take a due Notice of them; which are worth a particular Relation, that we may see the Care Providence has of Men in imminent Dangers.

The Night before his Death the Lord *Stanley* had a fearful Dream, in which he thought that a Wild Boar with his Tusshes had so wounded his own and the Lord Chamberlain's Head, that the Blood ran about both their Shoulders. This Dream had more than an usual Impression upon him, and because he interpreted the Dream of the Protector, who gave the Boar for his Arms, and the Wounds and Blood from their Heads of some imminent Danger of their Lives, he resolv'd no longer to tarry within reach of his Power, but ordering Horses to be got ready, sent his Chamberlain to the Lord *Hastings* at Midnight to acquaint him with his Dream, and encourage him to take Horse as fast as he could, and with him secure himself, for with swift Horses they could get near their Friends by Morning.

Lord *Stanley* from his Dream advises him to fly.

The Lord *Hastings*, tho' awak'd out of his Sleep; yet being naturally a Man neither Melancholy nor Superstitious, receiv'd the Message with a Smile; And said to him, Doth my Lord, your Master, give so much Credit to such Trifles as Dreams, which are usually the Effect of our Fears or Cares? Pray tell him, That it is plain Witchcraft to believe in such Dreams, which if they may be allowed Foretellers of Things

to come, yet are so Uncertain, that we may do our selves more Harm than Good in following them: for who could assure him, that if there is any real Danger to be feared from the Boar, we shall not fall into it rather by Flying than Tarrying? For if we should be taken and brought back, (as might very well happen) we should give the Boar just Occasion to Goar us; for our Flight would be such an Argument of some Guilt, that we could hardly avoid it, and to alledge a Dream as the Cause, would make us ridiculous to all Men: Wherefore if there were Danger, as indeed there is none unless in his causeless Fears, it is rather in Flying than Tarrying; and if we must fall into it one way or other, I had rather that Men should see it to be from others Falshood, than my Guilt or Cowardice: And therefore go to thy Master, and commend me to him, and bid him be merry and fear nothing: for I can assure him, that there is as little Danger from the Man he means as from my own right Hand. God grant it may be so (says the Messenger) and so departed. The Gentleman brought the Message to his Lord, and made him forget his Resolution; tho' with what Mischief to himself the Event proved.

Other Ominous Presages he had of his Death that Morning, which his Security would not suffer him to take Notice of. Before he was up from his Bed, (where he had lain all Sir *Tho. Howard's* Words. Night with *Shore's* Wife) there came to him Sir *Thomas Howard*, Son of the Lord *Howard*, to call him as he pretended, and to Accompany him to the Council; but he was really sent by the Protector to perswade him to come if he should not intend it, or if he design'd it to hasten him; which tho' he manag'd artificially enough, yet being of the Protector's Cabinner Council he was suspicious, and in the Way as they pass'd along, he gave the Lord *Hastings* such an Odd Interruption, in his Discourse with a Priest which he met by the Way, by telling him, tho' merrily, That he wonder'd he would Talk so long with a Priest, he had no Occasion for one, as yet; that he might easily have suspected he knew that he should have need of one Soon: but he was a loose and careless Man, and regarded it not.

In the Way also as he pass'd from his House to the *Tower*, his Horse that he was accusom'd to Ride, stumbled with him twice or thrice so dangerously that he had almost falln; which thing, tho' it happens almost daily to Persons who fall into no Mischance, yet of old it was accounted a certain Presage of some Misfortune. Also when he came to the *Tower-Wharf*, within a Stone's cast of the Place where his Head was cut off a few Hours after, he met with a Purse His Dis- course with one *Hastings*. servant of his own Name call'd *Hastings*, who having met him in the same Place, when he lay under King *Edward's* Displeasure thro' the Accusation of the Lord *Rivers* the Queen's Brother, and was in great Danger of his Life, put him in Mind of his former Danger, and thereupon he fell into a Discourse with him about it and said, Ah *Hastings*! Dost thou remember, when I once met thee in this Place before with an heavy Heart? Yea, my Lord (said he) very well, and Thanks be to God, your Enemies got no good and you no harm by it. You would say so indeed (said the Lord *Hastings*) if you knew as much as I do now, or as you will shortly. I was never so afraid of my Life, as I was then; but now Matters are well mended with me: Mine Enemies are now in as great Danger as I was then (This he said, because he knew that the Protector by his and others Advice had given

1483. given Order for the Execution of the Lord Rivers, Lord Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan at Pomfret) and I was never Merrier nor more Secure in all my Life. With these Words he parted and went into the Tower, whence he never came out again. Oh the uncertain Confidence and short-sighted Knowledge of Man! When this Lord was most afraid, he was most secure; and when he was secure, Danger was over his Head. By him we may see the Truth of David's Advice, *Oh put not your trust in Princes!* and learn to leave all to God's Providence who delivers us in Dangers, and never leaves us but when we grow Self-confident; of which this great Man was a sad Example, and ought to be a Warning to us in the like Case.

Hastings's Death murmured at and justified. The Protector having thus far proceeded to open himself a plain Way to the Crown by removing all that appear'd in Opposition to it, *Hastings* being Dead, and the Lords of his Party in Prison, was yet at a Plunge, how to justify to the Nation the Severity of these Proceedings against him. For the Lord *Hastings*, tho' in himself no good Man, as his Publick keeping of *Shore's* Wife for his Concubine declared, yet was had in great Esteem by the King's Friends, as a Person of approved Loyalty and good Affection to King *Edward's* Line, and by the People as a Lover of the Common Good, and he was sensible that the News of his Death, which would fly into all Parts from the City apace, would cause great Discontents in all Parts of the Nation: Whereupon he thought it his wisest Course to send for the Lord Mayor and Chief Citizens to him into the Tower, and give them a full Account of the Justice of the Lord *Hastings's* Sufferings; that so the Murmurs of the City being appeased, the Nation might have no cause to repine.

This Contrivance he put in Execution immediately after Dinner the same Day, and having put on Old rusty Armour, which lay neglected in the Tower, and commanded the Duke of Buckingham to do the same, as if their sudden Danger had caused them to take any thing that lay next for their Defence, he and the Duke stood ready to receive them.

When they were come, the Protector told them, "That the Lord *Hastings*, and several other Persons, had conspired and contrived together suddenly to Kill him and the Duke of Buckingham that Day in Council, for what Cause, or for what Design he could not guess, and had not yet time to search it out, because he had no certain Knowledge of the intended Treason before Ten a-Clock of the same Day, so that he had enough to do to stand upon his own Guard, and provide for his own Defence; which tho' they had both done in an Undecent manner, by putting on such filthy Armour, yet Necessity obliging them to it, they were forc'd to take what was next Hand: That God had wonderfully protected them from the Danger he hoped, now the Lord *Hastings* was dead, against whom, tho' there might seem to be something of Cruelty us'd in so sudden an Execution without any Legal Tryal and Hearing, yet there appearing to the King and the Lords of his Council many Reasons to believe, that if he had been kept in Prison, his Complices would have made a formidable Insurrection in the Country to Rescue him, and his Guilt being very Evident, they judg'd it best to inflict the deserved Punishment of his Crimes upon him immediately, that the Peace of the Nation might not be in Danger. This is the real Truth of the Business, and we

1483. have therefore call'd you hither to inform you of it that you may, as you see Cause, satisfy the People of the Justice of the Lord *Hastings's* Sufferings, which tho' we were no ways oblig'd to do, yet out of our Care to please them, we have condescended to it, and we require you thus to Report it. They all answer'd fair, and declar'd their Readiness to Obey, as if they really believed him, tho' in themselves they look'd upon his Harangue as a plausible Pretence for a foul Fact, and so taking their Leaves of him departed. But upon more Mature Deliberation this was not thought sufficient to appease the People's Minds; and therefore soon after the Mayor and Citizens were gone, an Herald of Arms was sent into the City to Publish a Proclamation in all Parts of it, to this Effect:

"That the Lord *Hastings* with divers other wicked Conspirators, had Traiterously contrived the same Day to have Slain the Protector and Duke of Buckingham Sitting in Council, with a Purpose and Design to take upon him the Government of the King and Kingdom, and rule all Things at his Pleasure, hoping that when they were Dead, they should meet no Opposition in their Designs. And in how miserable a Condition this Nation had been, if God had left them in his Hands, appear'd from the former Actions of the said Lord, who being so ill a Man, could not make a good Governour. For he it was, that by his ill Advice enticed the King's Father to many Things much redounding to his Dishonour and to the Universal Damage and Detriment of the Realm, leading him into Debauchery by his Exemplary Wickedness, and procuring Lewd and Ungracious Persons to gratifie his Lusts, and particularly *Shore's* Wife, who was one of his Secret Council in this Treason, by which lewd Living, the said King not only shortned his Days, but also was forced to Oppress and Tax his People, that he might have sufficient to gratify his Expences. And since the Death of the said K. he hath lived in a continual Incontinency with the said *Shore's* Wife, and lay Nightly with her, and particularly the very Night before his Death; so that it was no marvel if his Ungracious Life brought him to as Unhappy a Death, which he was put to by the Special Command of the King's Highness, and of his Honourable and Faithful Council, both for his own Demerits, being so openly taken in his intended Treason, and also least any Delay of his Execution might have encourag'd other Mischievous Persons, who were engaged in the Conspiracy with him, to make an Insurrection for his Deliverance, which being wisely foreseen, and as effectually prevented, was the only means under God's Providence to preserve the whole Realm in Peace and Quietness.

This Proclamation, which was very well directed (as was thought by *Catesby*, who was Chief Actor in this Tragedy) and as fairly written on Parchment, tho' the Expedition of the Publishing of it was look'd upon as Polltick and Wise to prevent the Discontents of the People, yet it did very little Good: for when Men came to compare Things, and consider'd, That the Proclamation was very Elegantly composed, very fairly written, and being very long was yet Publish'd within two Hours after the Death of the Lord *Hastings*, they began to suspect that that Lord had foul Dealings, and that his Ruin being determin'd, it was composed and written before his Death, for the Time after

1483. was not sufficient, either to Compose or Write it in. And hence it was, that some spared not to Reflect upon it. The School-master of *Paul's*, sharply said,

*Here's a very goodly Cast,
Foully Cast away for Haste.*

And a Merchant that stood by him, Answer'd him, It was Written by Prophecy. Thus did the Protector endeavour to Palliate his Wickedness, in Destroying the Lord *Hastings*, but all was in vain; this Action was too foul to receive any tolerable Plea, which would pass with Men of any Thought at all.

The Protector proceeds a gainst *Shore's* Wife.

The Protector having done as much as cou'd be done, to excuse his Cruelty to the Lord *Hastings*, took himself oblig'd to proceed against *Shore's* Wife, whom he had accus'd of the same Treason; lest if he shou'd let her escape, he shou'd betray his Plot: for if she were not Guilty, no more was the Lord *Hastings*; and if he deserved Death, so did she. For this Reason, he sent Sir *Thomas Howard* to her House, with an Order of Council to Apprehend her Person, and Seize her Goods, as forfeited to the King by her Treason; which were both accordingly done; and her Goods, to the value of Two or Three Thousand Marks being taken from her, she was carry'd to Prison into the Tower: Within a few Days after, she was brought to her Examination before the King's Council, and the Protector laid to her Charge, "That she had endeavour'd his Ruin and Destruction several ways; and particularly, by Witchcraft had decay'd his Body, and with the Lord *Hastings* had contriv'd to Assassinate him. But she made so good a Defence for her self, as that there appear'd not the least Likelihood of her being Guilty: Whereupon they, by the Protector's Order, fell upon her for her open and scandalous Whoredom, which every Body knowing she cou'd not Deny. And because they wou'd do something to her to Satisfy him, they deliver'd her over to the Bishop of *London*, to do Publick Penance for her Sin in *St. Paul's* Church, which she accordingly perform'd the next Sunday-Morning, after this Manner:

Shore's Wife does Penance.

Mrs. *Shore* being deprived of all her Ornaments, and Cloath'd with a white Sheet, was brought by way of Procession, with the Cross carried before her, and a Wax Taper in her Hand, to the Church of *St. Paul's* from the Bishop's Palace adjoining; through great Crowds of People gather'd together to behold her; and there Standing before the Preacher, acknowledg'd in a set Form, her open Wickedness, and declared her Repentance for it: In all this Action, she behav'd her self with so much Modesty and Decency, that such as respected her Beauty more than her Fault, never were in greater Admiration of her, than now: for she being a Beautiful and Handsome Woman, wanting nothing in her Face but a little Blush, this shameful Act supply'd that so well, that she appear'd more lovely for it; and as to such, as were glad to see Sin Corrected, yet they pity'd her, because they knew, that the Protector did it more out of Hatred to her Person, than Sin; more out of Malice, than a love to Virtue.

Mrs. *Shore's* Character.

This Woman was Born in *London*, virtuously Educated, and Well Married to a Substantial and Honest Citizen; but being drawn to the Match, rather by Interest than Affection, by her Parents Judgment, than her own Inclination, she never had that Fondness for him, that joyns a Wife inviolably to her Husband's Bed. This

Looseness to her Husband, with that natural Ambition, and Affectation of Gay Cloathing and Greatness, which is usually in Women much above their Fortunes, though almost never so Great, dispos'd her to accept of the King's Kindness, when offer'd; who, besides that he was a very Handsom and Lovely Person, cou'd easily gratify her Desires, and by fulfilling his Lusts, she knew she had Mastery of his Gifts and Treasure; and for these Reasons, she became his Concubine. Her Husband (tho' made Unhappy by her Lewdness) yet carried his Resentments evenly; and after the King had Abus'd her, never wou'd have any thing to do with her, whether out of Reverence to the King's Person, or out of a Principle of Conscience, it is not easy to determine, tho' both might concur. She lived many Years in King *Edward's* Court, and tho' that King had many Concubines, and some of them of much greater Quality than her self, yet he loved her best for her merry and ingenious Behaviour. In this Great, tho' Bad Station, she Demean'd her self with admirable Prudence, and was not Exalted by the King's Favour, but always us'd it with as much Benefit to others as to her self; for she never abus'd the King's Kindness to any Man's Hurt, but always us'd it to their Comfort and Advantage: Where the King took Displeasure against any Man, she would mitigate his Anger and Appease his Mind; and such as were out of Favour, she would Reconcile. For many heinous Offenders she obtain'd Pardon, and got a Relaxation, and sometimes a total Remission of large Fines; and tho' she was the only effectual Suitor almost at Court for such as wanted Places and Preferments, yet she made little Advantage to her self by it; expecting none or very small Reward, and that rather Gay than Rich; either because she was content with doing of a Kindness, or delighted to be Sought to; for Wanton Women and Wealthy, be not always Covetous. In fine, her Lewdness was her only Fault; and tho' that was great enough, yet to have a King for their Bedfellow is such a mighty Temptation, that if no Woman would Condemn her before they have the like Trials, it's to be fear'd, she'd have few to cast a Stone at her. She was Affable and Obliging, Generous and Charitable; and tho', indeed, she was after reduc'd to a miserable Poverty in her Old Age, a just Punishment for her Sin, yet it was a Reproach to many Thousands, that she was so, whom she kept from Beggary; and if they had been Grateful to Requite her for those Kindnesses in her Want, which she scorn'd to Sell in her Prosperity, she might have Liv'd to her Death, in a Condition great enough for her Birth and Degree.

Her Lewdness her only fault.

While the Protector was thus busied at *London*, in making his way to the Crown, and excusing himself for the Death of the Lord *Hastings*, his bloody Order given for the Execution of the Queen's Kindred, the Lord *Rivers* and *Richard*, Lord *Grey*, with *Richard* *Hauke* and Sir *Thomas Vaughan* at *Pomfratt*, was punctually executed by Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, a great Favourite of the Protector's, who was a Man of a desperate Courage, and forward to promote all his Designs. It is thought, they suffer'd Death at the same time the Lord *Hastings* was Beheaded in the Tower; who being a principal Adviser in their Deaths, may be a Warning to us all, how we concur in the undeserved Sufferings of innocent Persons: For God often, and that justly, brings the Evil we

The Earl of *Rivers*, &c. Executed at *Pomfratt*.

1483. we do to others upon our own Heads. The Lord *Hastings*, by advising the Protector to Destroy the Queen's Kindred causlessly, shew'd him the way to do the like to himself. The manner of their Execution was as barbarous as unjust. Great and Heavy Accusations were laid against them, but none prov'd. They had not so much as the formality of a Tryal, but were brought to the Scaffold on the Day appointed; and being branded, in general, with the Name of Traitors, were Beheaded. The Lord *Rivers* wou'd fain have declar'd his Innocency to the People, but *Ratcliffe* wou'd not suffer him, least his Words shou'd lay open the Protector's Cruelty too much, and make both him and his Party odious to the People; and so he died in silence. Sir *Thomas Vaughan* wou'd not endure his Mouth to be stopp'd, but as he was going to the Block he said aloud, A Mischief take them that Expounded the Prophecy, which foretold that G should Destroy King *Edward's* Children, for *George Duke of Clarence*, who for that Suspicion is now Dead; for there still remain'd *Richard G. i. e. Duke of Gloucester*, who now I see is he that shall, and will, accomplish the Prophecy, and Destroy King *Edward's* Children, and all his Allies and Friends, as appeareth by us this Day; against whom I Appeal to the High Tribunal of God, for this wrongful Murder, and our real Innocency. Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* heard this with Regret, and putting it off, said to him in scorn, You have made a goodly Appeal, lay down your Head. Yea, saith Sir *Thomas*, but I Die in the Right; take heed that you Die not in the Wrong: and having this said, he was Beheaded. He, with the other three, were Buried Naked in the Monastery of St. *John* the Evangelist at *Pomfract*.

Then the Conspirators held Council among themselves, how they might bring about their Wicked Purposes. Their chief Difficulty, was to engage the City; and having Gain'd the Lord Mayor, Sir *Edmund Shaw* his Brother, Dr. *John Shaw* a Priest, and Frier *Pinker* Provincial of the *Augustine* Friars, to their Interest, they determin'd, That Doctor *Shaw* should first break the Matter in a Sermon he was to Preach at *Paul's Cross*, and the main Argument he was to use for the Deposing of King *Edward* and the Advancement of his Uncle *Richard*, was resolv'd among them to be the Bastardy of the Two Princes, Sons to *Edward* the Fourth; which disabled them to Inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Tho' this Charge would bring the Scandal of Adultery on the Queen, yet *Richard* and the Conspirators did not consider much, that the whole Royal Family wou'd be Defam'd by it, in the highest degree: On the contrary, (rather than fail of the Sovereignty to which he aspir'd) the Duke of *Gloucester*, and his Emisaries, intended to give out, That King *Edward* the Fourth was Himself a Bastard, tho' His Mother was the Parent of the Protector, and in calling Her an Adulteress, he prophaned the Honour of the very Person that brought him into the World. This Accusation he would have at first only hinted, and spoken mysteriously, that if the People, in abhorrence of such an unnatural Slander, shou'd have been set against the Publisher of it, there might be room to put some other Construction on the Words. *Shaw* was order'd to declare to his Auditory, That King *Edward* had promis'd Marriage to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, by whom he had a Child; and that the Dutcheß of *York* had told him, He was her Husband before God, to prevent His Marrying the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, whose

Children, by King *Edward*, were consequently Bastards. He was not to mention any thing of that King's Illegitimacy, unless he found his Reflection on the Queen's Children wou'd not take. The Doctor was a famous Preacher, and a vast Number of Persons, of all Qualities us'd to flock to hear him: So they thought they had gone a great way in accomplishing their Designs, when they had got him to their Side. *Shaw* was not only ready to speak what the Conspirators would have him, but turn'd his whole Discourse against the Legitimacy of the Young King and his Brother: He began his Sermon with this Expression, *Spurea Vitilamina non agent Radices altas*, Bastard Slips, shall never take deep Root. He shew'd the Blessings that God bestow'd on the Fruits of the Marriage-Bed, and the Unhappiness of those Children who were born out of Wedlock. Several Examples of both kinds he us'd to prove the Truth of his Assertion. He took occasion from what he had said, to shew the Reason they had to fear, that the Reign of the present King wou'd be Unfortunate; and enlarg'd very much on the Great things that they might hope for, from the Government of a Prince of the Duke of *York's* illustrious Qualities, the Father of King *Edward* the Fourth, or rather, of the Lord Protector, who was the only Lawful begotten Son of the late Duke of *York*, who was Kill'd at the Battel of *Wakefield*. He then declared, That King *Edward* was never Legally Married to the Queen, being Husband, before God, to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*; besides, neither He, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were thought Legitimate by those of the Duke of *York's* Family, who were most acquainted with the Dutcheß of *York's* Intrigues with several Persons of Her Husband's Court, whom they Resembled in the Face: But my Lord Protector, that very Noble Prince, the Pattern of all Heroick Deeds, represented the very Face and Mind of the Great Duke his Father: He (says the False Preacher) is the perfect Image of his Father; his Features are the same, and the very express Likeness of that Noble Duke. At these Words, 'twas design'd the Protector should have enter'd, as if it had been by chance; and the Conspirators hoped, that the Multitude taking the Doctor's Words, as coming from the immediate Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, wou'd have been induc'd to have Cry'd out, God Save King *Richard*. Which Artifice was prevented, either by the Doctor's making too much haste to come to that part of his Sermon, or the Lord Protector's Negligence to come in at the Instant when he was saying it; for it was over before he came, and the Priest was enter'd on some other Matter when the Duke appear'd, which, however he left, and Repeated again, abruptly, The Lord Protector, that very Noble Prince, the Pattern of all Heroick Deeds, Represents the very face and Mind of the Great Duke his Father; his Features are the same, and the plain express Likeness of that Noble Duke. The Protector, Accompanied by the Duke of *Buckingham*, past thro' the Multitude, as the Priest said this: but the People were so far from Saluting him King, that they were struck with Indignation at the Preacher's Base Flattery and Treason; who, when he had clos'd his Sermon, went Home, Hid himself for Shame, and never after durst shew his Face in the World. Being inform'd how Odious he was become for what he had done, he fell, out of Grief and Remorse, into a Consumption, of which he died in a short time. He Preached this Nota-

Dr Shaw's
Sermon
against the
Queen's
Children.

The
Charge of
Bastardy
laid to the
Princes.

Richard ac-
cuses his
Mother of
Adultery.

His Dea-
vice to
Move the
Assembly.

Disap-
pointed.

1483. ble Discourse, on a Sunday which was to be Preparatory to the Duke of Buckingham's Oration, on the Tuesday following, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Council of the City of London, assembled for that purpose in the Guild-Hall; where that Duke mounting the Hustings, and Silence being commanded in the Lord Protector's Name, spoke to this effect, several Lords, who were privy to the Secret, attending him;

The D. of Buck-ingham's Oration to the Citizens.

Gentlemen, out of the Zeal and Sincere Affection we have for your Persons and Interests, we are come to acquaint you with a Matter of High Importance, equally pleasing to God, and profitable to the Commonwealth, and to none more, than to you the Citizens of this Famous and Honourable City. For the very Thing, which we believe you have a long while wanted and wish'd for, what you wou'd have Purchas'd at any Rate, and gone far to fetch, we are come hither to bring, without any Labour, Trouble, Cost, or Peril to you: And what can this be, but your own Safety, the Peace of your Wives and Daughters, the Security of your Goods and Estates, which were all in Danger till now? Who, of you, cou'd call what he had his own, there were so many Snares laid to Deceive you? So many Fines and Forfeitures, Taxes and Impositions, of which there was no End, and often no Necessity; or if there was, it was occasion'd by Riots and Unreasonable Waste, rather than a Just and Lawful Charge, for the Defence or Honour of the State. Your best Citizens were Plunder'd, and their Wealth squander'd by Profuse Favourites: Fifteenths, and the usual Subsidies wou'd not do, but under the plausible Name of Benevolence, your Goods were taken from you by the Commissioners much against your Will, as it by that Name, was understood, That every Man shou'd pay, not what he pleas'd, but what the King wou'd have him; who never was moderate in his Demands, always Exorbitant, turning Forfeitures into Fines, Fines into Ransoms; Small Offences into Misprison of Treason, and Misprison into Treason itself. We need not give you Examples of it, *Burder's Case* will never be forgot; who for a Word spoken in haste, was cruelly Beheaded. Did not Judge *Markham* Resign his Office, rather than Joyn with his Brethren, in Passing that Illegal Sentence on that Honest Man? Were you not all Witnesses of the Barbarous Treatment one of your own Body, the Worshipful Aldermen *Cook*, met with? And your own selves know, too well, how many Instances of this kind I might name among you. King *Edward* gaining the Crown by Conquest, all that were any ways Related to those that were his Enemies, lay under the Charge of Treason: Thus half of the Kingdom became at once Traytors; for half of the Kingdom were either Friends to King *Henry*, or Relations or Friends to some that were so. Tho' Open War with Invaders, is Terrible and Destructive to a Nation, yet Civil Dissentions are much more fatal, and to be dreaded; with which His Reign was more disturb'd, than the Reigns of all his Predecessors: but he is Dead and Gone, and God Forgive his Soul. It cost the People more Blood and Treasure to get the Crown for This, than it had done to Conquer *France* Twice: Half of the Nobility of the Realm lost their

Hol. writes he was Hang'd at Tyburn.

1483. Lives or Estates in his Quarrel; and when the Dispute was over, the Peace that follow'd was not much safer than the War: Every Rich and Landed Man was in danger; for whom cou'd he Trust that Distrusted his own Brother? whom Spare, that Kill'd his own Brother? or who cou'd perfectly Love him, whom his own Brother cou'd not Love? We shall, in Honour to the Memory of One that was our Sovereign, forbear to Mention, who were the Persons on which he was so lavish of his Favours; only 'tis well known, that those that deserved them most, had least of them. Was not *Shore's* Wife his Chief Minister? Was not there more Court made to her than to all the Lords in *England*; except those that were the Strumpet's Favourites? Who, poor Woman, was her self Chaste and of Good Reputation, till he deluded her to his Lust, and tempted her from her Husband, an Honest Substantial Young Man, whom you all know. Indeed I am ashamed to say it, the King's Appetite in that Point was insatiable and intolerable: no Woman cou'd escape him, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, Wife or Virgin, all fell Victims to his Lust; by which Means, the most Honourable Houses were Defil'd, and the most Honest Families were Corrupted. You of this Renown'd City suffer'd most: You who deserv'd most from him for your readiness to Serve the House of *York* with your lives and Fortunes, which tho' he Ill Requited, there is of that House, who, by God's Grace shall Reward you better. I shall not enlarge on this Subject, you have heard it from One, whom you will hearken to more, as you ought to do; for I am not so vain as to think, what I can say, will have so great Authority with you, as the Words of a Preacher; a Man so Wise and so Pious, that he wou'd not utter a Thing, in the Pulpit especially, which he did not firmly believe 'twas his Duty to Declare. You remember, I doubt not, how he set forth the last Sunday, the Right of the most Excellent Prince *Richard*, Duke of *Gloucester*, unto the Crown of this Realm: For, as he prov'd to you, the Children of King *Edward* the Fourth were never Lawfully Begotten, the King leaving his Lawful Wife, the Lady *Lucy*, to contract an Illegal Marriage with the Queen: My Noble Lord the Protector's Reverence to the Dutche's his Mother, will not permit me to say any thing further concerning what the worthy Doctor alledg'd of her Familiarity with Others besides her own Husband, for fear of Offending the Duke of *Gloucester* her Son: Tho' for these Causes, the Crown of *England* is devolv'd to the most Excellent Prince, the Lord Protector, as the only Lawfully Begotten Son of the Right Noble Duke of *York*. This, and the Consideration of his many High Qualities, has prevail'd with the Lords and Commons of *England*, of the Northern Counties especially, who have declared they will not have a Bastard Reign over them, to Petition that High and Mighty Prince, to take on him the Sovereign Power for the Good of the Realm, to which he has so Rightful and Lawful a Title: We have reason to fear he will not grant our Request, being a Prince whose Wisdom foresees the Labour both of Mind and Body that attends the Supreme Dignity: Which Office is not a Place for a Child? as that Wise Man observ'd, who said *Vae Regno cuius Rex Puer est*, Wo

1483. "Wo is that Realm that has a Child to their King! Wherefore we have reason to bless God that the Prince whose Right it is to reign over us is of so ripe Age, so great Wisdom and Experience, who tho' he is unwilling to take the Government upon himself, yet the Petition of the Lords and Gentlemen will meet with the more favourable Acceptance, if you the Worshipful Citizens of the Metropolis of the Kingdom will joyn with us in our Request; which for your own Welfare we doubt not but you will. However, I heartily entreat you to do it for the Common Good of the People of *England*, whom you will oblige by Choosing them so good a King, and His Majesty by shewing early your ready Disposition to his Election. In which my most dear Friends, I require you in the Name of my Self and these Lords, to shew us plainly your Minds and Intentions. The Duke stop'd here, expecting the Assembly would have cry'd out, *God save King Richard*: but all were hush'd and Silent, as if the Auditory was confounded with the Extravagance of the Proposal; at which the Duke was extreamly surpriz'd, and taking aside the Mayor, with some others of the Conspirators, said to them softly, *How comes it the People are so still? Sir*, says the Mayor, *It may be they don't understand you well.* The Duke to help the Matter repeated his Speech with a little Variation, and with such Grace and Eloquence, that Never so ill a Subject was handled with so much Oratory. However the Assembly continu'd Silent. Then the Mayor told the Duke, "The Citizens had not been accusom'd to hear any one but the Recorder, and perhaps they wou'd take the Thing better from him who is the Mouth of the City. Upon which the Recorder *Fitz-Williams*, much against his Will spoke to the same Purpose at the Mayor's Command; and yet he manag'd his Speech so well as to be understood to speak the Duke's Sense, and not his own. The People being still as before, the Duke mutter'd to the Lord Mayor, saying, "They are wonderfully Obstinate in their Silence: And turning to the Assembly, he said, "Dear Friends, We came to acquaint you with a Thing which we needed not have done, had it not been for the Affection we bear you. The Lords and Commons could have determin'd the Matter without you, but would gladly have you joyn with us, which is for your Honour and Profit, tho' you do not see it nor consider it: We require you therefore to give your Answer one way or another, Whether you are willing, as the Lords are, to have the most Excellent Prince the Lord Protector to be your King or not? The Assembly then began to murmur, and at last some of the Protector's and the Duke's Servants, some of the City Apprentices, and the Rabble that had crouded into the Hall, cry'd out, *King Richard, King Richard?* and threw up their Hats in token of Joy. The Duke perceiv'd easily enough who they were that made the Noise; yet, as if the Acclamation had been General, he took hold of it; Saying, "Tis a Goodly and a Joyful Cry to hear every Man with one Voice agree to it, and no body say No; Since therefore, Dear Friends, we see you are all as one Man inclin'd to have this Noble Prince to be your King, we shall Report the Matter so effectually to him, that we doubt not 'twill be much for your Advantage. We require you to Attend us to Morrow with our joyn't Petition to his Grace; as has been already Agreed on between us. Then the Duke and the Lords came down from the Hall-

ings and the Assembly broke up, the most part of them with Weeping Eyes and Aching Hearts; tho' they were forc'd to hide their Tears and their Sorrows as much as possible for fear of giving Offence, which had been Dangerous.

The next Day the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Chief of the Common-Council resorted to *Baynard's-Castle*, where the Protector then lay; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, Attended by several Lords and Gentlemen, came thither also. The Duke sent Word to the Protector that a great Company attended to move a Business of the Highest Importance to him, and desir'd Audience of his Grace. The Duke of *Gloucester* made some Difficulty of coming forth, as if he was jealous whether their Errand was good or not.

The Duke of *Buckingham* took this Occasion to shew the Lord Mayor and Citizens how little the Protector was Conscious of their Design; and then he sent another Messenger with so Humble and so Earnest a Request to be Heard, that his Grace came forth; yet with so much affected Diffidence, that he seem'd unwilling to draw near them till he knew their Business. Then the Duke of *Buckingham* very submissively beg'd Pardon for Himself and his Company, and Liberty to propose to him what they had to offer, without which they durst not proceed; tho' 'twas for his Grace's Honour and the Good of the Realm. The Protector gave them Leave to propose what they would, Saying, "He believ'd None of 'em ment him any Harm. The Duke then set forth Elegantly and Pathetically "the Grievances of the People, and pray'd him to Redress them by Assuming the Sovereign Authority, which of Right belong'd to him, and which the whole Kingdom with unusual Unanimity desired he would take to himself for the benefit of the Commonwealth, as much as for his Grace's Honour. The Protector seem'd mightily surpriz'd; and Answer'd, "That tho' he knew the Things he alledg'd to be true, yet he lov'd King *Edward* and his Children above any Crown whatsoever, and therefore cou'd not Grant their Request. However he pardon'd their Petition, and thank'd them for their Love, but desir'd them to be Obedient to the Prince under whom Himself and they liv'd at that Time, and whom he would Advise to the best of his Capacity, as he had already done to the Satisfaction of all Parties. The Duke of *Buckingham* murmur'd at this Reply, and after having ask'd and obtain'd Pardon a second time for what he was about to say, He declar'd aloud to the Protector, "That they were all Agreed not to have any of King *Edward's* Line to Reign over them: That they were gone too far to go back; for which Reason if his Grace wou'd be pleas'd to take the Crown upon him, they humbly beseech him to do it: Or if he he would give them a resolute Answer to the Contrary, which they should be loath to Hear; They must and wou'd Look out for some Worthy Person that wou'd Accept of their Proposal. At these Words, the Protector began to comply a little, and at last he Spoke thus to them; "Since we perceive that the whole Realm is bent upon it not to have King *Edward's* Children to Govern them, of which we are Sorry, and knowing that the Crown can be long to no Man so justly as to our Self, the Right Heir, lawfully begotten of the Body of our most Dear Father *Richard* late Duke of *Tork*; to which Title is now joyn'd your Election

Richard Chosen King by the Rabble.

Buckingham's Speech to him.

His Answer.

He accepts of the Crown.

1483. " Election the Nobles and Commons of this
 " Realm, which we, of all Titles Possible, take
 " for the most Effectual; we are content and
 " agree favourably to receive your Petition
 " and Request, and according to the same take
 " upon us the Royal Estate, Preheminence and
 " Kingdoms of the Two Noble Realms Eng-
 " land and France; The One from this day for-
 " ward by us and our Heirs, to Rule, Govern
 " and Defend; The Other by God's Grace, and
 " your good Help to get again, Subdue, and Esta-
 " blish for ever in due Obedience unto this Realm
 " of England; and we ask of God to Live no
 " longer than we intend to Procure its Ad-
 " vancement. At the Close of his Speech there
 " was a great Shout of God save King Richard.
 " The Lords went up to the King, and the People
 " departed every Man talking for or against the
 " Revolution, as he was inclin'd by Humour or
 " Interest. 'Twas easie to perceive that however
 " the thing appear'd Strange to King Richard,
 " 'twas acted by concert with him, and what
 " was done, was only to preserve Decency and
 " Order.

THE LIFE and REIGN OF RICHARD III.

His Dis-
simulation.

THE next Day he went to *Westminster*, Sat himself Down in the Court of King's-Bench, made a very Gracious Speech to the Assembly there present, and promis'd them Halcyon days from the Beginning of his Reign.

To shew his Forgiving Temper, he order'd one *Hog* whom he hated, and who was fled to Sanctuary for fear of him, to be brought before him, took him by the Hand and spoke favourably to him, which the Multitude thought was a Token of his Clemency, and the Wisemen of his Vanity. In his return Home, he saluted every one he met.

He is
Crown'd.

From this Mock Election in *June* he commenc'd his Reign, and was crown'd in *July* with the same Provision that was made for the Coronation of his Nephew. But to be sure of his Enemies he sent for 5000 Men out of the North, who came up to Town ill Cloath'd and worse Harness'd, their Horses poor and their Arms rusty; who being muster'd in *Finsbury-Fields* were the Contempt of the Spectators. The Appearance of these Rude Fellows in Arms, gave Cause to the People to suspect, that as he was conscious of his Guilt, he was apprehensive of its Punishment.

On the 4th of *July* he came to the Tower by Water, with his Wife *Ann* Daughter to *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*; and the next Day he created *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Sir Thomas* *Howard* his Son Earl of *Surrey*, *William* Lord *Berkly* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Francis* Lord *Lovell* Viscount *Lovell*, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and the Lord *Stanley* was set at Liberty and made Lord Steward of the Household: The King being afraid of the Lord *Strange* who was raising Men in *Lincolnshire*, as was reported The Archbishop of *York* was releas'd from his Imprisonment, and Bishop *Morton* deliver'd to the Charge of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who engag'd to keep him in Safe Custody at his Man-

nour of *Brecknock*. King *Richard* also created His Son Seventeen Knights of the *Bath*, and his Son *Edward* created Prince of *Wales*. The same Day he and his Queen rode through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, and the next Day they were both crown'd in the Abby-Church with extraordinary Pomp. What is most Observable in the Procession is, That the Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh, bore up the Queen's Train. After the Ceremony was over, the King dismiss'd all the Lords who attended his Coronation except the Lord *Stanley*, whom he retain'd till he heard that the Lord *Strange*, his Son, was Quiet in the Country. He gave the Lords a strict Charge to see their several Counties were well Govern'd and none of his Subjects Wrong'd. He liberally rewarded his Northern Men, who valu'd themselves so much on the King's Favour, that presuming to commit many acts of Injustice and Oppression upon it, he was forc'd to take a Journey into the North to reclaim them. What is ill got is never well kept; which King *Richard* soon shew'd by the Murther of his two Innocent Nephews, the Young King and his Tender Brother; whose Death has however been much doubted of since, whether 'twas in his Time or not; *Perkin Warbeck*, thro' the Malice of some and the Folly of others, having a long time abus'd the World, and impos'd himself upon Princes as well as People, for the Younger of King *Edward* the Fourth's Sons. King *Richard* contriv'd the Destruction of the two Young Princesses in a Progress he made to *Gloucester*, to Honour the Town, which gave him the Title of Duke, with a Visit: He imagin'd that while his Nephews liv'd, his Right to the Crown would be call'd in question; wherefore he resolv'd to rid himself of them, and to that end sent *John Green*, a Creature of his, to *Sir Robert Brackenbury*, Constable of the Tower with a Letter, desiring him one How or other to make away with the two Children whom he had in Keeping.

He con-
trives the
Destruc-
tion of
the two
Young
Princes.

1483. Keeping. *Brackenbury* refus'd to do it, and *Green* return'd to King *Richard*, who then lay at *Warwick*, with the Constable's Answer; at which the King was so displeas'd, that he said to a Page of his the same Night, *Alas! Who is there that a Man can trust? Those that I have brought up my self, those that I thought wou'd be most ready to serve me, even those fail me, and will not do what I command them.* The Page reply'd, Sir, *There lyes a Man on the Pallat in the Outer Chamber, who I am sure will think Nothing too hard that you shall Require him to do.* Meaning Sir *James Tyrrell*, a brave handfom Man, who deserv'd a better Master, and wou'd have merited the Esteem of all Men had his Virtue been as great as his Valour. He was Ambitious, and with regret saw Sir *Richard Ratcliff* soar above him in his Master's Favour. The King knowing how aspiring he was, imagin'd the Page had hit upon the Person who was for his Purpose, believing *Tyrrell* wou'd do any thing in hopes of further Preferment; So he went out into the Chamber where he found Sir *James* and Sir *Thomas Tyrrell* his Brother on a Pallat Bed, to whom he said merrily, *What are you a Bed so soon Gentlemen?* And calling Sir *James* to him, told him his Mind and what he wanted of him; whom he found ready to do whatever he commanded him. The next Day therefore he sent him with a Letter to Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, requiring him to deliver Sir *James* the Keys of the Tower, to the end that he might accomplish the King's Pleasure in certain things he had given him Commandment about. Sir *Robert* having restor'd the Keys to this Assassin, he resolv'd to murder the two Princes in the ensuing Night. When the Elder, who was call'd King *Edward* the Fifth, was told that his Uncle was crown'd King; He sigh'd and said, *Ah! wou'd my Uncle let me have my Life, he might take my Kingdom.* The Person that told him so, comforted him as well as he could, and for a little while the King and his Brother were well us'd; but afterwards they were shut up Close, and one Servant only allow'd to Attend them. Then the Young King apprehended what would be his Fate, gave himself over to Sorrow and Despair; and the Prince his Brother was the Companion of his Grief as well as of his Misfortune. Sir *James Tyrrell* contriv'd to have them murder'd in their Beds, and appointed one *Miles Forrest*, a noted Russian, and *John Dighton* his Groom a lusty Fellow, to see Execution done. Those that waited near the Prince's Lodging's were Removed, and Way made for *Forrest* and *Dighton*, to enter their Chamber, unperceiv'd of any one, at Midnight. The poor Youths were Asleep in their Beds, whom the two Assassins wrap'd up in the Blankets and Coverlaid of the Bed, clapt the Feather-bed and Pillows upon them, stopt their Mouths and smother'd them to Death. When the Russians perceiv'd by their Struggling that they were Dying, and afterwards by their Lying still that they were Dead, they laid their Bodies out Naked upon the Bed, and fetch'd Sir *James Tyrrell* to see them, who ordered the Murderers to Bury them at the Stair-foot deep in the Ground under a Heap of Stones. Then *Tyrrell* Rode to the King, and gave him a full Account of the Murder, with which he was so well pleased, that 'tis said, he Knighted him at that time; tho' he seem'd not to approve of their being Buried in so vile a Corner, they being the Sons of a King: Upon which, Sir *Robert Brackenbury's* Chaplain took their Bodies up, and Buried them privately in a Place, that, by occasion of his Death, never came to light. Sir *James Tyrrell*, when he was afterwards

Sir James Tyrrell undertakes to murder them.

They are murder'd between two Feather-beds.

in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, committed to the Tower for Treason, confess'd the Murder in the manner we have related it: So did *Dighton*, and both the Master and the Man, and *Forrest* the Warder came to miserable Ends, thro' the Just Judgment of God, the Avenger of Innocent Blood. *Dighton* and *Forrest*, tho' they were not Executed by the Hangman, died in a most Horrible manner, rotting away by degrees. Sir *James Tyrrell* was Beheaded, and King *Richard* himself, Slain by his Enemies, and his Body ignominiously used by the Rabble. He could never after be at rest; his Guilt haunted him like a Spectre; He was afraid of his own Shadow when he went abroad, his Eyes rowl'd in his Head; his Limbs trembled, and his Hand was always on his Dagger; His sleep was ever disturb'd by frightful Dreams; he would suddenly Start up, Leap out of his Bed and Run about the Chamber. Nor did he long Enjoy the Fruits of his Bloody Policy; for tho' the Princes were Remov'd, New Enemies arose from time to time, that kept him in continual Fear thro' the Course of his short Reign. The First that Conspired against him, was the very Person who had been most instrumental in his Advancement, the D. of *Buckingham*, whose intimacy with him, commenced from the Death of K. *Edward* the Fourth. We must look a little backward into the beginning of their Confederacy, the better to clear the History of this Duke's Misfortunes. On the Death of King *Edward* he sent a trusty Servant of his to the Duke of *Gloucester*, to offer him his Service, and that he wou'd Attend him with a Thousand Men, whenever he pleas'd to command him. The Duke of *Gloucester* return'd him Thanks, and inform'd the Duke of *Buckingham* with his Secret Designs. At *Northampton*, *Buckingham* met the Duke of *Gloucester*, at the Head of Three Hundred Horse, and joyn'd with him in all his Undertakings; He accompanied him to *London*, and stayed with him till after the Coronation: He went with him to *Gloucester*, and there he took his Leave of him to return Home; where he was no sooner arrived, than he began to Repent of what he had done; and to think he had not been sufficiently Rewarded for it by the Usurper. The Reason of his First Discontent, is said to be this: Some time before the Usurper was Crown'd, 'twas agreed between him and the Duke of *Buckingham*, that the latter should have all the Lands belonging to the Duke of *Hereford*, to which he pretended to have a Title, by his Descent from the House of *Lancaster*; his Mother being the Daughter of *Edmund Beaufort*, Duke of *Somerset*, Brother to *John* Duke of *Somerset*, Father to *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to King *Henry VII.* But this Title having some Relation to that of the Crown, the Usurper would not hear of Restoring him to the Duke of *Hereford's* Estate, and rejected his Petition with Indignation and Threats, when he was in possession of the Sovereignty; which the Duke of *Buckingham* so highly resented, that from that time forward he contrived how he might Pull him Down from the Throne upon which he had Set him. We are told he feign'd himself Sick, and excused his Attendance at the Coronation, and that King *Richard* should send him word, if he would not come and Ride he would make him be Carried. This Circumstance of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Discontent is not given Credit to, by those who consider the Natures of the Usurper and of the Duke, being both of them the

1483. The Murderers come to ill Ends. King Richard's Terrors of Conscience.

The Duke of Buckingham fall out with him.

greatest

1483. greatest Dissemblers in the World: The one would not so rashly have provok'd a powerful Enemy, nor the other have given a Jealous Tyrant occasion to suspect his Fidelity: The Truth is, the Duke of Buckingham was a high Spirited Man, and envied the Glory of another so much, that when he saw the Crown set upon King Richard's Head, he cou'd not endure the Sight, but turn'd his Head away. Others Write, that they continu'd good Friends till after his return Home, and that the Usurper dismiss'd him at Gloucester with Rich Gifts and Extraordinary Marks of his Favour and Affection: When he came to Brecknock, he convers'd much with Dr. Moreton, Bishop of Ely, whom he had there in Keeping. This Prelate was a very Wise Politick Person, a Man of Learning and of a Winning Behaviour. He had been always Faithful to King Henry; and when he fell in with the Party of King Edward, on King Henry's Death, he serv'd him as faithfully, and was one of the Lords whom the Usurper seiz'd at the Council in the Tower. The Bishop perceiving the Duke of Buckingham was pleas'd with his Company and Discourse, thought he might improve the Favour he had obtain'd of him to the Advantage of the Common-wealth, by getting him to Joyn in a Conspiracy against King Richard, towards whom, he found, he was not very well inclin'd; yet he manag'd the Matter so warily, that he rather seem'd to Follow than to Lead him, and brought him by degrees to open his whole Mind to him, and to engage in Prosecuting a Design which he had form'd, to bring about a Match between Henry Earl of Richmond, and the Lady Elizabeth, Eldest Daughter to King Edward, by which Marriage, the Two Houses of York and Lancaster wou'd be United, and an End put to the Long and Bloody Disputes between the Two Factions. He durst not come to the Point presently, but advanced to it step by step, as he saw the Duke of Buckingham prepared to hearken to it.

His Discourse with the Bp. of Ely.

When that Lord came to Brecknock first, he Prais'd the King, and boasted what Great Things the Nation might expect from such a Prince: The Bishop reply'd; "My Lord, 'Twould be Folly in me to Lye, and if I should Swear the contrary, your Lordship wou'd not, I suppose, believe me; had Things gone as I would have had them, King Henry's Son had been King, and not King Edward. But when by God's Providence, he was deprived of the Crown, and King Edward advanced to the Throne, I was not so mad, as to bring a Dead Man in competition with a Living One: So I became King Edward's Faithful Chaplain, and should have been glad that his Son had Succeeded him: However, since God has otherwise order'd it, I shall not kick against the Pricks, nor labour to Set up whom the Almighty has pull'd Down: As for the late Protector, the King that now is---- Here he stopt short, as if he had said too much already, to heighten the Duke's Curiosity to know what he had to say more. The Duke earnestly desired him to proceed, promising him, upon his Honour, That never any Hurt should come of it; and perhaps, it might produce more Good than he was aware of; Saying, he intended to consult him, and to be govern'd by his Advice; for which cause only, he had procur'd of the King to have him in his Custody, where he might reckon himself at Home; otherwise, he had been deliver'd to those that would not

1483. have been so kind to him. The Bishop humbly thank'd him, and said, "Indeed, my Lord, I don't care to talk much of Princes, as a thing which is dangerous, tho' the Words may be innocent; for if they be not taken in Good part, they may be fatal to him that speaks them, the Prince, putting what Construction he pleases upon them: I often think of the Fable in Esop, when the Lyon Proclaim'd That no Horn'd Beast should stay in the Wood, on pain of Death; One that had a Bunch of Flesh in his Forehead, fled away in haste: the Fox meeting him, ask'd him, Whither so fast? The Beast answer'd, Troth I don't know nor don't care, provided I was out of the Wood, as the Proclamation commands all Horned Beasts to be gone. You Fool, says the Fox, thou mayest stay, the Lyon does not mean thee; it is not a Horn that grows in thy Head; No, quoth the Beast, I know that well enough, but what if he should call it a Horn, where am I then? The Duke Laugh'd at the Tale, and answered, "I warrant you, my Lord, neither the Lyon nor the Boar, shall resent any Thing that is said here, it shall never go any further I assure you. The Bishop reply'd, "If it did, were the Thing that I was about to say, understood as I meant it, I should deserve Thanks; but taken as I suppose it wou'd be, it might perhaps turn to your Prejudice and mine. This rais'd the Duke's Curiosity still higher; upon which the Bishop proceeded thus: "As for the late Protector, since he is now King, I don't intend to dispute his Title; however, for the good of the Realm he Governs (of which I am a poor Member) I was about to wish, that to the Good Qualities he possesses, it had pleased God to have added some of those Excellent Virtues, requisite for the Governing a Kingdom, which are so conspicuous in the Person of your Grace. The End of Sir Thomas Moor's History.

Here Ends Sir Thomas Moor.
What follows, is taken from Hall
and Hollinshead's Chronicles.

The Duke wondering why the Bishop made such frequent Pauses, was the more eager to have him speak his Mind freely, and reply'd; "I cannot but take notice of your Stopping so often in the midst of your Discourse, which hinders my making any Judgment of your Opinion of the King, or your Good Will towards me. As for any good Qualities in me, I pretend to none, and expect no Praise on account of my Merit. I plainly perceive you have some hidden Meaning which you reserve from me, either out of Fear or Shame. You may be bold and free with me who am your Friend; I assure you on my Honour, that I will be as Secret in this Case, as the Deaf and Dumb Person is to the Singer, or the Tree to the Hunter.

The Bishop grew Bolder on the Duke's Promise of Secrecy, in which he was encouraged, by the Discoveries he made of Buckingham's Hatred to the King, he resolv'd therefore to come to the Point, and to propose to the Duke, That either out of Ambition, or his Love to his Country, he should attempt to Destroy the Tyrant.

To this End, he resum'd his former Conversation in this manner: "My singular Good Lord; Since I have been your Grace's Prisoner, I have not known what it is to be de-

1483. " deprived of Liberty ; and to avoid Idleness,
 " the Mother and Nurse of Vice, I have spent
 " my Time in Reading. I have Read in some
 " of my Books, That no Man was Born for
 " himself only : He owes a Duty to his Pa-
 " rents that Begat him ; to his Relations and
 " Friends for Proximity of Blood and Good
 " Offices ; but above all to the Country,
 " whose Air he first breath'd ; and this Duty
 " is never to be forgotten : For which Rea-
 " son, I consider the Present State of this
 " Realm, wherein I was Born, and in these
 " Considerations, I cannot help making Re-
 " flections on what a Governor we now have,
 " and what a Ruler we might have. In the
 " present Circumstances of Affairs, the King-
 " dom must soon decay : Confusion and De-
 " struction will certainly be the sudden end of
 " Disorder and Mis-rule. All my Hope is in your
 " Grace : When I reflect on your Valour, your
 " Justice, Impartiality, your Zeal for the Pub-
 " lick Welfare, your Learning, your Sense and
 " Eloquence, I rejoyce at the Happiness of Eng-
 " land, that possesses so Good and so Great a
 " Prince, worthy the Highest Dignities : But
 " when I on the other side consider the Good
 " Qualities of the late Protector (now call'd
 " King) how they are violated and subverted
 " by Tyranny, eclipsed by Blind and Insatiate
 " Ambition, and changed from Mild and Hu-
 " man, to Cruel and Bloody ; I cannot forbear
 " declaring openly to you, That he is neither
 " fit to be King of so Noble a Realm, nor so
 " Noble a Realm fit to be Govern'd by such a
 " Tyrant, whose Kingdom, were it larger than
 " it is, could not long continue : God will over-
 " throw those that are thirsty of Blood ; he will
 " bring horrible Slaughter upon them : How
 " many Brave and Virtuous Persons were Mur-
 " der'd to make way for him to the Throne ?
 " did he not accuse his own Mother, an Ho-
 " nourable and Religious Princess, of Adultery ?
 " Which, if it had been true, a Duriful Child
 " would have past it over in silence. Did he
 " not declare his two Brothers and his two Ne-
 " phews Bastards ? And what is still more bar-
 " barous, did he not cause those two poor Inno-
 " cent Princes, whose Blood cries aloud for
 " Vengeance, to be cruelly Murdered ? My Heart
 " melts when I think of their Untimely Fate ;
 " and my Soul, with Horror, remembers this
 " Bloody Butcher, this Inhumane Monster. What
 " Man can be sure of his own Life, under the
 " Dominion of a Prince, who spared not his own
 " Blood ? Especially, if at any time he is suspi-
 " cious of his Fidelity to him, and that he is
 " carrying on Ill Designs against him, as every
 " thing will be term'd, that tends to the Good
 " of the Publick : all will be reckon'd Guilty by
 " him, that are great and Rich. 'Tis enough
 " for Persons to have large Possessions to pro-
 " voke his Wrath. Now, my Lord, to conclude
 " this Discourse with what I have to say to your
 " Grace ; I Conjure you by your Love to God,
 " your Illustrious Line, and your Native Coun-
 " try, to take the Imperial Crown of this Realm
 " upon you, to restore this Kingdom to its an-
 " cient Splendour, and deliver it from the Vio-
 " lence of the Oppressor. I dare affirm, if the
 " Turk stood in Competition with this Bloody
 " Tyrant, This Killer of Infants, the People of
 " England would Prefer him to Richard, who
 " now sits in the Throne. How much more
 " then would they Rejoyce to live under the Go-
 " vernment of so Excellent a Prince as your
 " Grace ? Despise not, neither lose so fair an
 " Occasion of Saving your Self and your Dear

Bishop
Moreton
speaks
openly a-
gainst K.
Richard.

He pro-
poses to
the Duke
to set up
for the
Crown.

Country : But if you will not your self accept
 of the Sovereignty of this Kingdom ; if the
 Toils and Hazards of a Crown, prevail over
 you more than the Charms of Power, I Intreat
 you, by the Faith you owe to God, and your
 Oath to St. George, Patron of the Honourable
 Garter, (of which Order you are a Compani-
 on) by your Affection to the Place that gave
 you Birth, and to the English Nation ; that
 you will in your High and Princely Wisdom,
 think of some Means of advancing such a
 Good Governour, as you shall appoint to Rule
 and Govern them. All the Hopes of the Peo-
 ple of England are in you, and to you only
 can they fly for Succour. If you could Set
 up the House of Lancaster once more, or Mar-
 ry the Eldest Daughter of King Edward to
 some Great and Potent Prince, the New King
 would not long Enjoy his Usurp'd Empire :
 All Civil War, would cease, Domestick Dis-
 cord would sleep, and universal Peace and
 Profit would be the Blessings of this Noble
 Realm.

When the Bishop had done speaking, the Duke
 continued Silent for some time : The Bishop
 chang'd Colour, and was very much Concern'd
 at it, expecting his Proposal would have been
 receiv'd with Joy and Greediness.

The Duke perceiving the Fright he was in,
 said, " Fear nothing, my Lord, I will keep my
 Word with you ; to Morrow we'll Talk more
 of the Matter, let us now go to Supper.

The Duke the next Day sent for the Bishop,
 who had not all that while been very Easy, for
 fear how his last Conversation would be taken.

Buckingham repeated almost all the Bishop of E-
 ly had said to him, and when he had done, he
 pull'd off his Hat and made this sort of a Prayer,
 " O Lord God ! Creator of all things ; how
 " much is thy Kingdom of England and the Eng-
 " lish Nation indebted to thy Goodness ? Tho'
 " we are now Oppress'd by an Evil Governour,
 " yet I hope e're long, by Thy Help, to pro-
 " vide such a Ruler, as shall be to Thy Pleasure
 " and the Security of the Common-wealth. He
 " then put on his Hat, and apply'd himself thus to
 " the Bishop ; " My Lord of Ely, I have always
 " found you Faithful and Affectionate to me,
 " and especially in your last Free Confidence in
 " me : I acknowledge you to be a Sure Friend,
 " a Trusty Counsellor, a Vigilant States-Man,
 " and a True Lover of your Country ; for
 " which I return you hearty Thanks now, and
 " shall Recompencc you more effectually, if Life
 " and Power serve. Since, when we were last
 " together, you open'd your Mind freely, touch-
 " ing the Duke of Gloucester, who has Usurp'd
 " the Crown ; and hinted a little, the Advance-
 " ment of the Two Noble Families of York and
 " Lancaster ; I shall also, with as much freedom,
 " Communicate to you what I have done, and
 " what I intend to do. I declare therefore,
 " that when King Edward Died, to whom I
 " thought I was very little obliged, (tho' he
 " and I had Married two Sisters) because he nei-
 " ther Promoted nor Prefer'd me as I thought I
 " deserv'd, by my Birth, and the Relation I
 " had to him. I did not much value his Chil-
 " dren's Interest, having their Father's Hard U-
 " sage still in my Mind. I call'd an Old Proverb
 " to remembrance, which says, *Who be so that*
 " *Kingdom where Children Rule and Women Govern.*
 " I thought it of very ill Consequence to the Peo-
 " ple of England, to suffer the Young King to
 " Govern, or the Queen his Mother to be Re-
 " gent ; considering that her Brothers and her
 " Children by her First Husband, tho' of
 no

1483.

The D.
of Buck-
ingham's
Answer
to the
Bishop of
Ely.

1483. "no High Descent, wou'd be at the Head
 "of all Affairs by their Favour with the
 "Queen, and have more Share in the Govern-
 "ment than the King's Relations, or any Per-
 "son of the Highest Quality in the Kingdom.
 "For this Reason I thought it to be for the
 "Publick Welfare and my Private Advantage
 "to Side with the Duke of Gloucester, whom I
 "took to be as sincere and Merciful as I now
 "find it to be False and Cruel. By my means,
 "as you, my Lord, know well, he was made Pro-
 "tector of the King and Kingdom. After which,
 "partly by fair Words and partly by Threats,
 "he perswaded me and other Lords, as well Spi-
 "ritual as Temporal, to consent that he
 "might assume the Crown till the young King
 "was Four and Twenty Years of Age. I stuck
 "at it at first, and he produced Instruments wit-
 "ness'd by Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries,
 "whose Depositions I then thought to be true,
 "Testifying that King Edward's Children were
 "Bastards. When these Testimonials were read
 "before us, he stood up Bare-headed and said,
*Well, My Lords, Even as I and you (Sage and Dis-
 creet Councellors) wou'd that my Nephew shou'd have
 no Wrong, so I pray you to do me nothing but Right,
 These Depositions being true, I am the Undoubted Heir
 to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who
 by Act of Parliament was adjudged the true Heir to
 the Crown of this Realm.*
 "Upon which, my self and others took him
 "really for our Rightful Prince and Sovereign
 "Lord; the Duke of Clarence's Son by reason of
 "his Father's Attainder cou'd not Inherit. The
 "Duke was also suspected to be a Bastard.
 "Thus by my Assistance and Friendship he was
 "made King: At which time he promis'd me at
 "Baynard's Castle, laying his Hand on mine, that
 "the two young Princes shou'd Live and shou'd be
 "Provided for to Mine and every One's Satis-
 "faction: How he perform'd his Promises, we
 "all know to our Sorrow. When he was in
 "Possession of the Throne, he forgot his Friends
 "and the Assurances he had given them: He
 "deny'd to grant my Petition for Part of the
 "Earl of Hereford's Lands, which his Brother
 "wrongfully detain'd from me: He refus'd me
 "in such a manner as made the Affront much
 "more Intolerable. I have born his Ingrati-
 "tude hitherto with Patience; I have conceal'd
 "my Resentments I had with him afterwards,
 "carry'd it outwardly fair, tho' I inwardly re-
 "pent'd that I had been accessory to his Ad-
 "vancement. But when I was certainly inform'd
 "of the Death of the two Innocent Princes;
 "to which (God be my Judge) I never con-
 "sent'd; My Blood curdled at his Treason
 "and Barbarity, I abhor'd the Sight of him,
 "and his Company much more; and pretending
 "an Excuse to leave the Court retir'd to
 "Brecknock. In my Way, home, I meditated
 "how I might Dethrone this Unnatural Uncle.
 "I thought if I wou'd take the Sovereignty on
 "my self, Now was the Time. The Temporal
 "Lords I saw hated the Tyrant: he was odious
 "alike to the Gentlemen and People of Eng-
 "land; and had I assum'd the Supream Power,
 "I thought there was no body so likely to
 "carry it as my self. Flattering my Ambi-
 "tion with those Vain Imaginations, I staid
 "two Days at Tewkesbury. As I travell'd fur-
 "ther Homewards, I consider'd that to Pretend
 "to Seat my self on the Throne as a Conqueror
 "would not do; which wou'd be to subject
 "the whole Constitution of the Government,
 "and entitle the Conqueror to all the No-
 "blemens Possessions, which wou'd ruin my De-
 "sign: At last I remember'd that Edmund Duke
 "of Somerset my Grandfather, was with King
 "Henry the Sixth in two or three Degrees from
 "John Duke of Lancaster lawfully Begotten;
 "my Mother being Duke Edmund's Eldest
 "Daughter, I look'd on my self as the next
 "Heir to Henry the Sixth of the House of Lan-
 "caster: But as I travel'd Homewards, between
 "Worcester and Bridgenorth I met the Lady Mar-
 "garet Countess of Richmond, at present Wife to
 "the Lord Stanley, who is the Rightful and Sole
 "Heir of John Duke of Somerset, my Grandfa-
 "ther's Elder Brother, whose Title I had forgot
 "till I saw her in my Way, and then I remem-
 "ber'd that both her Claim and her Son the
 "Earl of Richmond's were Bars to mine, and
 "forbad my Pretending to the Imperial Crown
 "of England.
 "I had some Discourse with her about her
 "Son, and then we parted, she for Worcester and
 "I for Shrewsbury. As I proceeded in my Jour-
 "ney, I consider'd with my self, whether since
 "I cou'd not pretend to the Crown by Descent,
 "I might not have recourse to the Election of
 "the Lords and Gentry of the Realm, the
 "Usurper being generally hated by them: But
 "then I began to reflect on the Dangers and
 "Difficulties of the Enterprize: That the late
 "King's Daughters and Friends, and the Earl
 "of Richmond's Relations, whose Interest is ve-
 "ry considerable, wou'd certainly oppose me
 "to the Utmost: And if the Houses of Lan-
 "caster and York shou'd joyn against me, I shou'd
 "soon lose the Vain Power I might obtain:
 "wherefore I resolv'd to flatter my self no
 "more with Chimæra's of my Imaginary Right
 "to the Royal Diadem, but only to revenge
 "Mine and the People's Wrongs on the Com-
 "mon Enemy.
 "The Countess of Richmond propos'd in the
 "Conversation we had on the Road, That her
 "Son might marry One of King Edward's
 "Daughters; and she conjur'd me by the Me-
 "mory of Duke Humphrey my Grandfather, that
 "I wou'd procure the King's Favour for her
 "Son, and get him to Consent to the Match.
 "I took no notice of her Proposal then; which
 "then I weigh'd in my Mind, I found of so
 "great Advantage to the Commonwealth, that
 "I thought it was an Inspiration of the Holy
 "Spirit for the Benefit of the Kingdom; and I
 "came to a Resolution in my self to Spend my
 "Life and Fortune in endeavouring to accom-
 "plish so Glorious a Design, to Marry the Prin-
 "cess Elizabeth to the Earl of Richmond, the
 "Heir of the House of Lancaster, in whose Quar-
 "rel my Father and Grandfather lost their Lives
 "in Battel. If the Mothers of the Princess and
 "the Earl can come to an Agreement concern-
 "ing the Marriage, I doubt not but the Proud
 "Boar, whose Tusks have goar'd so many In-
 "nocent Persons, shall soon be brought to Con-
 "fusion. The rightful and Indubitate Heir shall
 "enjoy the Crown and Peace be restor'd to
 "this distracted Kingdom.
 "The Bishop rejoiced extreamly at this Free
 "Declaration of the Duke: and that he might not
 "slacken his Zeal in so Righteous a Cause, he en-
 "deavour'd to Fire him the more, and hasten
 "him to the Execution of his Designs; My Lord,
 "says the Bishop, Since by the Providence of God and
 "your Grace's incomparable Wisdom this Happy Alliance
 "is set on foot, 'tis Convenient or rather Necessary
 "that we shou'd Consult whom to trust in so Important
 "and Perilous an Undertaking. To whom shall we
 "first apply towards effecting it? To whom, reply'd
 "the Duke, but to the Countess of Richmond; who
 "knows

1483. knows where her Son is, and how to Send to him.

The Bishop answer'd, *If you begin there, I have an Old Friend in her Service one Reginald Bray, a Man of Probity and Judgment, for whom I will send to attend your Grace and receive your Commands, if you think Proper so to do.* The Duke consenting to it, the Bishop wrote to Mr. Bray to come to him to Brecknock; which he did immediately, believing there was something to be done for his Lady's and her Son's Service. The Duke told him what he intended to attempt in favour of the Earl of Richmond, no less than to Seat him in the Royal Throne of England, if he Swore to marry the Lady Elizabeth; and by that Alliance put an End to the long and bloody Dispute between the White Rose and the Red.

In order to this, He said, the Countess must manage the Business with the Queen Dowager and the Princess her Daughter, and when they were engaged, send to her Son in Britain, and get him to Swear he wou'd Perform the Articles, agreed on between his Mother and the Princess Elizabeth in both their Names. Bray gladly undertook to carry this Message to his Mistress, And now they were Embark'd in so great an Affair, the Bishop who long'd to be at Liberty, desir'd the Duke to let him go to Ely, where the Number of his Friends wou'd secure him against all the Force King Richard cou'd send to destroy him. The Duke being loath to lose so Able and Experienced a Counsellor, excus'd his detaining him a little longer; saying, *he should go in a few Days, and so well accompanied that he need fear no Enemy.*

The Bishop impatient of Confinement, stole away from Brecknock to Ely in Disguise, rais'd Money there, and pass'd over into Flanders. The good Prelate thought he had done enough in setting the Duke at Work on so Hazardous a Business, in which it seems he did not care to venture further. Whether he thought he could be more Servicable to the Earl of Richmond Abroad, or was afraid of his Person at Home; or whatever reason he had to leave the Duke of Buckingham, he does not appear to be Excusable in History: For knowing the Duke was too apt to Open his Mind freely, he might have imagin'd that his Indiscretion wou'd ruin him, and 'twas to Sacrifice a Person of his High Quality, to put him upon an Enterprize he was not fit to Manage, and then forsake him in the Execution of it; at which the Duke was very much concern'd.

In the mean time Reginald Bray return'd to his Mistress, inform'd her of what had been concerted between the Duke and the Bishop, for the Advancement of her Son; and the Countess with great Joy intended to play her Part as soon as possible. The first thing she was to do, was to engage the Queen Dowager and the Princess; To which purpose she dispatch'd one Lewis a Welshman who was her Physician, with Instructions to Attend the Queen at Westminster, and break the Matter to her. Lewis's Message was not in the least suspected, because he came as a Doctor, to Advise her about her Health. When he was admitted into her Presence, and every body withdrawn, he gave her to understand what Errand he was sent upon: He set forth the Wrongs She, her Children, and the whole Nation had suffered by the Tyranny of Richard, what Miseries had befalln the Kingdom by the Civil War between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and what Advantages wou'd accrue to her, her Children, and the Commonwealth, by the Uniting the Two Houses in marrying her Daughter Elizabeth, the only true

Heir of the House of York, to his Mistress's Son the Only true Heir of the House of Lancaster. The Queen heard him with Attention, agreed to the Proposals, and bad him tell his Lady, That all King Edward's Friends and Dependents should joyn with her for the Earl of Richmond, on Condition he took his Corporal Oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth her Eldest Daughter, or in case she were not living, the Lady Cecilia, her Second Daughter. Dr. Lewis cary'd this pleasing Answer to his Mistress; from whom he went frequently to the Queen as a Physician, and from her to the Countess, till Matters were fully concluded between them. While these Things were transacting by the two Princesses, Reginald Bray was employ'd to engage as many Persons of Quality as he could in the Earl's Interest; accordingly he procur'd Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheyney, Richard Guilford and Thomas Rame Esquires, and others, to promise their utmost Assistance, taking an Oath of Secrecy and Fidelity of all of them. The Queen Dowager on her Part made the Earl many Friends, and the Business in a short time was so ripe, that 'twas thought proper to send an Account of it to the Earl, and give him Notice to prepare for his Return to England. Christopher Urswick her Chaplain, was first sent, and soon after follow'd by Hugh Conway Esq; with Money to Provide Men and other Necessaries for his Voyage, and a full Account of the Disposition the Nobility and Commonalty were in to receive him favourably. She advis'd him to Land in Wales, that Principality being most Inclind to him, as well for his Descent being Welsh, as for the great Estate she had there. For fear Mr. Conway should miscarry in his Voyage, Mr. Rame was dispatch'd away with the same Instructions: The former sail'd from Plymouth, the latter from Kent; and tho' they took different Routes they arriv'd at the Duke of Britain's Court both within an Hour of each other. They communicated the Subject of their Commission to him. For which he render'd Thanks to the Almighty, being such Joyful News as he wou'd not have given light Credit to; but it came so circumstantiated, and by such trusty Messengers, that he did not doubt of the Truth of it. He imparted the Secret to the Duke of Bretagne, informing him what a fair Prospect he had of obtaining the Crown of England, desiring him to Assist him, and Promising to return all his Acts of Generosity and Friendship as soon as it was in his Power. The Duke gave him hopes of Assistance, and accordingly he Lent him Money and Troops for his intended Expedition; tho' Thomas Hutton, King Richard's Ambassador, offer'd large Sums, and earnestly solicited the Duke and his Ministers to put the Earl's Person in Safe Custody. The Earl having receiv'd so good Incouragement in Bretagne, sent Mr. Conway and Mr. Rame back again to give his Friends an account of his Intentions and Preparations, and to desire them to Provide every thing necessary for his Reception.

The Messengers returning, satisfy'd the Queen Dowager by Dr. Lewis of the Earl's Readiness to comply with the Terms she propos'd, and inform'd the Conspirators of the Duke of Bretagne's Promising to lend him Men and Money: Upon which they all repair'd to their several Posts to make Provision for joyning him with sufficient Strength to accomplish their Designs when he Arriv'd. With these, all such as had any Grudge against, or Quarrel with King Richard, fell in, by which means the Party encreased daily, and so many Persons could not act zealously in such an Affair without giving

1483. ing Umbrage of their Intentions to the U-
surper.

King Richard endeavour'd by his Spies to find out the bottom of their Conspiracies, but he had to deal with Men of Equal Cunning and Secrecy, and he cou'd not fix the Matter on any one, tho' he did not doubt but there was a Plot carrying on to Dethrone him and Advance the Earl of Richmond. The Duke of Buckingham's avoiding the Court, made him Jealous that he was in it; and to get him into his Power he made use of his Diffimulation, a Quality that had been very serviceable to him in his Usurpation, and

The King wrote him very Kind obliging Letters to come Summons to London; but the Duke pretending Indisposition excus'd himself. The King enrag'd to find of Buck-ingham to his Artifices unsuccessful, sent him a Letter in a rougher Stile commanding him on his Allegiance to Attend him. The Duke answer'd as roughly,

The Dukewill not come. *That he wou'd not Expose himself to his Mortal Enemy whom he neither Lov'd nor wou'd Serve: He knew this Answer was a Declaration of War, and to*

He and lose no time took Arms. The same did Thomas the Con- Marquess of Dorset, who had escap'd out of Sanctuary, in Yorkshire. Sir Edward Courtney and Peter Arms. ter Bishop of Exeter his Brother in Devonshire and Cornwall; and Others in other Places. The King hearing of these Insurrections was not at all dishearten'd, but mustring all his Forces march'd against the Duke of Buckingham, the Head and Heart of the Conspirators; whom if he suppress'd he suppos'd the Others wou'd fall of Course, or if not, he might easily reduce them. The Duke rather by the Influence he had over the Welshmen who were his Tenants, than out of an Inclination they had to follow him, got a great Multitude of them together, with whom he march'd through the Forrest of Dean towards Gloucester, intending to pass the Severn there, and thence to proceed into the West to joyn the Courtneys; which if he cou'd have effected, King Richard's Reign had not been so long as it was by a Year. But it happen'd that the River

A great Flood the 10 Days together, that it Over-flow'd all the cause of the Duke's Neighbouring Country, did abundance of Damage, and 'twas so Remarkable, that for a Over-throw. Hundred Years after, that Inundation was call'd, *The Great Water, or Buckingham's Water*, by the Inhabitants of those Parts. These Floods as it hinder'd the Duke's passing the Severn to joyn his Friends in Devonshire; so it prevented his Friends on the other Side of the River passing over to him: In which Extremity the Welshmen deserted by Degrees, till at last the Duke had none left about him but his Domestick Servants. Nor Prayers nor Threats cou'd keep them together, so he was forc'd to fly with the rest, and in Despair fled to the House of one Humphrey Banister near Shrewsbury, designing to hide himself there till he cou'd raise more Forces, or escape thence to the Earl of Richmond in Bretagne. He trusted this Banister as a Man who had so many Obligations to him, that he did not think it cou'd be almost possible for Humane Nature to be so Ungrateful, as to betray a Master who had been so Kind to a Servant as the Duke had been to Banister; having bred him up, provided for him honourably, and put entire Confidence in him on many Occasions. Yet upon King Richard's Proclamation to Apprehend the Duke, with the Promise of a Thousand Pounds Reward to the Man that should Discover him, this faithless Wretch betray'd his Master to John Milton Esq; Sheriff of Shropshire, who surrounded his House with a Party of the County Militia, seiz'd the Duke, and carried him to the King,

Buckingham betray'd by his Servant.

who then kept his Court at Salisbury. Banister 1483. and his whole Family were destroy'd by the Sur-
prizing Judgments of the Almighty. The Usurper refus'd to Pay him the Thousand Pounds promis'd in the Proclamation; Saying, *He that wou'd betray so good a Master, wou'd be false to any other.* The Duke earnestly desir'd to be admitted to the King's Presence, but whether he was or not, we cannot determine. Some Writers affirm he was, and that he attempted to Stab him with a Dagger. 'Tis certain he confess'd the whole Conspiracy, and without any further Tryal was Beheaded in the Market-Place at Salisbury, on the 2d of November. Such was the Fate of Henry Stafford, whom most Authors call Edward Duke of Buckingham: He married Katharine the Daughter of Richard Woodville, Sister to Queen Elizabeth Wife to Edward IV. by whom he had Edward Duke of Buckingham, Henry Earl of Wiltshire, and two Daughters; The one married George Lord Hastings, and the other Richard Ratcliffe Lord Fitz-Waters. The Duke of Bucks was Hereditary Constable of England, and his Estate and Revenues were so great, that King Richard had reason to be Jealous of him; for no Subject in England was so Powerful either in the Number of his Tenants and Dependants, or in his vast Riches.

By the dispersing of the Welshmen the Western Army was so discouraged, that every Man shifted for himself. Some fled to Sanctuary, others took Shipping and sail'd to Bretagne to the Earl of Richmond. Among these were Peter Courtney Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtney his Brother, afterwards created Earl of Devonshire by Henry the Seventh, Thomas Marquess Dorset, John Lord Welles, Sir John Bourchier, Sir Edward Woodville the Queen Dowager's Brother, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Daubeney, Sir John Cheyney and his two Brothers, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir William Berkley, Sir William Branden, Thomas Branden Esq; his Brother, Sir Richard Edgecomb, John Hallowell Esq; and Capt. Edward Poynings, a famous Soldier, whom Henry VII. highly prefer'd. King Richard did all that a Wise Prince cou'd think of to prevent their getting off. Knowing what an Addition to the Earl's Power, the Presence of so many Persons of Quality wou'd make, he set Guards on most of the Ports of England; but those in the West being in the Hands of the Malecontents, they escap'd the Cruel Vengeance which was prepar'd for them. The Usurper fitted out a Fleet to Cruise off the Coasts of Bretagne, and prevent the Earl of Richmond's Landing any Forces in England; but the Earl not hearing of the Duke's Misfortune, set Sail the 12th of October with a Fleet of Forty Ships having 5000 Bretons aboard. They had not been long at Sea before they met with a Storm that scatter'd their Fleet. The Ship in which was the Earl in Person was driven on the Coast of England to the Mouth of the Haven of Poole in Dorsetshire; where finding the Shore was crouded with Troops to oppose his Descent, he forbade any of his Men to land till the whole Navy came up. However, he sent out his Boat with some Officers to demand of the Men, who stood on the Shoar, Whether they were Friends or Enemies? These Traytors instructed by King Richard answer'd, They were Friends posted there by the Duke of Bucks, to receive the Earl of Richmond. The Earl suspecting the Deceit, and perceiving he was alone, the rest of his Fleet not appearing, weigh'd Anchor and return'd to France. He landed in Normandy, where he refresh'd himself and his Men two or three days, and then sent a Gentleman to Charles the Eighth, the French

Beheaded at Salisbury.

The Conspirators fly to Bretagne to the Earl of Richmond.

Who sail'd to England.

Returns to France.

1483. French King desiring Passports thro' his Territories into *Bretagne*; which was readily granted by *Charles*. However the Earl did not stay for the return of his Courier, but trusting to the French King's Generosity continu'd his Journey thro' *Normandy* to *Vannes*, where the Duke of *Bretagne* resided. When he arriv'd there he heard of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, and found the Marquess *Dorset*, and the other English Gentlemen who had made their Escape. They all swore Allegiance to him, and he took his Corporal Oath; on the same Day the 25th of December, that he would marry the Princess *Elizabeth* when he had suppress'd the Usurper *Richard*, and was in Possession of the Crown.

Some of the Conspirators executed.

The Zeal which these Gentlemen shewed in his Cause, and the Consideration of the great Interest they had in *England*, lessen'd the Earl's Sorrow for the Misfortune of his Friends in their first Attempts against the Tyrant, and encouraged him to rehit his Fleet and prepare for a New Voyage to *England*, where many of his Friends were seiz'd and Executed; as Sir *George Brown* and Sir *Roger Clifford* who were Beheaded at *London*; and Sir *Thomas St. Leger*, who had married the King's own Sister the Dutchesse of *Exeter*, *Thomas Rame Esq*; and several of his own Servants; the two former were executed at *Exon*; the latter, whom he condemn'd on bare Suspicion, at *London*, and other places. The Usurper made a Progress to *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* to settle the Peace of those Counties, where the Earl's Party was very Numerous. The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *Exeter* presented him with a Purse of Gold to obtain his Favour: He receiv'd it graciously, lay in the City one Night, and the next Day went about it to take a View of it: When he came to the Castle, and was inform'd 'twas call'd *Rugemont*, he seem'd very Melancholy, and said, *I find, I shall not Live long*. He thought that Name was Forerold by an Old Prophecy which he had heard relating to him, That *his End wou'd be high when he came to Richmond*: Which Prediction was fulfill'd at the Battle of *Bosworth*. In his Western Journey, he found the Gentlemen of those Parts were almost all concern'd in the Conspiracy to depose him and raise the Earl of *Richmond* to the Throne. All that had made their Escape were Out-law'd, and those that fell into his Hands were put to Death; for he knew not what Mercy and Humanity meant.

1484.

The Earl of Richmond attainted.

In the Beginning of the following Year he Summon'd a Parliament, in which the Earl of *Richmond* and his Followers were attainted, and the People burthen'd with severe Taxes and Impositions. The Money so collected was wasted on his Creatures, or squander'd away Prodigally on such as knew any thing of his Guilt in the Death of his Nephews, to stop their Mouths. He obliged the Lord *Stanley* to confine his Wife the Countess of *Richmond*, so that she shou'd have no means of holding Correspondence with any one to his Prejudice. He order'd *William Colingburne* of *Lydiard* in *Wiltshire* to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, for Aiding and Assisting the Earl of *Richmond* and his Followers, and Writing a Satyrical Dyttich upon him and his Favourites, the Lord Viscount *Lovel*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Gatesby*.

*The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog;
Rule all England under a Hog.*

Alluding by the Hog to the Usurper's Arms, one of his Supporters being a Wild-Boar. Yet these Executions did not ease him of his Fears; He heard by

his Emiffaries abroad, that Dr. *Moreton* Bishop of *Ely*, and *Urfewich*, the Countess of *Richmond's* Chaplain, who liv'd in *Flanders*, had carried on a close Correspondence with many of the Chief Persons in his Kingdom; and that the Duke of *Bretagne* still continu'd to Protest and Support the Earl *Henry*. He saw the Storm that had lately been gathering over him was not dispers'd by the Duke of *Buckingham's* Death, and the Flight of the *Courtneys*; the Clouds grew Darker still; and the Tempest that threatned him was such as requir'd all his Arts and all his Power to Provide against. He secur'd his Dominions on the Side of *Scotland*, by entering into an Alliance with the Scots King, to whose Eldest Son the Duke of *Rothsay* he married the Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Anne* the Usurper's best belov'd Sister. Her Son *John* he proclaim'd Heir Apparent to the Crown, without having regard to King *Edward* the Fourth's Daughters: Yet all his Negotiations and Successes Abroad and at Home were Ineffectual, and he perceiv'd that nothing would entirely secure him against the Earl and his Friends Conrivances, unless he cou'd get his Person into his Power. To this Purpose he sent over other Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretagne*, with Instructions to apply themselves to *Peter Landaise* the Duke's Chief Minister and Favourite, and by Immense Sums of Money to endeavour to tempt him to betray the Earl. They were to offer him for the Duke his Master the Clear Profits of all the Earl's Estate in *England*; and for himself whatever he cou'd ask of them. The Treacherous *Breton* hearken'd to the Proposals made by *Richard's* Ambassadors, and promis'd to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* to them. But the Bishop of *Ely* who had Intelligence in King *Richard* and the Duke of *Bretagne's* Courts, understood what Designs were forming against Earl *Henry*, of which he sent him Notice by *Urfewich*; and the Earl giving Credit to his Information, escap'd in Disguise with his Principal Officers into the French King's Dominions. *Landaise* intended a Day or two after to have seiz'd him, and when he mis'd him sent Couriers into all Parts of the Dutchy in Search of him. He was scarce got into the French Territories when one of the Parties that was sent out after him came within an Hour's Riding of him, but he had prevented *Landaise* his Treachery, who acted without his Master's Privity. The Duke of *Bretagne* being at that time dangerously Ill, and leaving all things to his Management. The English Refugees that remain'd in *Bretagne* expected all to be deliver'd up to the Fury of King *Richard*, when they heard of the Earl's Escape, and the Reasons of it: And had not the Duke of *Bretagne* recover'd and took on him the Administration of Affairs, the Traytor *Landaise* wou'd have seiz'd them, and yielded them up to the Usurper's Ambassadors. The Duke inquiring into the Causes of the Earl's Flight into France, was very much displeas'd with *Landaise*, and sent for Sir *Edward Woodvill* and Capt. *Poyning*, to whom he excus'd the Treachery of his Minister, disowning the Knowledge of it, and gave them a considerable Sum of Money to conduct them and all the Englishmen who were at *Vannes*, thro' *Bretagne* into France to their Master the Earl of *Richmond*: For which generous Act the Earl sent him Thanks by a Messenger on purpose. Himself went to *Loings* on the *Loire*, where *Charles* the Eighth, the French King, kept his Court, and from thence accompanied him to *Montargis*. *Charles* entertain'd him and his Followers very Magnificently, but was not

1484.

John Earl of Lincoln Proclaim'd Heir apparent.

The Earl of Richmond in Danger in Bretagne.

He Escapes into France.

His Reception there.

1484. very forward to lend him any Assistance.

While the Earl was in the French Court, John Earl of Oxford repair'd to him with James Blunt Captain of the Castle of Haumes, in which the Lord Oxford had been confin'd several Years, and had engag'd the Governour in the Interest of the Earl of Richmond; with them came Sir John Fortescue, Porter of the Town of Calais. James Blunt had reinforc'd his Garrison, supply'd it with all sorts of Provisions for a vigorous Defence, and left a Trusty Officer to Command there in his Absence. The Arrivial of the Earl of Oxford, and the Revolt of the Garrison of Haumes, animated afresh Earl Henry and his Friends, whose Spirits began to sink, seeing the little Hopes they had of Help in France. Their Company increas'd after this daily: Most of the English Gentlemen who were Students in the University of Paris did Homage to the Earl, among whom was Mr. Richard Fox, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; and as their Numbers grew greater Abroad, their Interest at Home was consequently enlarged.

The Usurper, who by his Spies had a full Account of all their Proceedings, knew that the Hopes of the Party were founded on the Earl's Promise to marry the Princess Elizabeth, which he resolv'd by some Means or other to prevent; and to that end he did his Utmost to ingratiate himself with her Mother Queen Elizabeth. He sent several Flattering Messages to her in Sanctuary, Promised to advance the Marquess Dorset and all her Relations, and won upon her so much by his fair Speeches, that forgetting the many Affronts he had cast on the Memory of her

Husband, on her own Honour and the Legitimacy of her Children, and even the Murder of her dear Sons, she comply'd with him, and promis'd to bring over her Son, and all the late King's Friends from the Party of the Earl of Richmond. She went so far, as to deliver up her Five Daughters into his Hands; whom as soon as King Richard had got in his Custody, he resolv'd to order the Matter so, that he might be in a Condition to take the Eldest of them to be his Wife; which was a sure Way of defeating the Earl of Richmond's Purposes. Queen Elizabeth was so charm'd by his false Promises, that she wrote to her Son the Marquess Dorset to leave Earl Henry and hasten to England, where she had procur'd him a Pardon, and provided all sorts of Honours for him. What Success her Letters had, we shall see in the Course of this History.

We have already observ'd, that King Richard had cast his Eyes upon his Brother Edward the Fourth's Daughter, the Princess Elizabeth: He had been guilty of Treason and Murder, and almost all the Crimes that are to be found in the Infernal Rolls: Incest seem'd only wanting to make him a compleat Monster of Mankind, the Horror of his People, and the Shame of the whole World. As he was Master of the Art of Dissimulation, and had lately put on the Mask of Piety, so he was a little at a loss how to remove his Wife out of the way, to make room for his Niece in his Bed. He began his Lewd Design, by shewing an Aversion to his Wife's Company and Embraces. He complain'd to several Lords of the Council, of her Barrenness; especially to Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, whom he had lately Released out of Prison. He told him of some Private Defects in the Queen, which had render'd her Person disagreeable to him, and hoped the Bishop would tell her of it, who being a Woman of a meek Temper, he thought would take it so much to Heart, that

she would not Live long after it. Dr. Rotherham said to some of his most intimate Friends, *The Queen's Days are but few*; for he perceiv'd by the Usurper's Discourse, that he was weary of her and wanted another Wife, and he knew him so well, that he could not suppose he would scruple to add one Murder more to the many bloody Cruelties he had been guilty of to satisfy his Lust and Ambition. To prepare the Way for her Death, he order'd a Report to be spread among the People, that she was Dead: Which he did with an Intention, that the Rumour coming to her Ears, it might allarm her with fear of her sudden Fate, and those Fears throw her into a Disease which might carry her off. The Queen no sooner heard of what was reported against her, but she believ'd it came originally from her Husband; and thence concluding, that her Hour was drawing nigh, she ran to him in a most Sorrowful and Deplorable Condition, and demanded of him *What she had done to deserve Death?* The Tyrant answer'd her with Fair Words and False Smiles, bidding her *be of Good Cheer, for to his knowledge she had no other cause.* But whether her Grief, as he design'd it shou'd, struck so to her Heart, that it broke with the Mortal Wound, or he hasten'd her End, as was generally suspected, by Poison, she Died in a few Days afterwards. She was Daughter to the famous Earl of Warwick; and when Richard married her, Widow to Prince Edward, Heir to Henry VI. The Usurper affected to shew an extraordinary Sorrow at her Death, and was at the Expence of a Pompous Funeral for her. Notwithstanding all his pretended Mourning, before she was scarce cold in her Grave, he made his Address to the Princess Elizabeth, who had his Love in abhorrence, and the whole Kingdom appear'd averse to so Unnatural a Marriage. His Affairs were in such an Ill Posture, that he durst not provoke the Queen and the People further, by putting a Violence on the Princess's Inclinations; so he deferr'd his Courtship till he was better Settled in the Throne. The Nobility daily past over into France: The Gentry and Commonalty every where, shew'd an Affection to the Earl of Richmond, as far as they durst do it, without bringing themselves under the Lash of the Tyrant's Laws. He was most Jealous of Thomas Lord Stanley, his Brother Sir William Stanley, and Gilbert Talbot. He obliged the Lord Stanley to leave his Son George Stanley, Lord Strange, at Court, as an Hostage of his own Fidelity. He commanded the Governour of Calais to Attack the Castle of Haumes: The Earl of Oxford and Captain Blunt immediately hasten'd to the Relief of it, but before they could arrive near it, the Garrison was reduced to the last Extremity, and the Besiegers, on the report of the Earl of Oxford's Approach, offering them to March out with Bag and Baggage, they Surrender'd the Fort, and Joyn'd the Earl, who led them to Paris, where they were Entertain'd by the Earl of Richmond. The Reduction of Haumes, and the small Hopes of Assistance which Earl Henry had in the French Court, made the Usurper so secure, that he recall'd the Squadron of Men of War, which he had order'd to Cruise in the Channel and prevent the Earl's making a Descent in England, and contented himself with commanding the Lords and Gentlemen, who liv'd near the Coasts, to be on their Guard to Defend them.

In the mean time the Earl of Richmond continued his Negotiations in the Court of France for Succours; but Charles VIII. being in his Minority, he was forced to apply to the Regents,

And she Died soon after it.

1485.

Grows weary of his Wife.

1485. or Ministers of State, who being Divided among themselves, had no Inclination to Unite in his Favour. The chiefest of them was *Lewis Duke of Orleance*, who afterwards was King: But by their Civil Dissentions, the Affair of his Supplies was spun on to so great a length, that the Usurper flatter'd himself 'twould never take effect: For this Reason he grew more Pleasant than before, his Joy increas'd as his Care lessen'd, and lull'd him at last into a Fatal Security.

The Q. Dowager persuades her Son, the Mar- quess of Dorset to leave the E. of Rich- mond.
The Earl stops him.
The Queen Dowager, to oblige the King, who lately appear'd very ready to Serve her and her Daughters, continued to Write to her Son the Marquess of *Dorset*, to leave *Earl Henry*. The Marquis fearing the Earl wou'd not succeed in his Enterprize, gave way to his Mother's Perswasions, and King *Richard's* Flattering Promises, left the Earl, and stole away from *Paris* by Night, intending to Escape to *Flanders*: But as soon as the Earl had Notice of his Flight, he apply'd to the *French Court*, for leave to Apprehend him in any Part of his Dominions; for both Himself and his Followers were afraid of his Discovering all their Designs, to their utter Destruction if he got to *England*. Having obtain'd Licence to Seize him, the Earl sent Messengers every way in search of him, and among the rest, *Humphrey Cheyney*, Esq; who overtook him near *Champaigne*, and by Arguments and Fair Promises prevail'd with him to return. By the Marquess's Disposition to leave him, the Earl began to doubt, that if he delay'd his Expedition to *England* longer, many more of his Friends might grow cool in their Zeal for him; so he earnestly Solicited the *French Court* for Aid, desiring so small a Supply of Men and Money, that *Charles* cou'd not in Honour refuse him; yet for what he Lent him, he would have Hostages, that Satisfaction should be made. The Earl made no Scruple of that, so leaving the Lord Marquess *Dorset* (whom he still mistrusted) and Sir *John Bourchier* as his Pledges at *Paris*, he departed for *Roan*, where the few Men that the *French King* had lent him, and all the *English* that follow'd his Fortunes Rendez-vous'd.

K. Richard designs to Marry the Princess Elizabeth.
When he arriv'd there, he was inform'd of the Usurper's Intentions to marry the Princess *Elizabeth* himself, and her Sister, the Princess *Cecilia*, to a Man of Mean Condition. This was Mortifying News to him, for he imagin'd if his Alliance with the House of *York* was by that Means broken, their Friends would all fall off from him; However he resolv'd to push for the Crown, as Heir to the House of *Lancaster*, but then it was necessary for him to encrease his Strength and Interest; wherefore he dispatch'd away a Messenger to Sir *Walter Herbert*, a Man of Great Power in *Wales*, to get him to espouse his Quarrel, by an Offer of Marrying his Sister, a Beautiful Young Lady. The Earl of *Northumberland* had Married another of Sir *Walter's* Sisters, and the Earl of *Richmond's* Agent had Instructions to Address himself also to him, and perswade him to forward the Marriage. The Messenger found the Ways so narrowly watch'd, that he cou'd not proceed on his Journey; and 'twas well for the Earl that he did no more in it; for had any such Treaty been proposed and known, his Friends, who were so on the Princess *Elizabeth's* account, had all forsaken him. The Messenger being thus disappointed, the Earl receiv'd One out of *England*, *Morgan Kidwellie*, Esq; a Lawyer, who brought him Advice, That Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, a Gentleman who was as powerful in *Wales* as Sir *Walter Herbert*, and Capt. *John Savage*, a famous Soldier, had made Great Preparations

to Assist him; that *Reginald Bray* had collected large Sums of Money to Pay his Troops, and earnestly Entreated him to hasten his Voyage and direct his Course to *Wales*. The Earl rejoicing at this Good News, order'd all his Forces to Embark and Sail from *Harfleur* in *Normandy* in *August*, with about Two Thousand Men, in a few Ships, just enough to Transport them. After Seven Days Sail, he arriv'd in the Haven of *Milford*, and Landed at a Place call'd *Dalle*, from whence he March'd the next Day to *Hereford West*, where he was Receiv'd with Joy by the Townsmen. Having Refresh'd his Men, and sent Notice, by Trusty Messengers, to his Mother, the Lord *Stanley*, and *Sigilbert Talbot*, that he intended to direct his March towards *London*, desiring them to meet him on the Way with their Powers, he advanced to *Shrewsbury*, where Sir *Gilbert Talbot* Joyn'd him with the L. of *Shrewsbury's* Tenants, as Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and *Richard Griffith* Esq; had done before, with a Body of *Welsh-Men*; by which his Army became so strong, that he easily Reduced all the Towns to which he came in his March. Sir *Rice ap Thomas* wou'd not come unto him, till he had promised to make him Governour of *Wales*, in case he got the Crown; which the Earl agreed to and perform'd as soon as 'twas in his power, Sir *Rice* having been very Faithful and Serviceable to him.

In the mean while, the Lord *Stanley* and his Brother Sir *William Stanley* rais'd Men, but did not declare whom they would side with; Sir *William* advanced with his Army into *Staffordshire*, and waited on the Earl of *Richmond* at *Stafford*, attended only by Twenty or Thirty Persons. The Lord *Stanley* lay at *Litchfield* with 5000 Men; yet neither he nor his Brother Joyn'd the Earl. Sir *William* having had a Short Conference with him, return'd to his Forces; and when the Earl approach'd near *Litchfield*, the Lord *Stanley* return'd to *Atherstone*, to prevent King *Richard's* having any Suspicion of him; being afraid that the Tyrant would murder his Son the Lord *Strange*, whom he had in his Custody, if he sided openly with the Earl of *Richmond*.

The Usurper at first despised the Earl's Attempt, hearing he had brought so few Men with him, he did not doubt but Sir *Walter Herbert* would easily Suppress him with the Militia of *Wales*, which he order'd him to raise; but when he heard that Sir *Walter* had suffered him to pass, and so many Gentlemen had Joyn'd him with their Friends and Dependants, that his Army would be as numerous as his own, if the *Lancashire Men*, under the *Stanley's*, declar'd for him, he resolv'd to Oppose him in Person. He commanded *Henry Earl of Northumberland*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, and Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and other Gentlemen whose Loyalty he suspected, to attend him in Arms, and sent for the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and others, to bring their whole Strength with them, to enable him to give the Earl Battle before he receiv'd further Assistance. When all his Troops were arrived at *Nottingham*, where he kept his Court, he put himself at their Head, and led them to *Leicester*. Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and several others, found means to Desert to the Earl; which tho' it was a great Discouragement to *Richard*, yet it did ease Earl *Henry* of his Discontent, for that the Lord *Stanley* had not Joyn'd him. His Army proceeded from *Litchfield* to *Tamworth*, Himself bringing up the Rear with about Twenty Horse.

1485. The Earl of Richmond Lands in Wales.

His Power increases.

King Richard's Proceedings upon it.

As

1485. As he was musing on the Difficulties of his Enterprize, he lagg'd behind his Company, and it growing Dark, they march'd on and entered *Tamworth* before they mist him. His Care was increased, by a Report, that King *Richard* was at hand; whose coming up before the Lord *Stanley* had Joyn'd him, threatned his whole Army with Destruction; yet his Men were not discourag'd, they trusted in their own Valour and the Goodness of their Cause, and proceeded with Great Resolution.

The Earl of Richmond loses his Way.

The Earl having insensibly lost his Companions, and the High-way to *Tamworth*, turn'd aside to a Little Village Three Miles from *Tamworth*, where he stay'd all Night, not daring to discover himself, or ask a Guide to the Town. His Followers were much surprized at his Absence, and afraid what was become of him. He was also apprehensive of the ill Effects of their missing him, and not a little fearful of falling into the Hands of some of the Usurper's Parties. Early in the Morning he left the Village, and happily arriv'd at the Town, to the unspeakable Joy of his Army. He excus'd his Absence by pretending he had been to consult with some private Friends of his who durst not yet appear for him. He was unwilling his Companions shou'd think him Guilty of such a Blunder as to lose his Way, when he had so many Guides about him, and made that a piece of Policy, which was indeed downright Ignorance: So easie 'tis for Princes to impose upon their People who are ready to judge favourably of all their Actions.

King Richard encamps at Bosworth.

He just shew'd himself to his Soldiers, and then left them again to go to *Atherstone*, where he first saw and saluted the Lord *Stanley*, his Father in Law; He held a Conference with him and Sir *William Stanley* in a little Field, where they consulted how they should give the Tyrant Battle to the best Advantage. In the Evening Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Bryan Sanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, came unto him with all their Friends and Followers from King *Richard*, who was advanc'd to *Leicester*, and his Army encamp'd not far off, on a Hill call'd *Arme Beame*, in *Bosworth* Parish. The next Day after King *Richard* arriv'd at *Leicester*, he went to the Camp and drew up his Men in order of Battle on the Plain. He plac'd his Archers in Front under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surrey* his Son; Himself led the Main Body, with two Wings of Cavalry on each Flank. The Earl leaving the Lord *Stanley* return'd to his Army, and march'd them out of *Tamworth* towards the Enemy, resolving to fight King *Richard*. The Lord *Stanley* also march'd from *Atherstone*, and halted in a place between the two Armies. The Earl sent to him to come and help to set his Men in Order of Battle; but the Lord *Stanley* even now was so cautious, that he excus'd his appearing among the Earl's Followers: He bad him Draw up his Soldiers, He would do the same by his, and Joyn him at Supper time. Tho' this Answer vext the Earl of *Richmond* inwardly, he seem'd as well satisfy'd as if he had come, and cheerfully put his Men in Order: His Front was thin, and consisted of Archers, commanded by *John Earl of Oxford*; Sir *Gilbert Talbot* led the Right Wing, and Sir *John Savage* the Left, attended by a Troop of Young Fellows well arm'd, Clad in white Coats and Hoods, who made a gallant Figure, terrible to the Enemy. The Earl of *Richmond* accompanied by the Earl of *Pembroke* led the Main Body; his whole Strength did not amount to Six Thousand Men, *Stanley's* Forces which were Seven or Eight Thousand strong excepted: And King *Richard* had twice that Number. In the Order

The Earl marches to fight him.

we have mention'd, the two Armies advanced towards each other; the Lord *Stanley* moving aside off as the Earl of *Richmond* mov'd; and when the Usurper was come farther into the Plain where he expected the Earl's Approach, he made a Speech to his Army to this Purpose.

My Friends and Fellow-Soldiers,

BY your Valour and Conduct I got and have enjoy'd the Crown in spite of all the Wicked Designs of your and my Enemies. I have govern'd this Nation as a good Prince ought to do for the Benefit of my Subjects, and done nothing without the Advice and Consent of my Counsellors, whose Fidelity and Wisdom I have often prov'd; and your Loyalty to me makes me believe that you have an Opinion of me as I have of my Self, that I am your Rightful and Lawful King. Tho' at my Accession to the Throne I was Guilty of a Wicked Detested Crime, yet my Repentance of it has been so Severe and so Sincere that I hope you will forget it, as I shall never cease to Deplore and Lament it. Considering the Danger we are in at this Time, what a gracious Prince I have been to you, and what good Subjects you have been to me, we are bound by the strictest Bonds of Obligation and Duty mutually to defend one another in so great Peril. To keep what we have got is as glorious as to get it: And as by your Assistance I was advanced to the Throne, so I hope by the same Help to continue in it. I doubt not you have heard of the Traiterous Devices of an Obscure *Welshman* (whose Father I never knew, and whom I never saw) against our Crown and Dignity. You hear who they are that he depends upon, a Company of Traytors, Thieves, Outlaws and Fugitives; mean Beggarly *Bretons*, and Cowardly *Frenchmen*: whose Aim is the Destruction of you, your Wives and Children, as 'tis their Leaders to Dispossess me of the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Let us therefore joyn heartily in our common Defence, Fight like Lions, and fear not to dye like Men: Indeed there is Nothing for you to be afraid of. The Hare never fled faster from before the Hound, nor the Lark from the Kite, nor the Sheep from the Wolf, than these Boasting Adversaries of ours shall quit the Field at the Sight of such brave Soldiers. Nor do I Promise you Victory without Reason: For let us think a little who it is that we have to deal with. And first for the Earl of *Richmond*, Captain of the Rebels, a *Welsh* Boy, of little Courage and less Experience in War; Bred up in the Duke of *Brittain's* Court like a Bird in a Cage, who never saw an Army, and consequently is not Capable to Lead one. The Soldier's Success is owing in a great measure to the Captain's Conduct and Valour. What can his Men hope from him? What from Themselves? a Crew of Vagabonds and Rebels, who will Tremble when they see us advancing with Banners display'd to chastize them. They will either fly before us, or Conscious of Divine Vengeance, for the breach of many Oaths of Allegiance they have Sworn to us, throw down their Arms, and at our Feet implore our Royal Mercy. As for the *Frenchmen* and *Bretons*, our Noble Ancestors have often triumph'd over them. What are They? Boasters, Drunkards, Ravishers, Cowards, the most Effeminate and Lewd Wretches that ever offer'd themselves in Front of Battle. Since such are the Enemies we are to Fight with, Come on, My Friends

1485. The Lord Stanley's wariness

King Richard's Speech to his Army.

1485. "Friends and Fellow Soldiers, and dauntless try
"if they dare dispute this Matter with us by
"dint of Sword. Come on my Captains and
"Champions, in whose Wisdom and Courage I
"trust for Me and My People. What is a
"Handful to a whole Nation? Let me Conjure
"you all by your Love to your Country, your
"Duty to your King, and your Affection to your
"Families, to behave your selves like good Sub-
"jects and good Soldiers this Day, when I resolve
"to be Victorious or crown my Death with Im-
"mortal Fame. Remember, that as I Promise
"those who do Well Riches and Honours; so
"I shall severely Punish such as deserve it by
"their Cowardice or Treachery. And now in
"the Name of St. George, let us meet our Ene-
"mies.

Hollins-
head.

Whether this Speech was made By him or for
him, we cannot decide; the Author from whom
we took it says it was his own, and that it had
not so good an Effect on the Minds of his Sol-
diers as he intended it should have. He had
many Gentlemen, and others in his Army, who
follow'd him more out of Fear than Affection;
and wish'd well to his Adversary. The Earl of
Richmond receiving by his Scouts, That the Usur-
per's Army was drawn up in Battalia a little
distance off on the Plain, rode from Rank to
Rank and Wing to Wing to encourage his Men.
He was arm'd at all Points, (his Helmet excep-
ted) and got up on an Eminence to be the bet-
ter seen by his Soldiers: For tho' he was hand-
som and well-proportion'd, yet he was short.
Having kept Silence some time to consider of
what he was about to say to them, He began
his Speech thus:

The Earl
of Rich-
mond's
Speech to
his Army

"IF ever God appear'd in a Just Cause, and
"gave a Blessing to their Arms who warr'd
"for the good of their Country: If ever he
"aided such as ventur'd their Lives for the
"Relief of the Innocent, and to Suppress Male-
"factors and Publick Criminals; we may now,
"My Friends and Fellow Soldiers, be sure of Vi-
"ctory over our Proud and Insolent Enemies.
"Just and Righteous is our Cause, and we can-
"not be so Wicked as to imagin God will
"leave us, to assist those that fear neither him
"nor his Laws, nor have any regard to Ho-
"nesty or Justice. We have the Laws Divine
"and Civil on our Side; we fight against a Parri-
"cide stain'd with his own Blood, a Destroyer
"of the Nobility, and an Oppressor of the Poor
"Commons of this Realm; and against a Horrid
"Band of Murderers, Assassins, Rebels and Usur-
"pers: For he that Stiles himself King wears
"the Crown which of Right only belongs to
"me. His Favourites and Followers seize your
"Estates, cut down your Woods, ruin and lay
"waste your Mannours and Mansions, and turn
"your Wives and Children to Wander in the
"wide World without Succour and Relief: The
"Cause of all these Mischiefs, the Cruel Tyrant
"Richard, rest assur'd that God will this Day
"give into our Hands to be punish'd according
"to his Demerits. His Followers wounded by
"the Stings of their Guilty Consciences, will not
"dare to look Justice in the Face: And believe
"not that yon numerous Army are your Ad-
"versaries; many of them, if not the most
"part of that Multitude, are forc'd into the Ty-
"rant's Service, have his Crimes in Abhorrence,
"and wait only for an Opportunity to joyn us.
"You have often heard from the Pulpit, That
"'tis the greatest of Virtues to bring down the
"Oppressor, and to help those who are in Dis-

1485. "tress. Is not the Usurper, Richard Duke of
"Gloucester, a Violator of God's Laws and Man's?
"Who can have the least good Thought of one
"that so injur'd his own Brother's Memory, and
"murder'd his Nephews? Who can hope for
"Mercy from him who Delights in Blood? Who
"trust in him who Mistrusts all Men. Tarquin
"the Proud, so Infamous in History, whom the
"Romans banish'd their City for ever, was less
"Guilty than this Usurper. Nero, who slew his
"own Mother, and open'd the Womb that bare
"him to see the place of his Conception, was
"not more a Monster of Mankind than Richard.
"In him you have at once a Tarquin and a Nero.
"behold there, a Tyrant worse than even him
"that murder'd his Mother, and set his Impe-
"rial City in a Flame. One, who has not only
"slain his own Nephew, his King and Sovereign
"Lord, bastardiz'd his Noble Brothers, affron-
"ted his Mother's Honour, but try'd all the Arts
"his and his Creatures Cunning cou'd invent to
"defile his own Niece, under the specious Pre-
"tence of a Marriage, a Princess I have sworn
"to marry, as you all know and believe. If
"this Cause is not Just, let God the Giver of
"all Victory Judge and determine. We have
"(Thanks be to Jesus our Saviour) escap'd
"the Treasons form'd in Bretagne; and the
"Snarcs laid by our Subtle Adversaries to de-
"stroy us; we have pass'd the Seas, travers'd a
"spacious Country in Safety to search for the
"Boar, whom we have at last found. Let us
"not therefore fear to begin the bloody Chace.
"Let us put our Confidence in the Almighty,
"and verily believe that this is the Hour we
"have long'd and pray'd for, which will put
"an end to the many Miseries we have hither-
"to endur'd. Think what a glorious Prize is
"before us. The Wealth and Spoil of the
"Tyrant and his Followers is yours if we
"Conquer, and Conquer we must or Dye; for
"we are now come so far that there is no Re-
"treat left us. Let us One and All resolve to
"end our Labours now by Death or Victory.
"Let Courage supply want of Number, and
"as for me, I purpose to Live with Glory here-
"after, or Perish with Glory here. Come on
"then, Let us meet these Traytors, Murderers,
"Usurpers; Let us be Bold and we shall Tri-
"umph: We are utterly destroy'd if we fly;
"if we are Victorious there's an end of all our
"Perils and Dangers. In the Name of God,
"and St. George, Come on and Prosper.

These Words so encourag'd his Men, that they
demanded to be led immediately against the Ene-
my. There was a Morass between the two Ar-
mies, the Earl left it on his Right hand, by which
he not only hinder'd King Richard's attacking
him on that Side, but had the Sun in his Back,
and it shone full in the Faces of his Enemies.
The Usurper seeing his Army was approaching, The Bats
order'd his Trumpets to sound and the Archers tel of Bos
to let fly their Arrows: The Earl's Bowmen worth
return'd their Shot, and when that Dreadful
Storm was over, the Foot joyn'd and came to
close Fight. 'Twas then that the Lord Stan-
ley came in to the Earl's Assistance. The Earl
of Oxford fearing his men might be surrounded
by the Multitude of the Enemy, commanded
none shou'd stir above Ten Foot from the Stan-
dard: The Soldiers presently clos'd their Ranks
and ceas'd the Combat, expecting further Or-
ders. King Richard's Troops being Jealous of
some Stratagem, stood still to observe them;
and indeed they did not fight with a very good
Will at all. The Earl of Oxford led his Men again

1485. to the Charge. The Duke of Norfolk, the Usurper's fast Friend, chang'd the Order of his Battle, widen'd his First Line, but clos'd and enlarg'd his Second; and then renew'd the Combat. King Richard hearing the Earl of Richmond was not far off, attended with a few of his Guards only, fought him amidst his Enemies, and having spy'd him, set Spurs to his Horse and ran towards him; The Earl perceived him, and prepar'd to receive him as a Man shou'd his mortal Foe. The King meeting with Sir William Branden the Earl's Standard Bearer in his way, overthrew and slew him. This Knight was Father of Charles Branden Duke of Suffolk, Famous in the Reign of Henry VIII. Richard then fought Sir John Cheyney, dismounted him, and forc'd his Way up to the Earl; who kept him off at Swords Point till Assistance came in, and he was reliev'd by his Followers. At the instant Sir William Stanley, who had been as wary as the Lord Stanley his Brother, joyn'd the Earl with Three Thousand chosen Men, upon which King Richard's Soldiers turn'd their Backs and fled; himself fighting manfully in the midst of his Enemies was slain. The E. of Oxford made a terrible Slaughter in the Van of the Usurper's Army. The Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury dy'd on the Spot, together with about a Thousand of their Men. The greatest part of those in the main Body of Richard's Army watching their Opportunity, while the Van was hotly engag'd with the Earl's, left the Field and departed every Man to his Home; having been by Force taken from their Habitations to fight for a Prince whose Government was Odious to them. The Duke of Norfolk was warn'd, by a Dyftich in the Meeter of those Times which was fix'd on the Gate of the House where he Lodg'd, not to venture farther in the Tyrant's Quarrel; for he was betray'd, and all those that engag'd with him wou'd be ruin'd. The Rhimes were these:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too Bold;
For Dicken, thy Master, is Bought and Sold.

But as John Howard Duke of Norfolk owed his Advancement to the Usurper, who made him a Duke, he thought his own Title to the Honours he held wou'd be Precarious, if Richard cou'd not defend his Crown; so he follow'd his Fortune, and fell a Victim to his Ambition. Sir William Catesby a Judge, who had been a main Instrument of the Usurper's Tyranny, and several other Offenders were Taken, and two Days after Beheaded at Leicester. The Lord Viscount Lovell, Humphrey Stafford Esq; and Thomas Stafford his Brother, made their Escapes. Many Gentlemen and Private Soldiers threw down their Arms, submitted to the Earl, and were graciously receiv'd. Among those was Henry Earl of Northumberland, who did not engage in the late Battle, He and his Men standing Neuter; for which he was immediately taken into the Earl of Richmond's Favour and Sworn of his Privy-Council. Thomas Earl of Surrey was sent to the Tower, as having been more zealous than the rest in the Tyrant's Cause: However he was releas'd soon after, and preferr'd to Places of the greatest Trust and Honour. Earl Henry had scarce a Hundred Men Kill'd on his Part, and no Person of Quality besides Sir William Branden. The Engagement lasted in all about two Hours, and happen'd on the 22d day of August. The Usurper there finish'd his Evil Course after he had reign'd two Years, two Months and one Day,

reckoning from the Time of his Coronation, 1485. which was the Day after his Election. Had he liv'd with as much Glory as he dy'd, his Character wou'd have shone bright in the English Annals. But tho' he wanted not Personal Bravery, yet that Quality as shining as it is, was fully'd and obscur'd by his Cruelty, and Thirst of Blood. He might have sav'd his Life had not Despair hurried him on to Death. In the Beginning of the Battle, he perceiv'd, by his Mens fighting with an ill-will and others leaving him, that the Day was lost. Some of his Creatures advised him to Fly, and brought him a swift Horse to carry him off; but knowing how generally he was hated by the whole Kingdom, and that his Crimes were such as deny'd him all hopes of Pardon, he thought the longer he liv'd his Misery wou'd be the longer, and that at last he shou'd dye with Infamy; wherefore he rush'd desperately into the thickest of the Enemy, and met a more glorious Fate than he deserved.

After the Battle was over and the Victory entirely gain'd, the Earl of Richmond fell down on his Knees in the Open Field, thank'd the Almighty for the Blessing he had given to his Arms, Pray'd for the Catholick Church, and his Subjects which now he had the Charge of. He then rode up to an Eminence, and from thence gave his Soldiers Thanks for behaving themselves so well in the late Fight, promising them all Rewards answerable to their Deserts. The Army shouting Clapt their Hands and saluted him King, crying out with one Voice, King Henry, King Henry! And the Lord Stanley taking King Richard's Crown, which was found among the Spoils of the Field, put it on the Earl's Head, who from that Time assum'd the Title and Power of King. We must not omit to inform the Reader of the Lord Strange's Escape. King Richard hearing his Father had rais'd Five Thousand men and was Advancing towards the Earl of Richmond sent to him to Joyn him, and Swore by God's Death, if he refus'd it, he wou'd order his Son's Head to be cut off before he died. The Lord Stanley answer'd, He had more Sons, and cou'd not Promise to come to him at that Time. The Tyrant as he Swore to do, order'd the Lord Strange to be Beheaded at the Instant when the two Armies were to Engage: But some of his Council abhorring that the Innocent young Gentleman should suffer for his Father's Offence, told the Usurper, Now was a Time to Fight, and not to Execute; advising him to keep him Prisoner till the Battle was over; The Tyrant hearken'd to their Advice, broke his Oath, and commanded the Keepers of his Tents to take him into Custody, till he return'd from the Combat. By this Means the Lord Strange escap'd the King's Revenge, equally Bloody and Unjust. The Keepers of his Tents deliver'd him to his Father the Lord Stanley after the Fight; and for saving him, were taken into the New King's Favour, and preferr'd. In the Evening King Henry march'd to Leicester. Where King Richard's Body stript stark Naked was brought in a shameful manner to be Buried. Blanch Sanglier, a Pursuivant at Arms threw it upon a Horse, like a Calf; His Head and Arms hanging on one Side and his Legs on the other, his whole Carcass besmear'd with Dirt and Blood. The Pursuivant rode with it to the Grey-Fryers Church at Leicester, where it was expos'd a Filthy Spectacle to the View of the People, who us'd it Ignominiously, and afterwards 'twas Buried in that Abbey-Church; where King Henry in respect to his Family,

King Richard seeks the Earl of Richmond.

Richard's Bravery.

He is slain and his Army routed.

The Earl of Richmond saluted King Henry by his Army. The Lord Stanley purs the Crown on his Head in the Field.

King Richard's Body Ignominiously us'd.

1485. Family, order'd a Tomb to be erected over his Grave. We shall not trouble the Reader with a long Account of his Person and Manners: He has doubtless by this time seen enough of him, and the Picture shewn at a nearer View wou'd rather Frighten than Divert him. He was short and little, Crooked or Hump-back'd, one Shoulder higher than the other: His Face was little: He had a Cruel Look; and what confess'd the Malice and Deceit of his Heart, He often mus'd, and musing bit his nether Lip: He wore a Dagger always about him, and frequently would draw it up and down the Scabbard: He was Cunning and False, Proud and Valiant; and in a word, by the History Sir Thomas Moore has left us of him, the greatest Tyrant that ever Sat on the British Throne; where no Tyrant did ever Sit long.

A short Character of King Richard.

The Reigns of King *Edward V.* and his Successor *Richard III.* were so short, that there were few Remarkable Occurrences in their Times: And the most Illustrious Persons, both in *War* and the *Arts* and *Sciences*, will more Properly come under that of *Henry the VIIth.*

IN the First Part of *Richard the III's* Reign, There happen'd such a Flood in *Gloucestershire*, that all the Country was Overflow'd by the *Severn*, several Persons were Drown'd in their Beds, Children in Cradles swam about the Fields, and Beasts were Drown'd even on the Hills: The Waters did not Abate in Ten Days; which hinder'd the Duke of *Buckingham's* Passing that River into *Wales* to joyn the *Welshmen* who were risen against King *Richard*, and occasion'd his Misfortune and Death.

Hol. 743.

Banister, who betray'd the Duke of *Buckingham* his Master, was sorely afflicted with God's Secret Judgments: His Eldest Son went Mad, and died raving in a Hog-sty. His Eldest Daughter, who was very Beautiful, was suddenly stricken with a foul Leprosy. His Second Son was taken Lame in his Limbs. His Younger Son was Suffocated in a Puddle of Filthy Water; and himself in an extreme Old Age found Guilty of Murther, but sav'd by his Clergy.

Hol. 744.

John Duke of Norfolk,
Sir *Robert Brackenbury*, Lieutenant of the Tower,
The Lord *Ferrars*, and Sir *Richard Ratcliff*, lost their Lives fighting Valiantly for King *Richard* at *Bosworth* Battle.
Sir *William Branden*, and Sir *John Cheyney*, Signaliz'd themselves in the same Fight, on the Side of the Earl of *Richmond*.

Of Men of Learning, there were some in the Reign of *Richard III.*
of Note: As,

John Penketh an Augustine Frier, of *Warrington* in *Lancashire*, one of *Scotus's* Followers; he Preach'd an Infamous Sermon in Favour of King *Richard*: The same did Dr. *Shaw*, an Eminent Preacher, Sir *Edmund Shaw's* Brother, an Alderman of *London*.

John Kent, or *Caileie*, Born in *South-Wales*, Rhetorician.

George Ripley, a Carmelite Frier of *Boston*, a Great Mathematician and Poet.

Dr. *John Spine*, a Carmelite Frier of *Bristol*, &c.

THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
RICHARD III.
In Five BOOKS.

By G E O. B U C K, Esquire.

The ARGUMENT and CONTENTS of BOOK I.

The Linage, Family, Birth, Education, and Tyrocinny of King RICHARD the Third.

The Royal House of Plantagenet, and the beginning of that Name. What Sobriquets were. The Antiquity of Surnames. Richard is created Duke of Gloucester, his Marriage and his Issue: His martial Employments: His Journey into Scotland and Recovery of Berwick: The Death of King Edward the Fourth. The Duke of Gloucester made Lord Protector, and soon after King of England, by importunate Suit of his Barons and of the People, as the next true and lawful Heir. Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond practiseth against the King: He is conveyed into France. The Noble Linage of Sir William Herbert, his Employment: He is made Earl of Pembroke. King Edward the Fourth first, and after King Richard, solicit the Duke of Brittain, and treat with him for the Delivery of the Young Earl of Richmond his Prisoner. The Success of that Business. The Quality and Title of the Beauforts or Somersets. The Linage and Family of the Earl of Richmond. The solemn Coronations of King Richard, and of the Queen his Wife; his first at Westminster, the second at York. Nobles, Knights and Officers made by him. Prince Edward his Son invested in the Principality of Wales, and the Oath of Allegiance made to him. King Richard demandeth the Tribute of France. His Progress to York. His careful Charge given to the Judges and Magistrates. He holdeth a Parliament, wherein the Marriage of the King his Brother with the Lady Grey is declared and adjudged unlawful, their Children to be Illegitimate and not capable of the Crown. The Earl of Richmond and divers others Attainted of Treason. Many good Laws made. The King declared and approved by Parliament to be the only true and lawful Heir of the Crown. The King and Queen Dowager are reconciled. He hath secret Advertisements of Innovations and Practices against him: Createth a Vice-Constable of England. His sundry Treaties with Foreign Princes. Dr. Morton corrupteth the Duke of Buckingham, who becometh discontent, demanding the Earldom of Hereford, with the Great Constabship of England: He taketh Arms, is defeated and put to Death by Marshal Law.

RICHARD Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, and King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland, the Third of that Name, was the Younger Son of Sir Richard Plantagenet, the (a) fourth Duke of York of that Royal Family, and King of England, designate by King Henry the Sixth, and by the most Noble Senate, and Universal Synod of this Kingdom, the High Court of Parliament. The Mother of this Richard Duke of Gloucester, was the Lady Cecily Daughter of Sir Ralph de Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, by his Wife Joan de Beaufort, the Natural Daughter of John Plantagenet (alias) de Gaunt, Duke of Guiene and Lancaster, King of Castile and Leon, third Son of King Edward the Third; for in that Order

The House and Title of York,

(a) He was not the fourth Duke of that Family. The first was Edmund of Langley. The second was Edward his Son, whose Brother Richard, Earl of Cambridge, was Beheaded for Treason before Duke Edward dy'd. He left this Richard, who could not be the fourth Duke of York, his Father having never born that Title; But his Uncle Edward being Slain at the Battle of Agincourt, and dying without Issue, King Henry the VIth. created this Richard Duke of York: So he was the third Duke of that Title of this Family.

this Duke is best accounted, because *William of Hatfield*, the second Son of King *Edward the Third* died in his Infancy, and this Duke of *York* and King designate, was propagated from two younger Sons of the same King *Edward the Third*, whereby he had both Paternal and Maternal Title to the Crown of *England* and *France*: But his better and nearer Title was the Maternal Title, or that which came to him by his Mother the Lady *Anne de Mortimer*, the Daughter and Heir of *Philippa Plantagenet*, who was the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lyonel Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence*, and second Son (b) of King *Edward the Third*, according to the Account and Order aforesaid.

And this Lady *Philippa* was the Wife of Sir *Edmond de Mortimer*, the great and famous Earl of *March*, and that Duke *Richard*, King designate, by his Father *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York* (Sirnam'd also *de Conningborough*) issued directly and in a Masculine Line from *Edmond Plantagenet*, alias *de Langley*, the first Duke of *York*, and the fifth Son of King *Edward the Third*; who was the most renowned and glorious Progenitor to those Princes of *York* and *Lancaster*, and the first King in a Lineal Descent from that great *Henry* Sirnam'd *Plantagenet*, famous for his great Prowess and many Victories, King of *England* in the Right of his Mother the Empress *Matilda* or *Maud*, Daughter and Heir of King *Henry the First*, and stil'd *Anglorum Domina*, sometime Wife of the Emperor *Henry the Fifth*, by which he was also Sirnam'd *Filius Imperatricis*: The French men call'd him *Henry du Court Manteau*, or Court Mantle, because he wore a Cloak shorter than the Fashion was in those Times. By his Father *Galsfride*, or *Geoffry Plantagenet*, he was Earl or Duke of *Anjou* (for then *Dux & Comes*, and *Ducatus & Comitatus*, were Synonymies and Promiscuous words) he was also Earl of *Maine* of *Torraine*, and Hereditary Seneschal, or High Steward of *France*, and by his Marriage of *Eliana* Queen of *France* Repudiate, Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Gascoigne* and of *Guiene*, and Earl of *Poitou*, he was Duke and Earl of those Principalities and Signories; also by the Empress his Mother Duke of *Normandy*: He was Lord of *Ireland* by Conquest, and confirm'd by Pope *Adrian*. But these were not all his Seignories and Dominions; for after he was King of *England*, he extended his Empire and Principate in the South to the *Pyrenean Mountains*, (The Confines of *Spain* and *France*) in the North to the *Isles of Orkney*, and in the East and West with the Ocean, as *Giraldus Cambrensis*, *Gul. Neubrigenis*, *Joannes Sarisburiensis*, grave and credible Authors affirm, who stiled him, *Regum Britanniae maximus*; and doubtless he was the greatest King of *Britain* since King *Arthur*.

But it is controverted amongst the Antiquaries and Heralds, which Earl of *Anjou* first bare the Sirname and Sobriquet of *Plantagenet*, or *Plantagenet* after the vulgar Orthodox, by what occasion, and from what cause it was taken and born, and from what Time and Age it had beginning: Some would have the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet*, Father of this *Henry*, the first Earl of *Anjou*, which bare it. But we shall find stronger Reasons to derive it from a much more ancient Earl of *Anjou*, and better Causes than can be found in him, if we step but a little back to their Stories, and compare the Men and their Times. *Geoffry Plantagenet* being a Man of

a Gallant and Active Fire, dispos'd to the Courts of Princes, to Jufts, Turnaments, &c. and to the Courtship of fair Ladies those of the Highest Rank, and had so Amorous a Star, That *Philippe le Grosse*, King of *France*, suspected him for too familiar Commerce with his Bed. But it was of better Influence when he atchieved and married the Empress *Matilda*, by which we may very well calculate, he neither had nor would be intent or at leisure for such a mortified and perilous Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. But if we would know the Man, let us look upon the first *Fulke*, Earl of *Anjou*, who liv'd about an Hundred Years before the *Norman Conquest* of *England*, and was Son of *Godefray*, or *Geoffry Grisegonnell* the first Earl of *Anjou* (according to *du Hailon*) Ancestor and Progenitor to the foresaid *Geoffry Plantagenet*, some seven or eight Degrees in the ascending Line, as *Paradin* accounteth, a Man rais'd upon the Foundation of a great Courage and Strength (two of the best Principles when they have good Seconds, and make too a glorious Man, where they serve his Virtues, not Affections, as in this Prince they did) whose Disposition on the other side being let out into as vast an Ambition and Covetousness, ne'er look'd upon the Unlawfulness of his Desires, how horrid soever (which amongst the many rest) run him upon the shelves of wilful Perjury and Murder; the one for defrauding and spoiling a Church of certain Rights, and the other for contriving the Tragedy of his young Nephew, *Drogo*, Earl of *Britain*, to make himself Lord of his Country and Principality. The secret Check and Scourge of those Crimes had a long time to work upon his Conscience; and of a great Sinner made a great Penitent; being Old and having much solitary Time and many heavy Thoughts (which naturally attend Old Age, and suggest better Considerations of our former and youthful Sins) he opens the Horror of them, and his afflicted Mind to his Confessor, (as great *Constantine* to *Egyptus*) who enjoyn'd him to make the same Confession before the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*; which Pilgrimage the Earl perform'd in all lowly and contemptible manner, passing as a Private and Unworthy Person, without Train or Followers, save two of his meanest (which he took rather for Witnesses than) Servants, whose Service was, when they came near *Jerusalem*, the one with a Cord (such as is us'd for the Strangling of Criminals) thrown about his Master's Neck, to draw or lead him to the Holy Sepulcher, whilst the other did accoustre and strip him as a condemn'd Person, and with extremity Scourge him until he was prostrate before the Sacred Monument, where he gave Evidence of his unfeign'd Contrition and Sorrow. Amongst other devout Expressions, uttering this, *Mon dieu & Seigneur re- coy a Pardon le perjure & homicide & miserable Foulque*; And after this Pilgrimage he liv'd many Years of Prosperity in his Country, honoured of all Men. To justify this, there be many Examples of other Princes and Noble Persons who liv'd about the Year of our Lord One Thousand, and somewhat before; and in Three or Four Ages after, who underwent the like Pilgrimages imposed under Base and Me- chanick Nick-names and Persons, as of a Carpenter, a Smith, a Fisherman, a Mariner, a Shepherd, a Wood-man, a Broom-man, &c. In my Inquiry after that of *Plantagenet*, I met with an Ancient Manuscript, that afforded me a large

The Lineage of
Edw. III.

The Empire of K.
Henry II.

Girald. in
Topog. Hi-
bernicae,
Sarisbur.
in Pol.
Newbrig.
Lib. 2.

for Nick-
name.

Accoustre
in crimi-
nall &
condemne
Paradit.

From this
Example
Henry II.
submitted
his Body
to be
scourged
by the
Monks of
Canterbury
for the
Death of
Tho. Bec-
ket.

(b) *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, was his Third Son: The Eldest was *Edward the Black Prince*, the Second *William* of *Hatfield*, and the Third *Lyonel*, &c.

Catalogue of many such, by the French call'd *Sobriquets*; from whence I have transcribed these few for a Taste.

SOBRIQUETS.

After this manner & long after, King Hen. II. the Heir and Successor of this Earl Fulko, was in-joynd by the Pope to go to the Holy-Land and to fight against the Infidels, Herond. Rival. &c.

Berger, Shepherd.
 Grisegonnelle, Gray-coat.
 Tasse de Estoupe, Head of Tow.
 Arbuste, a Shurb.
 Martoll, a Hammer.
 Grandebœuf, Ox-face.
 La Zouch, Branch upon a Stem.
 Houlette, a Sheep-Hook.
 Hapkin, Hatchet.
 Chapelle, Hood.
 Sans-terre, Lackland.
 Malduit, Ill taught.
 Geffard, Fewencas, or Heyser.
 Filz de Fleau, Son of a Flail.
 Plantagenest, the Plant or Stalk of a Broom.

And under the Name and Habit of a Broom-man, our Pilgrim perform'd this Penance, and took the *Sobriquet* of *Plantagenest* from wearing a Stalk of Broom, or Plant of *Genest*; this is generally receiv'd, but the Time and Reason neither set down nor rendred by any of our Heralds and Antiquaries, French or English; for the time when he performed this, I observe 'twas about the Year of our Lord One Thousand certainly. But for the particular Reason this Count had to chuse the *Genest* Plant, or Broom-stalk, before any other Vegerable or Thing, I shall lay down that Opinion which is my own, noting for a Circumstance by the way, that the Broom in Hieroglyphical Learning is the Symbol of Humility; and the Poets, particularly *Virgil* the best of Poets, gives it the Epithet of *humilis*, *humiles Genista*; and the Etymologists derive it from *Genu* the Knee, the Part most apply'd, and as it were dedicate to the chief Act of Reverence, Kneeling; to which the Natural Philosophers say, there is so Mutual a Correspondency, and so Natural a Sympathy between *Genu* and *Genista*, that of all other Plants or Vegetables, it is most comfortable and Medicinable to the Pains and Diseases of the Knees. *Pliny* a great Master amongst them saith, *Genista tusca, cum, &c. Genua dolentia sanat.*

But the most considerable Reason is, as I conceive it, from the use he was constrain'd to make of the Twigs of Broom when he came to be scourged at Jerusalem, the Place necessitating the use of them to that purpose, being (as *Strabo* relates) a Stony, Sandy and Barren Soil, only natural and grateful to the *Genest*, as the Watry and Moist to the Birch, Willow and Withy, of which there cou'd be none there for that reason. And from hence it must most conjecturally take the beginning of that Honour, which afterward his Princely and Noble Posterities continued for their Sirname, who became Dukes and Princes in sundry places, and some of them Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland; and (as the People of that Age verily believ'd by their observation) were the more Prosperous and Happy for his sake.

For the continuance of the Name, some (who pretend to see further and better in the Dark than others as clear sighted) would have it taken of late time, and not used by the Kings and

Princes of England, of the *Angeume* Race. But there are many Proofs to be adduced against them: Let us look into Mr. Brook's Genealogies of England, we shall find nothing more obvious and frequent in the Deductions of those Princes of the House of Anjou, than the Addition and Sirname of *Plantagenet*, *Edm. Plantagenet*, *Geo. Plantagenet*, *John Plantagenet*, *Edw. Plantagenet*, *Lyonel Plantagenet*, *Humphrey Plantagenet*, &c. In the French Historians and Antiquaries, *Ion de Tillet*, *Girard du Haillon*, *Claude Paradio*, & *Jean Baron de la Hay*, we shall often meet with *Geoffry Plantagenet*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *Richard Plantagenet*, and diverse the like, all of the first Age, when the *Angeume* Princes first became English, and some before. Mr. *Cambden* also in his *Immortal Britannia*, mentioneth some very ancient; as *Richard Plantagenet*, *John Plantagenet*, &c. And witnesseth, that the forenamed *Geoffry Plantagenet* used to wear a Broom-stalk in his Bonnet, as many Nobles of the House of Anjou did; and took it for their chief Sirname. It might be added, that these Earls of Anjou were descend- ed out of the Great House of Saxony in Germany, which hath brought forth many Kings, Emperors and Dukes; and that they were of Kindred and Alliance to the ancient Kings of France, and sundry other Princes. But I will close here for the High Nobility of King Richard, as the good old Poet did for another Heroical Person,

—Deus est utroque Parente. Ovid.

Deus i.
Rex a
King.

By either Parent Born a God.

and come to the other Matters of his Private Story; And first for his Birth and Native Place, which was in the Castle of *Forthringay*, or as some write, the Castle of *Birkhamstead*, both Castles and Honours of the Duke his Father, about the Year of our Lord 1450, which I discover by the Calculation of the Birth, Reign, and Death of King *Edward* his Brother, who was Born about 1441, or 1442. and Reigned Two and Twenty Years, Died at the Age of One and Forty, Anno 1483. The Dutches of York, their Mother, had Five Children betwixt them, so that *Richard* could not be less than Seven or Eight Years younger than King *Edward*, and he surviv'd him not fully Three Years.

This *Richard Plantagenet*, and the other Children of *Richard Duke of York*, were Brought up in *Yorkshire* and *Northamptonshire*, but lived for the most part in the Castle of *Middelham* in *Yorkshire*, until the Duke their Father, and his Son *Edmond Plantagenet*, Earl of *Rutland*, were Slain in the Battle of *Wakefield*, Ann. (c) Dom. 1461, upon which the Dutches of York, their Mother, (having cause to fear the Faction of *Lancaster*, which was now grown very exalting and strong, and of a Mortal Enmity to the House of York) secretly convey'd her Two younger Sons, *George* and *Richard Plantagenet* (who was then about some Ten Years old) into the Low-Countries, to their Aunt the Lady *Magaret Dutches of Burgundy*, Wife of *Charles Duke of Burgundy* and *Brabant* and Earl of *Flanders*. They continued at *Utrich*, the Chief City then in *Holland*, where they had Princely and Liberal Education, until *Edward Earl of March* their Eldest Brother had reveng'd his Father's Death, and taken the Kingdom and Crown (as his Right) from *Henry VI.*

Lib. Ma-
nusc. in
quarto a-
pud D.
Rob. Cot-
ton. Co-
mes, i.
Præfæ.

when he call'd Home his Two Brothers, and en-
ters them into the Practice of Arms, to season
their Forwardness, and Honour of Knighthood,
which he had bestow'd upon them; and soon
after invests George in the Dutchy of Clarence
and Earldom of Richmond, which Earldom he the
rather bestow'd upon him, to darken the young
Earl of Richmond Henry Tudor. Richard had the
Dukedom of Gloucester and Earldom of Carlisle, as
I have read in an old Manuscript Story, which Cre-
ation the Heralds don't allow: But whether he was
Comes thereof after the ancient Roman under-
standing, that is Governour; or Comes, or Count,
after the common taking it by us English, or o-
thers, that is, for a special Titular Lord, I will
not take upon me to determine, but affirm I
have read him Comes Carliolensis.

And after the Great Earl of Warwick and Sa-
lisbury, Richard de Neville, was reconciled to the
King's Favour, (d) George Duke of Clarence
was married to the Lady Isabel, or Elizabeth,
the Eldest Daughter of that Earl, and Richard
Duke of Gloucester to the Lady Anne; which La-
dies, by their Mother the Lady Anne de Beau-
champ, Daughter and Heir of Sir Richard de Beau-
champ, Earl of Warwick, were Heirs of that Earl-
dom. But Anne, altho' the younger Sister, was
the better Woman, having been a little before
married to Edward Plantagenet Prince of Wales
and Duke of Cornwall, only Son of King Henry
the Sixth, and was now his Princess and Dow-
ager, by whom Duke Richard had a Son call'd
Edward, created Prince of Wales when his Fa-
ther came to the Crown.

The Employment of this Duke was for the
most part in the North, as the Country of his
Birth, so more naturally affected by him;
according to the Poet.

— Natale solum dulcedine cunctos Mulcet. Ovid
Sooth'd with Sweet Charms, all love their
Native Soil.

Cambden
in Cumber-
land.

Sir Will.
Howard.

Purblind
Quasi Part-
blind.

And there lay his Appanage and Patrimony,
with a Great Estate of the Dutchess his Wife,
of which the Seignior of Penrith, vulgò Perith,
in Cumberland was part where he much resided,
and Built or Repair'd most of the Castles, all
that Northern Side generally honouring and af-
fecting his Deportment, being Magnificent (to
apply Sir Thomas Moore) something above his
Ability, which he exprest most in his Hospitali-
ty. And surely, if Men are taken to the life
best from their Actions, we shall find him in the
Circle of a Character (not so commaculate and
mix'd, as Passionate and Purblind Pens have
dash'd it) whilst we squint not at those Virtues
in him, which make up other Princes absolute:
His Wisdom and Courage had not then their
Nicknames and Calumny as now, but drew the
Eyes and Acknowledgment of the whole King-
dom towards him; and his Brother had a found-
Experience of his Fidelity and Constancy in di-
vers Hazardous Congresses and Battles, through
which he had faithfully follow'd his Fortune,
and return'd all his Undertakings successful: As

at Barnet, where he entred so far and boldly in-
to the Enemies Army, that Two of his Esquires,
Thomas Parr and John Milreuter being nearest to
him were slain; yet by his own Valour he quit
himself, and put most part of the Enemies to
flight, the rest to the Sword. With the like
Valour he behaved himself at the Battel of Exon,
Doncaster, St. Albans, Blore-heath, Northampton,
Mortimer's Cross, and Tewkesbury. And it was then
confest a very considerable Service to the State,
his taking of the Famous Pirate Thomas Nevill, The Ba-
stard Faulconbridge, Earl of Kent, (e) with whom
comply'd Sir Richard de Nevill Earl of Warwick,
a near Kinsman to the Earl of Kent his Natural
Father, which held him up in the better Esteem,
and whetted him to any Attempt. For this
haughty Earl, who had drawn him from the
House of York (to which he had done Valiant
Service not long before) to the Party of Henry
the Sixth and his Lancastrian Faction; and fear-
ing what Forces and Aid King Edward might
have from beyond Sea, provides a warlike Fleet
for the Narrow Seas, of which this Faulconbridge
was appointed Admiral, with Commission to
Take or Sink all Ships he met, either of the
King's Friends or Subjects, who did not underact
it, but made many Depredations on the Coast,
and put many to the Sword becoming an Ene-
my the more considerable, King Edward finding
(as the Case stood then with him) his Attempts
by Sea wou'd be of too weak a proof to surprize
him, which the Duke of Gloucester contrived by
an Advertisement he had of his Private stealth
into several of the Parts, sometimes where he
had recourse to some Abettors of that Faction,
and coming to Shore at Southampton, by a ready
Ambush seiz'd and apprehended him, from whence
he was convey'd to London, so to Middleham
Castle, and after he had told some Tales, put
to Death (f). And while he continued in the
Northern Parts, he Govern'd those Countries
with great Wisdom and Justice; preserving the
Concord and Amity between the Scots and Eng-
lish, tho' the Breaches were not to be made up
with any Strength and Continuance, the Borders
living out of the Mutual Spoiles and Common
Rapines, ever prompt for any Cause that might
beget Brauls and Feuds. And in the last Year
of the Reign of the King his Brother, the Quar-
rels grew so outrageous and hostile, that no-
thing cou'd compose them, but the Sword and
Open War, arising from an unjust detaining the
Tribute, as Polidore writeth.

King Edward took it very ill at the Hands of
James IV. King of Scotland, that he refused to
pay the Tribute whereunto he was bound by Co-
venant; and therefore resolv'd by Arms to com-
pel him to it: But King Edward being distrac-
ted with a Jealous Care and Watching of France,
neglected that Business of Scotland, and in the
mean time Alexander Duke of Albany, Brother to
King James, pretending earnest Business in France,
makes England in his way, and instigates King
Edward to put on Arms against his Brother,
promising to return shortly out of France, and
raise a Power in Scotland for his Aid. Here-

(d) This is so erroneous, that the Earl of Warwick was at Open Variance with the King, and had prevailed on
the Duke of Clarence, who was Poor, by Offers of this March, to forsake King Edward's Interest, and joyn with
the Earl against his own Brother; upon which the Duke went over with him to Calais, married his Daughter, re-
turned with him to England and expell'd his Brother the Kingdom. *Habington's Edward IV. p. 48.*

(e) This Thomas was never Earl of Kent, but Bastard Son of William Nevill Earl of Kent, who was Lord Faul-
conbridge before King Edw. IV. created him Earl of Kent.

(f) This Story is told quite another way by *Habington*. Faulconbridge came to London with his Forces, Attacked
the City, was forc'd to retire, got into Sandwich with 900 Men, fortify'd the Town, and yielded it at last on Terms
of Pardon, brought by this Duke of Gloucester, which were violated, and Nevill being apprehended at Southampton, was
Executed, tho' he pleaded That his Name was particularly inserted in the Sandwich Pardon. The Duke of Gloucester
did not apprehend him. *Heb. 109.*

upon

1482. upon the King resolv'd it, and sent the Duke of Gloucester with a good Army into Scotland, who march'd Master of the Field near to Berwick, having a little before sent Sir Thomas Stanley to Besiege it, and soon after took it himself. But the Duke of Albany failed him, and had underhand struck up a Peace with his Brother of Scotland; yet Richard of Gloucester accomplish'd the Expedition very honourably and happily: Thus Polidore.

Anno 24.
Edw. 4.

But to Enlarge what he reporteth desertively, and abridgeth; King Edward, notwithstanding that Negligence (noted by him) levied Strong Forces (the King of Scotland being as vigilant in that Business) and made the Duke of Gloucester his General, under whom went Sir Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Stanley, after Earl of Derby, the Lord Lowell, the Lord Grey of Grestock, the Lord Scroope of Bolton, the Lord Fitzbugh, Sir William Parr of Rose, a Noble and Valiant Gentleman, Father of the Lord Parr of Rose, Kendal and Fitzbugh, and Grandfather to Sir William Parr Earl of Essex and Marquess of Northampton, Sir Edward Woodville Lord Rivers Brother to the Queen Elizabeth, with many other of Eminency and Noble Quality.

Chron.
Croy.

The Duke march'd first with his Army to the Borders and Frontiers of Scotland, giving the Overthrow to such as resisted; then made up to the Strong Town of Berwick, which at that Instant the King of Scotland possess'd by the Surrender of Henry VI. and had the like Success with those Troops of the Enemies he met and found about the Town. After a short Siege, the Besieged upon Summons and Parley, finding themselves too weak to make good the Opposition, were easily perswaded to be quiet, and safely rendring the Town and Castle upon very slender Conditions, as is recorded in the Chronicle of Croyland. Having placed a Governour and Garrison in the Town, he continued his March towards Edenborough, with a Purpose to Besiege and Sack it, but was met in the Half way by Ambassadors from thence, who, after a Favourable Audience and Access craved, in the Name of their King and Nation implore a League, or at least a Truce between the Kingdoms, offering so Fair Conditions for it, that the General, after a Deliberate Consultation, granted to Suspend or Intermit all Hostile Proceedings, with a Fair Entertainment to their Persons, and a Publick Edict throughout the Army, That no English should offer any Violence or Offence to any Scot or their Goods; and by this Provident Truce, that Ruddy Storm, which seem'd terrible to impend, was diverted and made a Calm Preface to the Famous League, afterwards concluded by him when he was King and James the Fourth of Scotland. But whilst these Employments staid him there, News arriv'd of King Edward's Death, and was mutter'd very doubtfully by some who had confidence and ground to suppose it hasten'd by Treachery. The Nobles at London, and in the South Parts speedily call the Duke Home by their Private Letters and Free Approbation, to assume the Protection of the Kingdom, and Two Princes committed unto him by the King. Rex

vid. lib. 4.
The Duke in tutelam moriens tradidit: as Polidore testifieth.
of Gloucester made Ld. Protector.

The Army and Affairs of those Parts dispos'd, he came to York, where he made a few Days stay to pay some religious Offices and Ceremonies to the Manes and Exequies of the Deceased King, so hasten'd to London, having in

his Train (besides his own ordinary Retinue) Six Hundred Voluntary Gentlemen of the North Parts, brave Horsemen and gallantly mounted; upon the Way he dispatch'd certain Segual Messengers to the Young King (who was then at Ludlow-Castle in Wales) to provide for his Honourable Conduct to London, where he arriv'd not long after the Lord Protector, and was Magnificently Receiv'd and Lodg'd at the Bishop's Palace: His Brother the Duke of York was then with the Queen Mother in the Palace at Westminster, who out of a pretended Motherly Care (rather indeed her Policy) would not let him stir from her to see the King, who had desired his Company, but instantly takes Sanctuary with him in the Abby. The Lord Protector sollicitates her by some Noblemen to send or bring him to the King; which she peremptorily stood against, until Cardinal Bourchier Archbishop of Canterbury was made the Messenger; who so gravely and effectually perswaded with her, that she delivered him the Duke: After some Days respite in London-House, the King, according to Ancient Custom, was to remove Court to the Tower of London, the Castle Royal and Chief House of Safety in the Kingdom, until the more weighty Affairs of the State, and such Troubles (if any happen'd) as often intercedes the alterations of Reigns, were well dispatch'd and compos'd (some threatening Evils of that kind being discover'd and extinguish'd before the Protector came to London); and until all things proper to his Coronation were in Preparation and Readiness, the Lord Protector still being near unto him with all Duty and Care, and did him Homage, as Honourable Philippe de Comines, le Duc de Gloucester avoit fait homage à son Neveu Comme à son Roy & souverain Seigneur; but this Testimy, being avouch'd by one who loved not the Protector, may leave more credit; who says, When the Young King approach'd towards London, the Lord Protector, his Uncle, rode bare-headed before him; and in passing along, said with a Loud Voice to the People, Behold your Prince and Sovereign; to which the Prior of Croyland, who lived in those Days, reporteth Richardus, Protector nihil reverentiae, quod capite nudato, genu Flecto aliove quolibet corporis habitu in subdito exegit; Regi Nepoti suo facere distulit aut recusavit: And why should these Services and his Constancy be judg'd less real to the Son than to the Father, his Care and Providence looking pregnantly through all Turns that concern'd him and his State; and therefore timely removed such of Danger as were vehemently suspected for their Ambition and Insolent Assuming Power and Authority not proper to them, and so stood Ill Affected to their Prince, and Turbulent Maligners of the Government. And thus his Strict Justice to some, begat the Envy of others, as it fell out in the time of King Edward, between those of the Blood Royal (with whom the ancient Barons sided) and the Regnists, who being stubborn, haughty, and incompatible of the others Nearness to the King, stir'd up Competitions and Turbulencies among the Nobles, and became so insolent and publick in their Pride and Outrages towards the People, that they forc'd their Murmurs at length to bring forth Mutiny against them: But finding the King's Inclination gentle on that side, they so temper'd it, as they durst extend their Malice to the Prince of the Blood and Chief Nobility; many times by Slanders and False Suggestions, privately incensing the King against them, who suffer'd their Insinuations too far, whilst his Credulity stood abused, and his Fa-

1483.

Phil. de Comines in Lud. 11.

Sir Thomas Moore.

Chron. Abbat. Croy.

The Infancy of the Queen's Kindred.

1483. your often alienated from those, whose Innocence could understand no cause for it. The Engines of those Intrusions and Supplantations were the Greys, the Woodvills, and their Kinsmen, who held a Strong Belief, to have better'd their Power with the Young King their Kinsman, and then they might have acted their Rodomontades and Injuries in a higher strain, remov'd the Prince of the Blood, and set up what Limits they pleas'd to their Faction and Power during the Minority of the King, and after too, whilst the Queen Mother could Usurp or hold any Superintendency upon the Sovereignty; or her Son. These things, and the Mischiefs that seem'd to superimpend the State, equally pois'd and consulted by the Lord Protector, and others of the Principal Nobility, it was resolv'd, to give a timely Remedy or Period to them; all which Sir Thomas Moor acknowledgeth, and confesserh the Nobles of the Kingdom had reason to suspect and fear the Queen's Kindred would put their Power more forward when their Kinsman came to be King, than in his Father's time, altho' then their Insolencies were intolerable. And this Author further acknowledgeth, there had been a long Grudge and Heart-burning between the King and Queen's Kindred in the time of K. Edward; which the King, altho' he were partial for the Queen's Faction, was earnest to reconcile, but could not: And after he was dead, the Lord Grey, Marquess Dorset, the Lord Richard Grey, and the Lord Rivers, made full account to sway the Young King: and having learn'd it was best Fishing in a Troubled Stream, threw all occasions of Dissentions amongst the Great Men of this Kingdom, that so, whilst the other Nobles were busie in their own Quarrels, they might take an opportunity to Assault and Supplant where they hated. And for provision towards the Design, the Marquess had secretly gain'd a Great quantity of the King's Treasure out of the Tower, and the Woodvilles made Good Preparations of Arms; of which some were met with by the Way, as they were convey'd close pack'd in Carts. It was therefore high time for the Protector and Ancient Nobility to look circumspectly about them, and fasten on all occasions that might prevent such growing Treacheries, which could be no way but by taking off their Heads. Which being resolv'd, the Marquess of Dorset, the Lord Richard Grey their Uncle, Sir Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers, and some other of that Kindred and Faction were Apprehended, and at Pomfract Executed: (only the Marquess, by some Private Notice given him, fled and took Sanctuary). At the same time the Lord Hastings (who much favour'd the Queen and her Party, especially the Marquess, therefore the more to be suspected dangerous) was Arrested for High Treason, and in the Tower upon the Green had his Head chopt off; an Act of more strange and severe Appearance than the other, having the esteem of a Good Subject, and generally suppos'd much Affectionate to the Protector and the Duke of Buckingham. And Sir Thomas Moor reported, that the Protector was most unwilling to have lost him, but that he saw him joyning with their Enemies, and so his life had ill requited Them and their Purpose: this was a Dilemma; but what that Purpose was, and what they had in Agitation at that instant, is not disertly said, only from other Places of the Story. And those which follow Sir Thomas Moor, it may be conceiv'd, they doubted him for his Affectation of the Sovereignty, and some Practice against the King and his Brother, for those be the Charges they press upon him, altho' tis neither Said nor

Made Good by any Direct and Just Proof. But 1483. admit he was now grown Jealous of him, and sent Sir William Catesby, a Man in great credit with the Lord Hastings, to sound what Opinion he held of that Title and Claim he might lay to the Crown, who (presuming upon Catesby's Gratitude and Trust that had been advanced by him) without Circumstance, and even with Indignation express'd an utter Mislike thereof, and engag'd Himself, his Uttermost Power and Ability against it, peremptorily adding, "He had rather see the Death and Destruction of the Protector and Duke of Buckingham, than the Young King depriv'd of the Crown: Which Reply, Catesby (being more just to his Employment than honour to his Point) returns the Protector, who laid hold upon the next Occasion to seize his Head, which is the greatest and bloodiest Crime that brings any Proof against him; and yet not so clear, but that there may be some other State Mystery or Fraud suspected in it. Let us leave it upon that account, and but consider how much more we forgive the Fames of H. I. E. III. H. IV. E. IV. H. VII. because they had their Happy Stars and Success; and then, *Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur*, there is Applause goes with the Act and Actor. *Julius Caesar*, was, and ever will be reputed a Wise and a Great Captain, altho' his Emulation cost an infinite quantity of Excellent Humane Blood, and his Nephew Oct. *Augustus* never ceas'd Proscribing, Banishing and Massacring, until he had dispatch'd all his Proud Emulators: *Julius Caesar* thought it, *Crimen sacrum vel crimen Regale*; or, *Crimen sacrum Ambitio*. Whose Rule was,

Si violandum est just, regnandi gratia
Violandum est, aliis rebus pietatem colas.

If Right for ought may e'er be violate,
It must be only for a Sovereign State.

Drawing it from that Rule (tho' Apocrypha) in *Euripides*,

*Εἴ τις γὰρ ἀδικεῖν ἤδη τυραννίδος καὶ
καλλίστην ἀδικεῖν τ' ἀλλὰ δ' εὐσεβεῖν ἤσται.*

*Eurip. in
Phœniss.*

Si injuste agere oportet, pro tyrannide (aut Regno) pulcherrimum est injuste agere, in altis pietatem colere expedit.

And *Antonius Caracalla*, alledged the Text to justify the Killing of his Brother *Geta* his Colleague in the Empire. *Polynices*, the Brother of *Eteocles*, was of the same Religion, and said, A Kingdom could not be bought at too high a Rate, put in Friends, Kindred, Wife and Riches: *Vita Axiom For ad potentiam est tollere Amulos & premere Adversarios*, which the great Master of Axioms allowed, hath been countenanced by many great Examples of State-reason, and Policy in all times, even since the *Ogygian Age*. For an old Observation, and general in all foreign Countries saith,

Regnum furto. Et fraude ademptum antiquum est specimen imperii.

*Senec. in
Trag.*

By Fraud or Theft to seize a Crown,
Is the old Game, long since to Princes known.

So King *Atreus*, by his own Experience could say;

—U—

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Ut nemo doceat fraudis & sceleris vias, Regnum docebit.

Dominion teaches every Wicked Art.

But what those Ages call'd Valour, Wisdom and Policy, in those great Scholars of State, who with Credit practis'd their *Artes Imperii*, and Rules of Empire, comes not under the License or Warrant of our Christian Times; yet we may speak thus much for *Richard* (to those who cry him so deep an Homicide) that he had either more Conscience or less Cruelty than they attribute to him, that by the same Act of Power could not secure himself of others he had as Just cause to fear; especially *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, his Nephew *Richmond*, and the subtle Doctor *Morton*, who was extreemly his Enemy, and the Chief Instrument that secretly mov'd against him. And altho' the King had no certain notice which way his Engins wrought, yet he knew enough to suspect him for, and to remove him from the Council-table unto the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Man he had reason to suppose nearest to his Trust, though his Expectation leaned on a broken Reed there; for the Duke was now secretly in his Heart defected from the King, and become Male-content: *Morton* but touch'd his Pulse, and knew how the Distemper lay, which he irritated into such Sparklings as gave him Notice where his Constitution was most apt and prepared; yea, so subtilly mastered it, that he had leave to steal from *Brecknock* Castle to *Ely*, so for good store of Coin found safe passage into *France*, whither his desires vehemently carried him, in hopes to fashion the Earl of *Richmond* to his Plot; and under pretence of a *Lancastrian* Title, to stir him to take up Arms and invade *England*, with the Assurance of many mighty Friends here, which would make the Design of an easie and quick dispatch; nor forgot he how much Artificial and Eloquent Perswasions add to the Blaze of Ambition, knowing the Earl's Temper like other Mens in that, and observing him with a kind of pleasure listen, he gave such a studied glosse and superlation to the Text, that the Earl was now so full of Encouragement and Hope for the Invasion, that their purposes spread as well into *England* as in *France*. The Protector having also certain Intelligence of some particular Designs, disposed himself in his Actions more closely, and knew what Friends and Confederates had engag'd themselves to *Richmond*, who yet kept a Face of Love and Fidelity towards him, as did the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Countess of *Richmond*, who appear'd in this Instant an earnest Suitor to reconcile her Son into favour; and that the King would be pleased to bestow on him any of King *Edward* the Fourth's Daughters. But this took not the Vigilancy of his Eye from him and his Party, the Cause being of Greater Danger and Apprehension now, than in King *Edward*'s time; for the Earl had drawn unto him many of the *English* Nobility and Gentry; and some Foreign Princes had in favour to him promised their Aids. But in the time of King *Edward*, his Title and He was so little understood by his Blood of *Lancaster*, and the better judging-sort of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, King *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, *Francis* the Second Duke of *Brittain*, and other Foreign Princes look'd very slightly upon it. And yet, as *John Harding* observ'd, the King might be Jealous of him, being given out for and Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and Nephew to *Henry* the Sixth: With this he consider'd, that some Foreign Princes

stood not well-affected to him; or that some at home, envying his House and Posterity, would catch at any Spark to trouble his Peace and kindle a Sedition; therefore he had good reason to think, that as his Liberty might make these Beginnings more popular, so their Ends more dangerous and ingreatful (the Vulgar tasting all things by the Ear, and judging by the Noise) which he sought early to prevent.

For *Philip Comines* reports, When he first came to know this Earl, he was then a Prisoner in *Brittain*, and told him, He had been either in Prison, or under Strict Command from Five Years old, which is not unlikely; for I find him but young when he was committed to the Custody of Sir *William Herbert*, Lord of *Ragland*-Castle in *Monmouthshire*, where he continued not long; for *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was Uncle unto him (being then in *France*, whither he had fled after the Overthrow of the *Lancastrians* at *Tewkesbury*) (as *John Stow*) having advertisement that his Nephew was under Sir *William Herbert*'s Custody, with whom he had Alliance and Friendship, came secretly out of *France* into *Wales*, and at *Ragland*-Castle found only the Lady *Herbert*, The flight of her Husband being with the King; in whose Absence, the Earl practis'd so cunningly with her, his Uncle that he got his Nephew from thence, and conveyed him to his own Castle of *Pembroke*, (the Young Earl's Native Place) presuming upon the Strength of it, and the Peoples Affection, but over-wean'd in his Opinion and Hope: For soon as the King receiv'd notice of the Escape, Sir *William Herbert* was commanded to levy Forces and make towards them, a Man of a Wise and Valiant Disposition, descended from *Herbertus*, who was Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Kings, *William Rufus* and *Henry Beauclerk*, and was created Earl of *Pembroke* afterward: From this Noble *Herbertus* are descended the *Herberts*, Earls of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, and many other *Welsh* Gentlemen of that Surname and Family.

The Two Earls being inform'd of his Approaches and Strength, distrusting their own, fled by Night, and posted to the Port of *Timby*, where they kept close until a fit Opportunity offer'd them Transportation for *France*, intending to see the Court there, where the Earl of *Pembroke* had not long before receiv'd a very favourable Entertainment. But a violent Storm diverted their Course, and run them upon the Coasts of *Little Brittain*, which fell out as a Sad Disaster, and Cross to them and their Design for a long time after, the Duke of *Brittain* being no Friend to it; but at the Port of *St. Maloes* they must Land. What Success they met with in this Flight (and other Noble Englishmen which follow'd the Unlucky Party of *Henry VI.* being constrain'd when he was overthrown by *Edward IV.* to fly) will fall into our Discourse hereafter: There is this Memorial in the Stories of *Brittain*.

Plusieurs du Seigneurs d' Angleterre qui tenoyent la partie du Roy H. VI. sen firent par mer hors du Royaume & entr'autres le Conte du Pembroke fait sauvé un jeune Prince de Angleterre nommé Henry Conte du Richmond.

Whilst these Earls made some stay in *St. Maloes* to refresh themselves, *Francis* the Second Duke of *Brittain* had notice of their Landing, who sent as speedily a Command to the Governour to Arrest them both into Safe Custody; an Act, as it appear'd, both Strange and injurious, being Subjects to a Prince with whom the Duke had League. But for a better Gloss, he had found a considerable

1485. rable Clause to detain the Earl of *Richmond* until he had receiv'd Satisfaction of him for Usurping and Holding the Title and Estate of *Richmond*, belonging to the ancient Dukes of *Brittain*, (whose Heir and Successor he was) though disfeised by the space of Thirry Years, now he would expect either Restitution or Compensation for it; and the better to assure himself, he conveys them with a good Guard to the Castle of *Vanes*, where himself often resided, continuing a more cautious and strict Eye upon the Earl of *Richmond*, as Nephew to *Henry VI.* and he that laid Claim to the Title and Crown of *England* by the Blood of *Lancaster*: For which he made their Imprisonment more honourable, as *Philip Comines* saith, *Le Duc les traitte doucement pour Prisonniers.* And *Jean Froissard* calls it, *Prison Courtoise*; for the Duke had well considered what Expectation and Use he might raise by them, and knew the News cou'd not be distasteful to the King of *England*, whose Throne had been threatned so much by the Earl of *Richmond's* Liberty; and therefore, from hence he hop'd an answerable Benefit, and to contract the King in a Firm Amity and Acknowledgment unto him; nay, which is further, (if we may believe *Jac. Nyerus*) he thought by this occasion to bear the Reins so hard upon King *Edward*, as that he shou'd not dare to make any Breach with him, propter Henricum Richmondiae Comitum non audebat Anglus ab amicitia Britanniae discedere.

Nor was this Author much mistaken, for the King would have accorded to any reasonable thing to purchase the Earl into his Hands; and it was no little Perplexity to him when he heard of their flight, but was the better calm'd when he understood where they were, the Duke of *Brittain* being his Friend and Allie, in whom he supposed so near an Interest (set off by some other Conditions) that he saw a Fair Encouragement to demand and gain them both; whereas, had they fall'n into *France*, he must have expected the greatest Disadvantage cou'd have been contrived out of such an occasion. For *Lewis*, tho' he were then in Truce and League with him, was meerly a Politician, and studied only his own Ends, yet fears him as a King famous for his Prowess and Victories, and as ably supply'd in his Coffers for all Undertakings: But (which did equally quicken the Hate, as well as Fear of *France*) had threatned to enter it with Fire and Sword, for the Re-conquest of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, the Counties of *Poitou* and *Turain*; wherefore we may believe that bears the credit of an Oracle, which good *Ennius* said:

Quem metuant oderunt,

Quem oderunt, perisse expetunt.

Whom Men Fear they Hate

And whom they Hate they seek to Ruin.

And doubtless in his Heart he was favourable to any Chance that might have Ruin'd or Infeised *England*, and cou'd have wish'd the Earl of *Richmond* and his Title under his Protection. King *Edward* seasonably prevented this, that such Attempts, tho' at first they appear'd but like the Prophet's Cloud, might not spread after into a spacious Storm. And to prevent all underhand Contracts with the Duke of *Brittain*, dispatch'd Letters unto him, further interpreted by a Rich Present, and Richer Promises. The Duke receives both with as Honourable Complement, protesting none cou'd be more ready to do the King of *England's* Commands than he. But where he treated for the Delivery of

the Earls, he hop'd to be lawfully excused, being an Act would cast a Stain and Scandal, not only upon his Credit and Honour, but upon all Princely and Hospitable Privileges; and cou'd appear no less than a mere Impiety, to thrust such distressed Persons as fled to their Protection, into the Arms of their Enemies; and it was his Opinion, if any Malice or Violence shou'd be acted upon them, the Guilt must reflect on him. But that the King might believe he was forward to come as near his Desires, as in honour cou'd be, he engag'd himself to keep so careful and vigilant a Watch upon 'em, that they shou'd have no more Power to Endanger him, than if they were in strict Prison. This being return'd, tho' not agreeable to the King's Hope and Wishes, yet bearing such a Caution of Honour and Wisdom, he remain'd satisfied; and so it paused for the space of Eight Years, (as I conjecture) for the King made this Demand in the Twelfth Year of his Reign. 1472. all which time he was very intent to preserve the League with good Sums of Money and costly Presents. In the Twentieth of his Reign, 1480; he receiv'd Intelligence, that the Earl of *Richmond* had stir'd up Fresh Embers and New Friends in the *French* Court to blow them; and that the *French* King had dealt, by the Solicitation of the Earl of *Pembrook*, and others, privately to get the Earl of *Richmond*, and offer'd Great Sums to the Duke of *Brittain*. This gave new Disturbance, and the King must now, by the best means he cou'd, renew his former Sute to the Duke of *Brittain*; for which Employment he intrusts Doctor *Stillington* Bishop of *Bath*, his Secretary, a Man of a Wise, Learned and eloquent Endeavour, of good Acquaintance and Credit with the Duke of *Brittain*, who gave him an Honourable and Respective Entertainment. The Bishop (after he had prepared him by the Earnest of a very Rich Present) renders the Sum of his Employment, not forgetting what he was now to Act and what to Promise on the King's Part: And (for a more glorious Insinuation) tells him how the King had elected him into the Noble Society of *St. George's* Order (as the most honourable Intimation he cou'd give of his Love) to qualify all Exceptions too and Jealousies, assures him, the King had no Intent to the Earl of *Richmond*, but what was answerable to his own Worth, and Quality of the King's Kinsman; having declared a Propensity, and Purpose to bestow one of his Daughters upon him. The Duke well mollified and perswaded, deliver'd the Earl by a strong Guard to the Bishop at *St. Maloe* Port: a Change of much Passion and Amazement to him, whose Sufferings took hold upon the affable Disposition of the Noble *Peir de Landou*, Treasurer to the Duke, who had the Earl in Charge and Conduct, to *St. Maloe*. He urges the Cause from him of his so altered and present Condition, with Protestation of all the Aid he could. The Earl thus fairly and happily provok'd (and perceiving the sparkles of his Sorrow had hapt into a tender Bosom) freely expos'd himself, and with such an overcoming Countenance of Tears and Sighs, fram'd his own Story, and press'd *Landou*, that it so wrought upon his Temper he perswaded the Earl to put on clearer hopes, assures him there should some means be found to shift the Tempest; thereupon writes a sad Relation to the Duke, to move his Compassion and Favour, and knowing the Baron *Chandau*, (a Great Man in credit with him) well affected to the Earl by a long and reciprocal Affection, he repair'd to his House near *St. Maloe*, and prevail'd with him to use his

1483. Power with the Duke for returning the Earl; who posted to *Vanes*, where the Court was then, and took the Duke at such an Advantage, by suggesting his Credulity abused, and cunningly drawn into this Contract by the King, that there was a Post dispatch'd to stay the Earl. In that interim, *Landois* had not been idle, to find a way to let the Earl Escape into the Abby Church of *St. Malo*, where he claim'd the Benefit of the Holy Asyle, which was easily contriv'd, by Corrupting his Keepers. But the Duke to stand clear of the King's Suspicion, sent over *Maurice Brummell* to satisfy him, that the Earl according to promise was sent to *St. Malo*, there deliver'd to his Servants deputed, whose negligence let him escape; and that he had demanded him of the Convent, who deny'd to render him without Security and Caution; and that he should be continued a Prisoner in *Vanes* with as much Courtesy as formerly. Now being it was fall'n into those Strict and Peremptory Terms, and within the Contumacy of such Lawless Persons, where he could not use Power, he yet faithfully protested no suit from the French King, or any other, should draw him from his former Promise: All which he religiously perform'd, whilst King *Edward* liv'd, the space of Twelve Years, (after

Philip de Comines) in which circle of time, it may with admiration be observ'd, thro' what Changes and Interchanges of Hazards, Dangers and Difficulties he was preserv'd. Soon after King *Edward's* Decease, King *Richard* renew'd and continu'd the Treaty by Sir *Thomas Hutton* of *Yorkshire*, receiving the same Satisfaction in answer, but was fail'd in the performance, and so dishonourably, that it then appear'd the Duke had kept in with *Edward*, more for Fear than for Love or Honour (the Name of *Edward* and the Earl of *March*, being, indeed, accounted terrible, where his Victorious Sword was drawn) which Breach of the Duke was not left unpunish'd (at least as that Age then guess'd) by a Divine Revenge; for having married *Margaret*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Francis de Mountford* Duke of *Brittain*, she dying without Issue, he married *Margaret* Daughter of *Gaston de Foix* King of *Navarre*, by whom he had One Daughter *Anne*, married to the French King *Charles VIII.* Thus Duke *Francis* died without Issue Male, and the Dutchy being swallow'd up and drown'd in the Lillies or Crapands of *France*, and with his Family of *Brittain* irrecoverably lost and absorped. Thus much for the Jealousie and Fears of these Two Kings †.

But

† The Stile, Condition and Authority of Duke *Richard*, while he was only Protector, and his acknowledged Obedience to his Nephew King *Edward V.* will appear by this Letter taken out of the Original Journal Book. And the formal Mannner of his taking the Kingdom from his said Nephew, will be plainly seen by some Instructions given to certain Commissioners sent to the Lord *Dynham* Lord Deputy of *Calais*, from the same Journal. The Duke's Letter was as followeth.

"*Richard* Duc of *Gloucester*, Brother and Uncle of *Kings*, Protectour and Defensour, gret *Chambreleyn*, Constable and Admiral of *England*: To our right wellbeloved *Robert Pemberton* Squier, Greeting. And on the King, our Sovrayn Lords behalve, we charge you that Incontinent, upon the sight hereof, yee do entre into the Lordships of *Wennington*, and all other the Lands and Tenements to the same appertenyng, within the Countees of *Bedford* and *Northampton*; of which we by these presents graunt and committe unto you the Rule and Keeping, and the Resseit of the said Lordships, Lands and Tenements, during Our pleasure: And wol therefore that ye so take upon you, and see that al the Goods and Cattalles now being within the same, be put in suerte in our Behoove; and to make unto us a true Inventory of the same in goodely hast: Discharging, in the *Kinges* Name and ours, al th' Officers of the same: And that this be not failed, as ye wol have oure good Lordship. Yeven under oure Signet at the Cittee of *London*, the XIX day of *May*, Anno primo Regis *Edwardi Quinti.*

The Instructions are as follow.

These be the Articles of Instructions given to the *L. Mountjoie*, Maister *John Cook* Archdeken of *Lincoln*, and Sir *Tho. Thwaytes* Kt. answering to the Lettre of the Lord *Dynham*, late direct unto the *Kinges* Grace, as then Protectour of *England*. Which Lettre resteth in four principal Poyntes.

"The first Article remembered the Othe which they of *Calais*, perteynyng to any of the thre Jurisdictons; that Incontinent upon the knowlege of the Death of King *Edward III.* (whom God assoil) comen unto them, made holy together upon a Book, to be true unto King *Edward V.* his Son, as to their Liege Lord; and to kepe the Town, Castell and Marches of *Calais* trusty to him: And to suffer no Man with Power to entre into the same, except the *Kinges* Person, or the *Hastings* then being the *Kinges* Lieutenant, and not without due Payment to be made to the Souldiers and other Officers of al that to them shal be found due, for the save keeping of the said Town and Marches.

"As to that Article, it shal move beside, that howbeit suche othe of Ligeaunce was made sone upon the Death of the said King *Edward III.* to his Son, not only at *Calais*, but also in divers places in *England* by many gret Astates and Personages, being then ignorant of the verraye sure and true Title, which oure Soverayn Lord that now is King *Richard III.* hath and had the same tyme to the Crowne of *England*; that Othe notwithstanding now every good true *Englisch* man is bound, upon knowlege had of the said verraye true Title, to depart from the first Othe to ignorantly given to him, to whom it apperteyneth not, and thereupon to make his Othe of newe, and owe his Service and Fidelite to him, that good Lawe, Reason, and the concorde assent of the Lordes and Commons of the Royallme have ordeigned to reigne upon the People, which is our said Soverayn Lord Kinge *Richard III.* brother to the said Kinge *Edward III.* late deceased, whom God Pardon: Whose sure and true Title is evidently shewed and declared in a Bil of Petition, which the Lordes Spirituels and Temporels, and the Commons of the Land solemnely porrected unto the *Kinges* Highness at *London* the XXVI day of *Juyn*. Whereupon the *Kinges* said Highness notably assisted by wel nere al the Lordes Spirituel and Temporell of this Royallme, went the same day unto the Palais at *Westminster*, and ther in such Royal Honourable apparelled with the gret Hal ther toke Possession, and declared his Mind, that the same day he wol begin to reygne upon his People. And from thence rode solemnly to the Cathedral Church of *London*; and was received ther with Procession, with gret Congratulacion and acclamacion of al the People in every place, and by the weye that the King was in that day. The Copie of the which Bil the King wil to be sent unto *Calais*; and ther to be redd and understood together with these presentes; Desiring right effectuously al maner persones of the said three Jurisdictons, what astate, degre or condition they be of; and also them of *Guyenne* and *Hammes*, to make ther Feithes and Othes to him, as to their Soverayn Lorde; like as the Lordes Spirituels and Temporels, and many other Noblemen in gret numbreg, being in *England*, frely and of good hert, have done, for ther partes: And that the said Towne of *Calais*, al Castells and Fortresses, being within the said Marches, they wil faithfully kepe unto the behoove of our said Lord King *Richard III.* and them not deliver to any Person, but by his Commandement only, &c. J. S.

These Resolutions of deposing *K. Edward V.* and of making *Richard* King were very suddenly taken, on esse the Players of this Game carryed on their Business very secretly, to amuse the People. For the Day of *Edward's* Coronation was set, which was to be the 21st Day of *June*. And all solemn Preparation was making for that Purpose, til near the said Day King *Edward* with the Advice and Order of his Uncle *Richard* the Protector, appoints and summoneth the Gentlemen that were to be knighted at his Coronation, sending to each of them a Letter to this Tenor, &c. J. S.

"To *Otes Gilbert* Esq. Trusty and Welbeloved, We Greete you well. And by the Advice of our dearest Unkle, the Duke of *Gloucester* Protector of this Our Royallme during our young Age, and the Lords of our Councel, we write unto you at this time, Willing and ne the less charging you, to prepare and furnish your self to receive the Noble Order of Knighthood at our Coronation: Which by Gods Grace we intend shall be Solempniz'd the one and twentieth Day of this present Month at our Palace of *Westminster*; Commanding you to be here at our Tower of *London* four Days afore our said Coronation, to have Communication with our Commissioners concerning the Matter: not failing hereof in any Wise, as ye intend to please us, and as ye will answer. Yeven the 5 Day of *June*.

Semblable

1483.

1483.

Seemable Letters were writ to John Speke, — Beaumont, Edward Courtney, Will. Carraunt, Tho. Arundel, Will. Bolney, Alex. Cressenger, John Clopton, Hen. Haydon. John Wynkfeld, Christoph. Willoughby, Ph. Colthorp, Beddyngfeld, Tho. Lewknor, Will. Barkley, John Stanley, — Grevyle, Will. Birmygham, Tho. Buteler, of Beawsey, John Beron, Will. Trowbeck, — Mylbourn, the Lord Dormund, the Lord Stourton, Cornwall Lord of Burford, Nevyle, Son and Heir of the Lord Bergaveny, John Breny of Stamford, the Lord Grey of Ruthyn, John Gefford, Will. Cheney of Shepey, Rob. Whyte of South-Warneborow, Gervace Clifton of Oddifake, Nic. Lile, Will. Barkely of Beveriton, Henry Vernon, Nic. Mountgomery, and twelve more, one whereof was Henry Solet Alderman of London. J. S.

But now to the Progress of our Story, where the Barons and Commons with one General Dislike, and an Universal Negative Voice, refused the Sons of King Edward, not for any Ill Will or Malice, but for their Disabilities and Incapacities; the Opinions of those Times too held them not Legitimate, and the Queen Elizabeth Gray, or Woodvill, no lawful Wife, nor yet a Woman worthy to be the King's Wife, by reason of her extreme unequal Quality. For these and other Causes, the Barons and Prelates unanimously cast their Election upon the Protector, as the most worthiest, and nearest, by the experience of his own Deservings, and the strength of his Alliance, importuning the Duke of Buckingham to become their Speaker, who accompanied with many of the Chief Lords, and other Grave and Learned Persons, having Audience granted in the Great Chamber at Baynard's Castle, (then York-House) thus address'd him to the Lord Protector:

Bp. Morton, Sir T. Moor, Holingshead, Grafton, Stow, Hall, Virgil, &c. Parliam.

The Duke of Buckingham to the Protector in the behalf of the 3 Estates.

The common published Stories have Elizabeth, but that is false.

SIR, May it please your Grace to be inform'd, that after much Grave Consultation amongst the Noble Barons; and other Worthy Persons of this Realm, it stands concluded and resolv'd, That the Sons of King Edward shall not reign; for who is not sensible, how Miserable a Fortune, and Dangerous Estate that Kingdom must be in, where a Child is King, according to the Wise Man, *Væ tibi terra cuius Rex est Puer*. But here, Sir, there is Exception of further consequence against them, That they were not born in lawful Marriage, the King having then another Wife living, Dame Elizabeth Butler: Besides the great Dishonour and Reproach he receiv'd by disparaging his Royal Blood, with a Woman so far unmeet for his Bed. These Considerations have resolutely turn'd all their Eyes and Election towards your Grace, as only worthy of it, by your singular Virtues, and that Interest in the Crowns of England and of France, with the Rights and Titles, by the High Authority of Parliament, entail'd to the Royal Blood and Issue of Richard Duke of York, whose lawful begotten Son and Heir you are; which, by a Just Course of Inheritance and the Common Laws of this Land, is divid'd and come to you. And unwilling that any Inferiour Blood should have the Dominion of this Land, are fully determin'd to make your Grace King; to which, with all Willingness and Alacrity, the Lords and People of the Northern Parts concur. And the Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, have all allow'd, and gladly embraced this general Choice of your Grace; and are come hither to beseech you to accept their Just Election, of which they have chosen me their unworthy Advocate and Speaker. I must therefore again crave leave, in the behalf of all, to desire your Grace will be pleased, in your Noble and Gracious Zeal to the Good of this Realm, to cast your Eyes upon the growing Distresses and Decay of our Estate, and to set your happy Hand to the redress thereof; for which, we can con-

ceive no Abler Remedy, than by your undertaking the Crown and Government, which we doubt not shall accrue to the Laud of God, the Profit of this Land, and your Grace's Happiness.

This Speech of the Duke is recorded by Dr. Morton, Sir Thomas Moor, and other Chronicles and Historians, to which the Protector gave this Reply:

MY most Noble Lords, and my most Loving Friends, and Dear Country-men, The Answer of the Lord Protector to the 3 Estates.
Albeit I must confess, your Request most respectful and favourable, and the Points and Necessities alludg'd and urg'd true and certain, yet for the Entire Love and Reverend Respect I owe to my Brother deceased and to his Children, my Princely Cousins, you must give me leave, more to regard mine Honour and Fame in other Realms; for where the Truth and Certain Proceedings herein are not known, it may be thought an Ambition in me to seek what you voluntarily proffer, which would charge so deep a Reproach and Stain upon my Honour and Sincerity, that I would not bear for the World's Diadem: Besides, you must not think me ignorant (for I have well observ'd it) there is more difficulty in the Government of a Kingdom, than Pleasure; especially to that Prince who would use his Authority and Office as he ought. I must therefore desire, that this (and my unfeigned Protestations) may assure you, the Crown was never my Aim, nor suits my Desire with yours, in this; yet I shall think my self much beholding unto you all in this Election of me, and that Hearty Love I find you bear me, and here protest, that for your sakes it shall be all one, whether I be your King or no; for I will serve my Nephew faithfully and carefully, with my best Counsels and Endeavours, to defend and preserve him and his Kingdom; nor shall there want readiness in me, to attempt the Recovery of that Hereditary Right in France, which belongs to the King's of England, tho' of late negligently and unhappily lost.

There the Protector became silent and thought it not safe in his Discretion or Policy, to open all the Disgusts he had of the Sovereignty, for that would have been Matter of Exprobation of the Barons, and touch'd too near the Quick, tho' he had well observ'd, by sundry Experiences of the Leading Times, and Modern too, the incessant ebbing and flowing of their Dispositions; how variable and apt they were to take up any occasion of Change, pursuing their Kings (if once stirr'd) so implacably, that many times they never left without Death or Deposing. Examples he had in the Reigns of King Edward his Brother, and Henry VI. not long before that in the time of Richard II. and his Grandfather Edward II. more anciently the Extream Troubles and Distresses of King John, and Henry III. all by the Barons, being dreadful Warnings and insolent Monuments of their Haughtiness and

1483. Levity; and this was *Alta mente repostum* with the Wise Prince.

But the Duke of Buckingham, thinking the Protector set too slight a Consideration upon so Great a Concernment, and the Affection tender'd by himself and the Nobility (and over-
The bold hearing something he privately spake to the andround Lord Mayor and Recorder, tending to his Conclufion of the Duke of Oration, he thus freely adds.
Buckingham.

"SIR, I must now, by the Priviledge of this
"Employment, and in the Behalf of those
"and my Country, add so much Freedom unto
"my Duty, as to tell your Grace, It is immove-
"ably resolv'd by the Barons and People, That
"the Children of King Edward shall not Reign
"over them. Your Grace hath heard some
"Causes; nor need I intimate, how these E-
"states have entred and proceeded so offensively
"to other Men, and so dangerously to them-
"selves, as is now too late to recal or retire.
"And therefore, they have fixt this Election
"upon you, whom they think most able and
"careful for their Safety: But, if neither the
"General Good, the Earnest Petitions of the
"Nobility and Commonalty, can move you,
"we most humbly desire your Answer and
"Leave to Elect some other that may be worthy
"of the Imperial Charge; in which (we hope)
"we shall not incur your Displeasure, consid-
"ering the Desperate Necessity of our Welfare
"and Kingdom urges it. And this is our last
"Suit and Petition to your Grace.

The Protector touch'd by this round and bra-
ving Farewel, which made him very sensible:
For (as Sir Thomas Moor discreetly confesseth) the
Protector was so much moved with these Words,
that otherwise of likelihood he wou'd never have
inclined to their Suit: And saith, That when
he saw there was no remedy, but that he must
either at that Instant take the Crown, or both
he and his Heirs irrecoverably let it pass to a-
nother; peradventure, one that might prove an
Enemy to him and his, especially if Richmond
stept in; betwixt whom and this Prince, the
Hatred was equally extream: Therefore it be-
hoved the Protector to collect himself; and
fixing his Consideration upon the effect of that
Necessity they last urg'd, gave this Reply:

The Pro-
tector's
Reply to
the Duke's
last Suit.
"MY most Noble good Lords, and most
"loving and faithful Friends, the better
"sense of your Loves and most Eminent Incon-
"veniences insinuated by your Noble Speaker,
"hath made me more serious to apprehend the
"Benefit of your Proffer and Election. And
"I must confess, in the Meditation thereof, I
"find an Alteration in my self, not without
"some Distraction when I consider all the Realm
"so bent against the Sons of King Edward. And
"therefore being certain, there is no Man to
"whom the Crown by Just Title can be so due
"as to our self, the rightful Son and Heir of
"our most Dear and Princely Father, Richard
"Duke of York: to which Title of Blood and
"Nature, your Favours have joyn'd this of E-
"lection, wherein we hold our self to be most
"strong and safe: And having the lawful
"Power of both, why shou'd I endure my pro-
"fess'd Enemy to Usurp my Right, and become
"a Vassal to my Envious Subject? The necessi-
"ty of these Causes (as admitting no other
"Remedy) urges me to accept your Offer; and
"according to your Request, and our own Right,
"we here assume the Regal Preheminence of the

Two Kingdoms, England and France, from this
Day forward, by us and our Heirs, to Govern
and Defend the one, and by God's Grace and
your Good Aids, to Recover and Establish the
other to the ancient Allegiance of England;
desiring of God to live no longer than we in-
tend and endeavour the Advancement and
flourishing Estate of this Kingdom.

At which they all cry'd, *God save King Richard*:
And thus he became King. But yet his Detra-
ctors stick not to Slander and Accuse all that
was said or done in these Proceedings of State
for mere Dissimulation; by which Justice, they
may as well censure (*At sit Reverentia dictum*)
all the Barons, worthy and Grave Commons,
which had their Votes therein, which wou'd
fall a most impudent and intolerable Scandal
upon all the High Court of Parliament; for in
short time after, all that was alledg'd and acted
in that Treaty and Colloquy was approved and
ratified by the Court of Parliament, so that their
Cavils only discover an Extream Malice and En-
vy. For it was not possible, therefore not cre-
dible, he cou'd upon such an instant (as it were)
by any Practice, attain to that Power and Cre-
dit, with all the Barons Spiritual and Tempo-
ral, and Commons, to procure and perswade
them from the Sons of King Edward, to unani-
mously to become his Subjects, and put the Crown
upon his Head with such Solemnity and Publick
Ceremonies. Whilst these Matters had their
current, the Northern Gentlemen and his Sou-
thern Friends joyn'd in a Bill Supplicatory to the
Lords Spiritual and Temporal, earnestly expres-
sing their Desires for the Election of the Lord
Protector, with the former Causes urg'd: Also
That the Blood of the Young Earl of Warwick
was Attainted, and his Title Confiscate by Act
of Parliament. This Bill was deliver'd to the
Lords, assembled in the Great Hall at Westminster,
the Lord Protector sitting in the Chair of Mar-
ble amongst them, upon the 26th of June, some
Six or Seven Days after he was Proclaim'd: The
Tenour of the Bill was thus written in the Chro-
nicle of the Abbey of Croyland:

Protector eodem die, quo Regimen sub Titulo Regii
Nominis sibi vendicavit (viz) 26^o die Junii,
Anno Dom. 1483. se apud Magnam Aulam West-
monasterii in Cathedram Marmoream immisit &
cum mox omnibus proceribus tam Laicis quam Ecclesi-
asticis & Caeteris assidentibus, astantibus &c. ostende-
batur rotulus quidam, in quo per modum supplicati-
onis in nomine procerum & Populi Borealis exhibita
fuit, Primum, quod Filii Regis Edwardi erant Ba-
stardi, supponendo, illam præcontraxisse matrimonium
cum quadam Domina Elianora Boteler, antequam
Reginam Elizabetham duxisset in Uxorem: Deinde
quod Sanguis alterius Fratris (Georgii Scil. Claren-
sæ Ducis) fuisset Atinctus. Ita quod nullus certus
incorruptus Sanguis Linealis ex parte Richardi Ducis
Eboraci poterat inveniri, nisi in Persona Richardi
Protectoris; Ducis Glocestriæ, & jam eidem Duci
supplicabatur, ut jus suum in Regno Angliæ sibi assu-
meret & Coronam acciperet.

In English thus:

THE Protector, that same Day, wherein he
took upon him the Government, under
the Royal Name and Title, being the 26th
of June 1483. seated himself in the Marble
Chair in the Great Hall of Westminster; after
which, all the Lords, as well Temporal as
Spiritual, and others sitting, or standing by,
&c. a certain Writing was produc'd, wherein,
by

1483. " by way of Humble Petition, in the Name of the Gentry and Northern People, was represented, First, That the Sons of King Edward were Bastards upon account of his having entered before into a Contract of Marriage with the Lady Eleanor Boteler, before his Marriage with Queen Elizabeth: And next, That the Blood of the other Brother, George Duke of Clarence, was Attainted. Inasmuch, that none being to be found that was undoubtedly of a Lawful and Lineal Descent from Richard Duke of York, besides Richard the Protector, Duke of Gloucester, they therefore Humbly Petition'd the said Duke to take to himself his Right unto the Kingdom of England, and to Accept of the Crown.

But the Barons were all accorded before this Bill came, (b) both Sides moving with an equal and contented forwardness; and in July next following 1483, was Crown'd and Receiv'd with as general Magnificence and Acclamations, as any King in England many Years before. For as a Grave Man writeth, (i) *Fuit dignissimus Regno, &c.* Cambden, non inter malos sed bonos principes Commemorandus; That he was most worthy to Reign, and to be numbred amongst the Good, not Bad Princes. The Queen his Wife was Crown'd with him, and with no less State and Greatness, Accompanied him from the Tower to Westminster; having in their Train (besides the Nobility of the South Parts) Four Thousand Gentlemen of the North (k). Upon the 19th of June 1483, in the 25th Year of Lewis the French King, he was named King of England, the Morrow Proclaim'd and Rode with Great Solemnity from London to Westminster, where in the Seat Royal, he gave the Judges of the Land a Strict and Religious Charge for the Just Executing of the Laws, then departed towards the Abbey, being met at the Church Door with Procession, and the Scepter of King Edward deliver'd to him by the Abbot; so ascended to St. Edward's Shrine, where he offer'd; the Monks in the mean time singing *Te Deum*: From thence he return'd to the Palace, where he Lodg'd until his Coronation.

Upon the 4th of July he went to the Tower by Water with the Queen his Wife, and the next Day* Created Edward his only Son, (about Ten Years old) Prince of Wales: He Invested Sir John Howard, (who was made Lord Howard and Knight of the Garter, 17 Edw. IV.) in the Dukedom of Norfolk, in a favourable Admission of the Right of the Lady Margaret his

Mother, Daughter of Sir Thomas Mowbray, D. 1483. of Norfolk, and an Heir General of the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk and Earls of Surrey, descended from the Lord Thomas Plantagenet of Brotherton, a Younger Son of King Edward I. and Earl of Norfolk. This King also made him Marshal and Admiral of England; he was as rightfully Lord Mowbray, Lord Segrave, Lord Bruce, as Lord Howard, as I have seen him stiled by Royal Warrant in a Commission for Treaty of Truce with Scotland.

His Eldest Son, Sir Thomas Howard, was at the same time Created Earl of Surrey, and made Knight of the Garter; Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was made Constable of England for term of Life, but he claim'd the Office by Inheritance.

Sir Thomas Moor writes, That Sir Thomas Howard executed the Office of Constable that Day; William Lord Berkley was Created Earl of Nottingham, Francis Lovel Viscount Lovel, and Chamberlain to the King; the Lord Stanley restor'd to Liberty and made Steward of the Household (l), Thomas Rotherham, Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, having been committed for delivering the Great Seal to the Queen Widow, receiv'd to Grace, and many Knights Adubb'd of the Old Order, and some of the New, or Habit of the Barb, whose Names I have set down, to shew what regard was had of their Family, and in those Times accused of so much Malignity.

Sir Edmund De la Pool, Son to the Duke of Suffolk.

George Gray, Son to the Earl of Kent.

William Zouch, Son to the Lord Zouch.

Henry Nevil, Son to the Lord Abergavenny.

Christopher Willowby, Thomas Arundel.

Henry Babington, Gerwoise of Clifton.

Henry Bainton, Edmund Beddingfield.

Thomas Bullen, Thomas Leukenor.

William Say, John Browne.

William Enderby, William Berkley.

Thomas of Vernon, i. another William Berkley.

The 5th Day of July he Rode from the Tower through the City in Pomp, with his Son the Prince of Wales, Three Dukes, and Nine Earls, Twenty Two Viscounts and Simple Barons, Eighty Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen not to be number'd; besides Great Officers of the Crown which had Special Service to do. But the Duke of Buckingham carried the Splendour

(b) The Barons and Commons were so far from choosing him, that they were afraid, he wou'd not Crown his Nephew. This part of his History is all wrong. *Vide* Sir Thomas Moor's Hist. of Edward V. and Richard III.

(i) Compare this Quotation out of Cambden with what that Author says of King Richard in his Brit. sub Tit. Leices. &c. speaking of Bosworth, Here Henry Earl of Richmond encounter'd King Richard III. who had by most Wicked Means usurp'd the Kingdom: He overcame and slew the Usurper, and freed England by his Valour from the Rule of a Tyrant. Besides, he does not tell us where Cambden speaks so well of him.

(k) These Four thousand Gentlemen of the North, were (as Hall and Grassden relate) 5000 Fellows mustered and wore harness, whom he sent for out of the North. They were mustered at Binsbury, and were in Contempt of the Rebels.

* His Creation was not before September following, at York; as appears afterwards by the Chronicle of England, and the Notes there. 7. 8.

† This Title this young Prince enjoy'd but a small time: For as he was Created about the 8th of September, he was dead before the 1st of July the next Year, as may be collected from a Warrant of K. Richard to Nicholas Leventhorp, Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster, order'd thereby to pay to John Dawney, late Treasurer of Poyners, 150 l. 10 s. Due to him for divers Provisions and Emptions by him made for the Expence (as the Warrant ran) of our most Dear Son, whom God pardon. Which last Words bespeak him now dead. This bare Date July the 21. Anno 20. But before his Death, the King his Father heaped up all the Honour he cou'd upon him: He made the Lord Prime, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for Three Years; confirm'd his Title of Earl of Sarum anew to him; constituted Great Officers in his Household, whereof I find William Herbert was his Secretary, for which he had XL Mark assign'd him for his Salary yearly out of the Honour of Poyners, 7 s.

He was (if we may give credit to the King his Father's Patents to Create him Prince of Wales) of great hopes for his Excellent Parts and Disposition. The Words are, *Cujus optima indoles, ac praeclara, quibus pro sua aetate Modulo singulariter praeditus est, natura docet ingentem aequi favente Deo, indubitam probitatis spem nobis porrigunt.* &c. Whose Excellent Wit and Remarkable Endowments of Nature, wherewith, his Young Age consider'd, he is singularly furnish'd, do portend to us great and undoubted hopes by the favour of God, that he will make a Good Man. *R. 2th. Journal penes me.* J. S.

(l) For fear of the Lord Strange, his Son, who as 'twas said, was raising Forces in the North.

1483. of that Day's Bravery, his Habit and Caparisons of Blew Velvet, Embroider'd with Golden Naves of Carcs burning, the Trappings supported by Foot-men, habited costly and suitable. On the Morrow, being the 6th of July, all the Prelates, Miter'd in their Pontificalibus, receiv'd him at Westminster-Hall towards the Chapel; the Bishop of Rochester bare the Cross before him, the Cardinal and the Earl of Huntingdon follow'd with a pair of Gilt Spurs, and the Earl of Bedford with St. Edward's Staff for a Relick. After the Procession, the Earl of Northumberland bears a Pointless Sword naked, the Lord Stanley the Mace of the Constableness (but waited not for Constable) the Earl of Kent bare the Second Sword naked with a Point upon the Right hand of the King, the Viscount Lovel another Sword on the King's Left Hand with a Point. Next came the Duke of Suffolk with a Scepter, the Earl of Lincoln with a Ball and Cross, then the Earl of Surrey with the Sword of State in a rich Scabbard in Place of the Constable of England, the Duke of Norfolk on his Right hand with the Crown: after him immediately, the King in a Surcoat and Robe of Purple, the Canopy born by the Barons of the Five Ports, the King between the Bishop of Bath and Durham, the Duke of Buckingham bearing up his Train, and serv'd with a White Staff for Seneschal or High-Steward of England.

In the Front of the Queen's Train, the Earl of Huntingdon bare the Scepter, Viscount Lisle the Rod with the Dove, the Earl of Wiltshire her Crown, and next to him follow'd the Queen herself (in Robes like the King) between Two Bishops, the Canopy born by Barons of the Ports, upon her Head a Coronet set with Precious Stones; the Lady Margaret Somerset, Countess of Richmond, carried up her Train, follow'd by the Duchesses of Suffolk, with many Countesses and other Ladies. In this manner the whole Procession pass'd through the Palace, and enter'd the West Door of the Abby, the King and Queen taking their Seates of State, staid until divers Holy Hymns were sung, then ascended to the High Altar shifting their Robes, and putting on other open and voided in sundry Places for their Anointing; which done, they took other Robes of Cloth of Gold, so return'd to their Seats, where the Cardinal of Canterbury and the other Bishops Crowned them, the Prelate putting the Scepter in the Left Hand of the King, the Ball and Cross in his Right, and the Queen's Scepter in her Right Hand, and the Rod with the Dove in her Left; on each Hand of the King stood a Duke, before him the Earl of Surrey with the Sword as aforesaid; on each Hand of the Queen stood a Bishop, by them a Lady kneeling, the Cardinal said Mass, and gave the Pax; then the King and Queen descending, were both hous'd with one Host parted between them at the High Altar: This done, they Offer'd at St. Edward's Shrine, where the King laid down St. Edward's Crown and put on another, so return'd to Westminster-Hall in the same State, they came, there dispersed, and retired themselves for a Season. In which Interim, came the Duke of Norfolk, Marshal of England, mounted upon a brave Horse, trapp'd with Cloth of Gold down to the Ground, to submove the Hearts of People and void the Hall. About Four of the Clock, the King and the Queen sat to Dinner, the King at the Middle Table of the Hall, and the Queen on his Left Hand; on each side a Countess attending her, holding a Cloth of Plateance (or rather of Effuyance) for her Cup. On the King's Right Hand sat the Archbishop of Can-

terbury, and all the Ladies were plac'd on one side of a Long Table in the middle of the Hall against them, at another Table the Lord Chancellor and all the Nobles; at a Table next to the Cup-board, the Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen,

Behind the Barons of the Kingdom sat the Barons of the Ports; there were other Tables for Persons Quality. After all were seated, came the Lord Marshal again, the Earl of Surrey, Constable. (*Pro illa vice tantum*) the Lord Stanley Lord Steward, Sir William Hopton, Treasurer of the Household, and Sir Thomas Piercy, Controulers; they serv'd the King's Board with one Dish of Gold and another of Silver. The Queen was serv'd all in Gilt Vessels, and the Cardinal Archbishop in Silver Dishes.

As soon as the Second Course was served in, Sir Robert Dimock, the King's Champion, makes Proclamation, That whosoever would say, King Richard the Third was not lawfully King, he would Fight with him at all Gutterance, and for Gage thereof threw down his Gauntlet; then all the People cry'd, King Richard, God save King Richard; and this he acted in three several parts of the Hall; then an Officer of the Cellar brought him a Gilded Bowl with Wine, which he drank, and carried the Cup away as his ancient Fee: After that, the Heralds cry'd *Largess* thrice, and return'd to the Scaffold. Lastly came the Mayor of London with the Sheriffs, with a Volder, serving the King and Queen with Sweet Wines, who had each of them a Cover'd Cup of Gold for their Reward: By which time the Day began to give way to the Night, the King and Queen departing to their Lodgings.

And this is a Brief and True Relation of his Coronation, testified by all the Best Writers and Chroniclers of our Stories, publick and allow'd, which may confute the Boldness of that Slander, that says, He was not rightfully, and authentically Crown'd, but obscurely and indirectly crept in at the Window. But all Times have De-tractors, and all Courts their Parasities; and many that have admired Princes to their Graves, even there have turn'd from them, with Ingratitude and Murmur. Soon after this the King dismissed, and sent Home all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, with a straight Charge and Direction to them, the Judges of Oyer and Terminer, with all other Magistrates and Officers in general and particular, for the Equitable and Just Government of their Jurisdictions and Circuits. And it is observ'd, those Times were under as happy an Expectation of Law and Justice, as those, either before or after more flatter'd; which John Hide (a Learned Man, and Doctor of Physick) implies in a Manuscript Poesy of his

*Solio juris Feltique Minister,
Ille sedens alto, tali sermone profatur,
Moles Concilio sacra, persuasus Jethro;
Solut quid Populi nequit componere, lites,
Constituit populi praefectos atq; Tribunos;
Sic cum me praecelsa premant fastigia Regni,
Adua magnarum teneatis munera rerum;
Et primam, a vobis pravos secludite morum
Aequi Justitia trutinis appendite causas;
Ob paupertatem miseros ne spernite ciues,
Nec vota in cassum fundat Pupillus in auras;
Denique largiri, ne vos Corruptat iniqua, &c.*

Then seated on his Throne he thus begun, As Moses was by Jethro's Counsel won,

Bourcheir
Archbish.
of Canter-
bury.
Swords
born.
Signify-
ing Mer-
cy.
Signify-
ing Ju-
stice to
the Tem-
poralty.
Justice to
the Clergy
Peace.
Monarchy

* Towel
or Nap-
kin that
wait on
the Cup.

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Alone unable to sustain the weight
Of Publick Rule, and judge in each Debate,
To choose a Court of Elders for the State.
So I, elected to the Pond'rous Crown,
On you lay half the Uncasy Burthen down.
First then, Let Vicious Passions be suppress'd,
And banish Love and Hatred from your Breast.
In equal Scales impartial Justice weigh,
Nor to the Poor oppress'd Relief delay;
Let not defrauded Orphans Sue in vain,
Nor be Debauch'd with Baits of proffer'd
(Gain.

All things thus in a Happy Presage and Good Order, the King, with the Queen, departed from London, and makes Windsor the first Gist in his Progress for some few Days: From thence to his Manner of Woodstock, then to the University of Oxford, where the Muses Crown'd their Brows with fragrant Wreaths for his Entertainment. Next he visited the Circular City of Gloucester, and gave the Citizens (for the Love and Loyalty they express'd, in Holding the Castle and Town so constantly against Queen Margaret and the Forces of Henry the Sixth, for him and his Brother the King) large Priviledges and Immunities.

And here the Duke of Buckingham takes his leave for Brecknock, constantly disposed and affected in all outward appearance. The King making small stay any where, (save at Coventry) until he came to the goodly and ancient City of York, the Scope and Goale of his Progress, which receiv'd him with all Honour and Festivity, and was there the second time Crown'd by Dr. Rotherham, Archbishop of that See, in the Cathedral Church, and his Son invested in the Principality of Wales, as the Prior of Croyland reporteth; *Eodem die quo Richardus Coronatus est Rex in Ecclesia Metropolitana Eboracensi, mox Filium Edwardum in Principatum Wallie cum insignis virgæ aureæ &c. evexit, & Pompas & sumptuosas festa & convivium ibi fecit* ||

Chro. M. And indeed, it was a Day of Great State; for
S. in Quar. (as Polidore saith) There was then Three Princes
apud. D. in York wearing Crowns, the King, Queen and
Ro Cotton Prince; in acclamation whereof, there was Stage
and Rob. Plays, Turnaments, and other Triumphal Sports,
Fabian. as Sir Thomas Moor relates. At this Time the
Richard the King Knighted Richard of Gloucester his Base Son,
the Bastard of who was after Captain of Calais, and many Gen-
of Gloucester. tlemen of those Parts. But (albeit this was an
Capt. of Intermillion, as it were, of all Busie and Serious
Calais.

Agitations) yet the King, still where he travell'd had a Just Regard to the Administration and Execution of Justice and the more Facinorous Malefactors: And surely these respective Inclinations of his had their Solemn Affections and Desires naturaliz'd in him, witnessed by the Scope and Integrity of those Just Laws which after follow'd.

The Progress thus spent, he returns to London; and having consulted some Matters of State, declares his first Resolution for the Tribute detain'd by France, which he had formerly by a Friendly Message demanded, but now sends Stout Menaces and Threats for it. The French wou'd not have it call'd a Tribute, but a Pension, as Philip de Comines insinuates, though it had been rais'd and paid to King Edward IV. in lieu of the Dutchy and Countries of Aquitaine, Normandy, Poitou and Maine, &c. whereof the French had defeiz'd the Crown of England, which King Edward IV. forc'd Lewis to acknowledge, and to covenant and agree, That he, his Heirs and Successors, shou'd pay unto the Crown of England, the Sum of Fifty Thousand Crowns, with caution and security to be paid in the City of London; or after Jean Tillet and John Maiorus, Seventy Five Thousand Crowns to be paid into the Tower; with which the French King also granted, in the name of Annual Pension, Sixteen Thousand Pounds to some Noblemen and others of special credit with the King. As to Sir Thomas Gray, Marques of Dorset, William Lord Hastings, Chamberlain to the King, Doctor Thomas Rotbrom, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Chancellor of England; John Lord Howard, Sir John Cheyney, Master of the Horse; Sir Thomas Mountgomery, Mr. Chalonet, and to the Master of the Rolls: The chiefest of these had Two Thousand Crowns a piece per Ann. Besides which Pensions, he gave Rich Presents, and sent Rewards to such Lords as stood most for this accord. *Euguerant de Monfroulet* avoucheth, That the Lord Howard and the Master of the Horse, were the chiefest of the Mediators in it: his reason is, that they were the Men most in favour with King Edward. *Jean Tillet*, with *Philip de Comines* tells us, The Lord Howard in less than Two Years, had the value of Twenty Four Thousand Crowns in Plate, Coin and Jewels, over and above his Annual Pension; the Lord Hastings at one time to the value of Two Thousand Marks in Plate, besides his Pension. And if their own Stories speak truth, *Richard de Nevill*, the Great Earl of War-

|| i. e. That same Day wherein Richard was crown'd King in the Metropolitan Church of York, he advanced his Son Edward to the Principality of Wales, with the Ensigns of the Golden Rod, &c. and there celebrated most splendid and sumptuous Feasts.

† In order to this Solemnity, the King sent from York the last Day of August, to *Pierre Corneille*, Keeper of his Wardrobe; in these Words:

By the KING.

"We wol and charge you to deliver to the Bringers hereof for Us the Parcels following; that is to say, First One Doublet of Purple Sattin, lined with Holland Cloth, and entertined with Buckram. One Doublet of Tawny Sattin, lined likewise; Two short Gowns of Crenysyn Cloth of Gold, the one with Droppis, and the other with Nettes, lined with green Velvet. One Cloak with a Cape of Viber Ingrained; the Bow lined with black Velvet. One Stomacher of Purple Sattin; one Stomacher of Tawny Sattin. One Gown of green Velvet, lined with Tawny Sattin. One yard and three Quarters Corse of Silk [Silk] meddled with Gold, and as much black Corse of Silk for Our Spurs. Two yards and an half and three Nayls of white Cloth of Gold for a Crynelze for a Bode; five yards of black Velvet for a lining of a Gown of green Sattin. One Plakard made of part of the said two yards and one half and two Nayls of white Cloth of Gold lined with Buckram. Three pair of Spurs short, all gilt; two pair of Spurs long white, parcel gilt. Two yards of black Buckram for amending of the lining of divers Trappers. One Banner of Sarcenet of our Lady; one Banner of the Trinity. One Banner of St. George. One Banner of St. Edward. One of St. Gilbert. One of Our own Arms. If Sarcenet. Three Coats of Arms beaten with fine Gold, for Our own Person. Five Coat Armour for Heraults, lined with Buckram. Forty Trumpet Banners of Sarcenet. Seven hundred and forty Pensils of Buckram. Three hundred and fifty Pensils of Tarter. Four Standards of Sarcenet with Boars. Thirtie thousand Quynians of Fustian with Boars. And these Our Letters, &c. J. S.

* He knighted also *Gaufridus de Saffola* Ambassador from the Queen of Spain, being present at this Solemnity; by putting a Collar of Gold about his Neck, and striking three times upon his Shoulders with his (the King's) Sword; and agreeable Words added, and by other Marks of Honour according to the English Custom. In testimony whereof the King gave him his Letters Patents, dated at his Court at York, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the King's Court being present, in the Act of the said Prince Edward's Creation, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, which was the 28th Day of September, 1483. J. S.

wick;

1483. wick, had of the Kings of France much more than any other English Noblemen, which the Chronicle of Brittain records. And doubtless, King Richard had still compell'd him to continue it, had not Eruptions of State and Tumultuary Practices fatally deterr'd his Sword: For as Kings have vaster Limits, they have higher Bounds than others. If our Vulgar Paths be rugged, theirs are slippery, and all their Mighty Resolutions and Ambitions have their Fate and Circle; hither they must, and no further; yet as envious as Fortune shew'd her self, he brought King Lewis to Terms of Fair Promises and Mediation for time of Payment, as *Comines* obscurely implies.

1484. This Year the King kept a very Magnificent Christmas at Westminster, and was reconciled to the Queen Dowager, who left Sanctuary, * and to congratulate the King's Favour, sent her Five Daughters to Court, where they were receiv'd with all Princely Kindness.

On the Three and Twentieth Day of January, in the First Year of his Reign, he summon'd a Parliament to be holden at Westminster, in which (after the enacting of many Good Laws) the Marriages of King Edward were debated, that with the Lady Gray adjudg'd unlawful, and her Children illegitimate, there being proof of a former Contract and Marriage with the Lady Elianor Talbot, Daughter of the Old Earl of Shrewsbury, and Relict of the Lord Butler of Sudeley, then and long after living, and all that had been inferr'd by the Duke of Buckingham, or contain'd in the Bill supplicatory, demonstrated, was again consulted, and Judgment given against that Marriage, and Incapacity of the Children also of the Earl of Warwick and his Sister, the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, all decreed and confirm'd by Act of Parliament; so that here to tax so general an Assent, were to say there was not one Honest nor Just Man in that High Court, and

what greater Scandal to the whole Kingdom? 1484.

There was likewise notice taken of the Earl of Richmond's Pretence to the Crown, by a Title deriv'd from the House of Lancaster, who was at that time in France, labouring to engage the King and the Duke of Brittain in the Quarrel. Oh! the infinite Windings and Perplex'd Sleeps we labour through, to get that we must bid Goodnight to To-morrow; and yet the True and Rightful Lancaster had no Finger in it, for this Earl was not then granted to be of the House of Lancaster, until the Pope by his Bull had given him that Stile, and himself (after he was King) by his Prerogative assum'd it. In this Parliament he was attainted of High Treason, and with him John Earl of Oxford, Thomas Marquess of Dorset, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, Lionel Bishop of Salisbury, Peirce Bishop of Exeter, the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, Thomas Morton Bishop of Ely, Thomas Naudick, by the stile of Thomas Naudick of Cambridge, Conjurer, William Knevet of Buckingham smear'd with the same Pitch, George Brown of Beechworth, Thomas Lukener of Traton, John Guilford, John Fogg, Edward Poinings, Thomas Pieries of Cherstmonceur, Nicholas Gainsford, William Clifford, John Dorrell, with others of Kent and the West Country. There was further enacted for the approbation and confirming the True and Lawful Title of King Richard, this Clause or Sentence:

"It is declared, pronounced, decreed, confirm'd and establish'd by the Authority of this present Parliament, That King Richard III. is the true and undoubted King of this Realm, (a) The as well by Right of Consanguinity and Hereditage, as by Lawful Election and Coronation, &c. And in a place of the Roll of this Parliament, † there are Arguments to be gathered, that the Two Sons of K. Edward were living in the time of this Parliament, which was at

The Friends & Confederates of the Earl of Richmond.

(a) The Sons of K. Edward living in Jan. and Feb. after the Death of their Father.

* This cannot be true, for she was certainly in Sanctuary in March following with five of her Daughters, viz. Elizabeth, Cecily, Anne, Katharine and Bridget: nor could this Queen, which was now undervalued by the Name of Dame Jane Gray, be perswaded to leave the Sanctuary by any Entreaty hitherto. Infomuch, that the King on the First Day of March, in the presence of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, solemnly swore upon the Gospels, "That if she would come to him out of the Sanctuary at Westminster, he would provide for her and for her Daughters, as his Kinswomen, and that they should be in no danger of their Lives; and that he would allow her 700 Mark a Year, and her Daughters 100 Mark apiece for their Portions in Marriage, and would take care to marry them to Gentlemen." And to this his Oath he set his Sign Manual, as may be seen more at large in certain Notes in the Third Book. For he had left this Queen in a very bare condition, having possess'd himself (and that by Act of Parliament) of all her Castles, Seignories, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Farms, Fee-Farms, Franchises, Liberties and other Hereditaments, made over to her at any time, either by Confirmation, State or Act of Parliament, all from the 1st day of May last, to be utterly void, annull'd and of no strength nor effect in Law: Thus roughly had King Richard dealt with her. And this was done by an Act of Parliament that sat after Christmas, when this Author relates she left the Sanctuary, and the King was reconciled to her. J. S.

† This Insurrection of the Gentry in Kent was strong, so that soon after it was over, King Richard himself hasted thither in Person; and a severe Proclamation was set forth for the Taking of those concerned in it; and Who, and of what Quality they were, and what the Rewards were of such as should take them, the ensuing Proclamation will discover.

The King, our sovereign Lord, remembering that many and divers of his True Subjects of this his County of Kent, have now late been abused and blinded by Sir John Gifford, Sir Thomas Lowkenor, Sir William Hawte, Knts. Edward Pennington, Richard Gifford, William Cheney, Thomas Penys, Will. Brandon, John Wingfeld, Anth. Kene, Nic. Gainsford, John Lay, Rauf Tibbille, Anthony Brewyns, John Pympe, Rob. Brent, Long Roger, Richard Potter, Richard Fisher, Sir Markus Hussen Priest, and others the King's Rebels and Traitors, which imagin'd and utterly conspyred the Destruction of the Kyng the Sovereign Lord, most Royal Person, the Subversion of his Royallme, and the Common-welfare of the same: And many of his said Subjects of this his County of Kent, when they knew and understood their said conspyred Treasons, left and forsook them, and as his true Subjects thence have well and truly behaved themselves. For the which the Kynges Grace standeth, and wol he to them good and gracious sovereign Lord, and willet and desyret al his said true Subjects to put them in their effectual Devours to take his said Rebels and Traitors; and graunteth that he or they that shall hap to take the said Sir John Gifford, &c. Reynold Pympe, &c. shal have for each of them 300 Mark, or 40 l. of Land. And for ever each of the other after named 100 l. or Ten Mark of Land; and great Thanks of the Kynges Grace; and over this, the Kynges woll it be known, that if any Person harbour, lodge, comfort, succour or kepe within his House, or otherwise, ayd or receive wytingly any of the said Traitors, and discolore them not, nor bring them to the Kyng in al good hart possible after this Proclamation, that then he or they so harbouring, ayding, comforting, succouring or lodging them, or any of them hereafter to be taken and reputed as the Kynges Rebels and Traitors. And also, that no Man presume, after this Proclamation, to keep any Goods or Cattails of the said Traitors; but them utter and shew to the Kynges Commissioners, in this his said County of Kent, assign'd and appoynted. And they that so truly wil shew it shal be wel rewarded, and they that do the contrary shal be punished according to the Law. J. S.

The Author would have done much towards the Credit of what he drives at in his History, to have specified this place of the Roll, and the Words thereof, whence such Arguments might be gathered. For all History relates the Murders to be committed before this time. J. S.

1483.

the least Nine Months after the Death of their Father, and six Months after King Richard; which will import thus much, That if King Richard then, lawfully and quietly possess'd of the Crown, suffer'd them to live so long, there is no reason why he shou'd after make them away, for their Lives cou'd not rectify their Blood or Titles, nor their Deaths advantage him; neither can Bastards be dangerous or prejudicial to the True and Titular Lord, or Lawful Proprietary, be he Prince or Subject; witness Foreign Countries, and England it self, which holds Bastards incapable of Heritage, Honour or Offices. In the Month of February, towards the end of this Parliament, the King in his Providence to establish the Regal Fortune and Succession in the Prince his Son, and to fasten the Affection of the Nobility and the People unto him with the Crown, procures them to meet him in the Palace at Westminster, and there (*Interiori Canaculo*, as mine Author saith) rendred by the Duke of Norfolk unto them, an Oath of Fealty and Allegiance in writing, to be taken to the Prince of Wales; which they took and subscrib'd most willingly: The Occasion of this, was his Jealousy of that New League struck up between the Earl of Richmond and the Duke of Buckingham, who was now discover'd more apparently, and the rest of the Engagement. To oppose and suppress them therefore, and stifle the Confederacy before it should grow more threatening; the King makes a Commission by Letters Patents, in the Name of the Vice-Constable of England, unto Sir Ralph Ashton; a Copy whereof (the President being unusual, and the Office great) I have transcrib'd *verbatim* from the Records in the Chapel of the * Converts.

ViceConstable of England.

* That is the Chapel of the Rolls.

Vice-Constabulario Angliæ Constituto.

REX dilecto & fideli suo, Rudolpho Ashton Militi, salutem. Sciatis, quod nos de fidelitate, circumspetione, & probitate, vestra plenius confidentes, assignavimus deputavimus & ordinavimus vos hac Vice Constabularium nostrum Angliæ, ac Commissionarium nostrum, dantes & concedentes vobis tenore presentium potestatem & auctoritatem generalem, & mandatum speciale, ad audiendum & examinandum ac procedendum, contra quascunque personas de crimine læsa nostræ regis majestatis suspectas & culpabiles tam per viam examinationis testium quam aliter prout vobis melius visum fuerit ex officio vestro; nec non in causis illis judicialiter & sententialiter juxta casus exigentiam & Delinquentiam demerita omni strepitu & futura Judicii appellatione quacunque remota, quandocunque vobis videbitur procedendum, judicandum & finali executione de mandandum cum omnibus etiam clausulis, verbis, & terminis specialibus ad executionem istius mandati & auctoritatis nostræ de jure vel consuetudine requisitis, quæ etiam omnia hic expressa habemus, assumpto vobiscum aliquo tabellione fide digno, qui singula conscribat una cum aliis quæ in præmissis vel circa ea necessaria videbuntur seu qualitercunque requisita; mandantes & firmiter vobis injungentes, quod aliis quibuscunque prætermisissis circa prædicta quoties & quando opus fuerit intendatis, causasque antedictas audiat, examinetis, & in eisdem procedatis ac eas judicetis & finali executione ut præfertur demandetis. Damus etiam omnibus & singulis quorum interest in hac parte tenore presentium firmiter in mandatis, quod vobis in præmissis faciendis pareant; assistant & auxilientur in omnibus diligenter, in cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Covent. 24. Die Octobris, Anno Regni Primo; per ipsum Regem ore tenus.

Patents de anno 1 Ri. 3. part. 1. mem. 2.

In English thus.

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To the Vice-Constable of England Constituted.

THE King to his beloved and faithful Ralph Ashton Kt. greeting. Know, that We fully confiding in your Fidelity, Wisdom, and Integrity, have assign'd, deputed, and ordain'd you at this time our Vice-Constable of England, and our Comissionary, Giving and Committing to you by the tenor of these Presents, Power and Authority general, and our special Command, to Hear, Examine and Proceed against all Persons whatsoever, suspected or guilty of the Crime of High-Treason against Us, either by way of Examination of Witnesses, or otherways, as shall seem to you most expedient and suitable to your Office: As also in these Causes, judiciously and sententially, according to the Exigency of the Case and Demerit of the Delinquent, without all Noise or Appeal, when you shall think fit, to Proceed, Determine and Commit to Final Execution, with all Clauses, Words, and special Terms by Law or Custom required to the Execution of that our Command and Authority, as if here particularly express'd; taking unto your Assistance some Publick Notary of known Fidelity, who may commit to Writing all these things, with what else shall in or about the Premises seem necessary, or any manner of way requisite; Commanding and strictly Injoyning you, That all other Affairs whatever being laid aside, you apply your selves to the foresaid, how often, and at what time it shall be necessary; and that the above-named Causes you Hear, Examine, and in the same Proceed and them Determine, and commit to final Execution as said is. We also by the tenour of these Presents strictly command all and every one in this Part whom it may concern, to obey you in performing the Premises, and that they assist and diligently help you in all Things. In Confirmation, &c. Witness the King at Covent. the 24th Day of October, and First Year of his Reign; Taken from the Mouth of the King himself.

What Success this Commission, and new Office had, I find not reported; but it might come too late, or the new Officer forget what he was to execute, for the Faction lost none they could Corrupt or Win; yet surely, the Institution of it was very Politick and Important, as a plain Image and Pourtrait of the Office and Authority of the Great or High Constable of England, which, in the Execution of a Wise and Valiant Person, is of a high and great use.

Having made mention of these Offices, it shall Otherwise not be a Parergue, between these Acts, to inter-ficers of K. Richard 3. add the rest of this King's Officers, both Chief and Other's; at the least, such as were of Honour or Dignity: I have before named the High-Constable, the Great Marshal, High Admiral, Lord Chamberlain, the rest were Sir John Wood the Elder, Lord Treasurer the First Year, and Sir John Touchet, Lord Audley during the rest of his Reign. Dr. Russell Bishop of Lincoln had the Great Seal, Thomas Barrow was Master of the Rolls, (which Place Henry the Seventh continued to him, and made him a Privy Counsellor) John Kendal was Principal Secretary, Sir William Hopton Treasurer of the

1483. Household. Sir Thomas Peirey Controuler, after him Sir John Buck, John Gunthorp Keeper of the Privy Seal, Sir William Hussey Chief Justice, Thomas Tremaine and Roger Townsend the King's Sergeants, Morgan Kidwel Attorney General, Nicholas Fitz-William Recorder of London.

Treaties for League and Commerce with Flanders, &c. In the *thesaurus Scaccarii*, 1 R. 3. For Matters of Treaty, betwixt this King and Foreign Princes, I have seen a Memorial of one for Intercourse and Commerce, between him and (m) Philip Duke of Burgundy, and the Estates of Flanders, who in the Record are call'd *Membra Flandriae*: These Princes and States had each of them their Commissioners to Treat and Determin the Affairs, which I find they dispatch'd with Approbation of the Princes their Masters.

In Rolls Anno 1 R. There was also a Commission about these Times, to Hear and Redress the Complaints made to the King, by the Subjects of the King of France and of Denmark, which was well expedited.

1484. Anno Regni 2. That Treaty of Peace and League with Scotland, (began before) was continued, and finish'd by Commissioners sent from James IV. King of Scotland, and by other Commissioners Delegate for the King of England; those for Scotland were Col. Earl of Argyle, Chancellor of Scotland, N. Bishop of Aberdeen, the Ld. Lisle, the Lord Dromonde of Stobhall, Mr. Archibald Lubistlaw, Archdeacon of Lodion and Secretary to the King, Lion King at Arms, and Duncan of Dundas; they came to Nottingham in September, Anno Dom. 1484, and were honourably receiv'd in the Great Chamber of the Castle, the King sitting under his Royal Cloth of State; Mr. Archibald Lubistlaw, stepping before the rest, address'd a very Eloquent Oration unto him in Latin, which reflected upon the Praise of Martial Men and Art Military, including much to the Honour and Praise of King Richard. This Treaty aim'd partly at a Truce and Peace, partly at a Marriage between James the Prince of Scotland and the Lady Anne, Daughter of John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolk, and Niece to King Richard.

Commissioners for the King of England, were John Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Bishop of St. Asaph, John Duke of Norfolk, Henry Earl of Northumberland, Mr. John Gunthorpe Custos-privati Sigilli, Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord Stanley, Sir N. Ld. Strange, Sir N. Lord Powis, Sir Henry Lord Fitzhugh, Sir Humphry Lord Dacres, Mr. Thomas Barrow Master of the Rolls, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and Richard Salkeld: The other for the Treaty of Alliance and Marriage, were Thomas Archbishop of York, John Bishop of Lincoln, John Bishop of Worcester, John Duke of Norfolk, William Earl of Nottingham, John Sutton,

Lord Dudley, N. Lord Scroope of Upsal, Sir William Hussey, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and William Catesby: But the Success of that, and many other Good Intentments, were interposed by the Inconstancy and Contraste of the Times. The Lady Anne de la Poole, upon the breach thereof, (resolving to accept no other Motion) forthwith took a Religious Habit in the Monastery of Sion (n).

There was another Treaty of Peace and Truce in this Second Year, between him and the Duke of Britain, or at the least given out for Peace, yet was indeed but a Part and Pretext of the Treaty: For the main Negotiations on the King's side, was, how to get the Earl of Richmond out of his Custody into his own, or be as well secur'd of him there as his Brother King Edward was: And for this Treaty, the chief Negotiators were the Bishop of Lincoln, and Sir Thomas Hutton for the King, the Bishop of Leon and others for the Duke. The Treaty began Anno Dom. 1484. and was finish'd and ratified in the Year following: but the Duke violated his Part immediately, by giving Aid to the King's Enemies.

In the same Year there were Letters made (which are yet extant in the Treasury of the Exchequer) that moved a Peace and Truce between King Richard and Charles VIII. King of France; wherein it must be understood, the Tribute before mention'd was Articled.

Also in this Year, and the Year before, there was a private Treaty, which we must not pass by, for the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth with King Richard himself: What the Success of it was and how far it proceeded, will more aptly present it self in another place.

We are now to take notice of the Duke of Buckingham's Revolt, for this was the Preparative and Fourrier of the rest: And to give it the more taking Feature and specious Pretence, it must be given out, That the Cause was the Reformation of an Ill Government and Tyranny, under which Species (for Treason is ever fairly palliated, and seldom wants the form of some Plea, tho' at the Bar) they must take up Arms against the King. And here (as some Rivers deriv'd from the Sea, cannot suddenly loose their taste of saltness) they discover'd their ancient Taint and Inconstancy, which the Prince wisely suspected from the first. For the Duke of Buckingham (how Affably soever he trim'd his Countenance) it shou'd seem departed Malecontent from Court, yet made not that general publick pretended Cause of the King's Crimes all his Quarrel, but challeng'd him by some private Grudges, * as denying to give or restore to him the Earldom of Hereford and Constableness of England against the King.

(m) This cannot be true, for Philip D. of Burgundy died in June 1467. according to Gomines, and his Son, Charles Ten Years after him. To Charles succeeded Anne his Daughter, married to Maximilian Arch-Duke of Austria, who in right of his Wife was called Duke of Burgundy till the Year 1483, when he was chosen King of the Romans, and 'twas 1492. before his Son the Arch-Duke Philip succeeded him in the Sovereignty of the Netherlands, as Duke of Burgundy, Eight Years after King Richard's Death. — *Phil. de Com.*

(n) Thin, in his Account of all the Dukes in England since the Conquest, says Anne de la Poole was by King Richard's procurement, married to the Duke of Rutshay, the Scots King's eldest Son. — *Hol. p. 1236.*

* King Richard had extremely obliged this Duke, to keep him fast to him; so that he had little reason to be malecontent. While he was Duke of Gloucester and Protector of the Realm, and of the Person of his Nephew Edward V. he procur'd for the Duke almost all the Government and Authority of Wales, and other bordering Counties: For he had the Office of Constable of all the King's Castles, and the Office of Steward of the said Castles and Divours Manours, Royalties, Lands, Lordships, &c. in the Counties of Salop, Hereford, Somerset, Dorset and Wilts: To have without making Account or rendering any thing to the King. To him also Edward V. granted the whole Oversight and Government of his Subjects in those Counties, and a Power and Authority for the security of his Person and Kingdom, and Conservation of Peace in those Parts, to call them together, and to Array and Arm them. To the said Duke the King also gave the Office of Chief Justice and Chamberlain in South and North Wales for term of Life. He constituted him Constable of the Castle and County of Carmarthen, of the Castle and County of Cardigan, of the Castle of Abestwith in Cardigan, the Castle of Denevey in South Wales, and the Castle and Town of Tynbych in the County of Pembroke, the Castle and Lordship of Kilgarum in South Wales, and the Castle and Town of Llanstephan there; the Lordship of Wallwyns Castle in the County of Pembroke: the Castle and Lordship of Wep. Haverford in South Wales. He also gave, granted and constituted

1483.

1485.

stituted the said Duke to be Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Lordship and Manour of *Urk*, the Castle and Manour of *Carlton*, the Castle, Lordship and Manour of *Dynor*; the Castle and half of the Lordship and Manour of *Ewyas Lacy*; the Castle Lordship and Manour of *Belsh*; and the Castles, Manours and Lordships of *Clifford*, of *Ragener*, of *Meleneth*, of *Mountgomery*, of *Dynhygh*, of *Elbel*, of *Narberch*, of *Wigmore*, of *Holt*, of *Bransfeld*, with a great number more in *Wales* and the *Marches of Wales*, which were in the Hands and Possession of the Earl of *Pembroke* before

Again by another Patent, the King constituted the said *Henry Duke of Bucks*, Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Manour and Town of *Monmouth*; and al Castles, Towns Lordships, Manours, Lands, Tenements, which were Parcel of the Duchy of *Lancaster* in *South Wales*, He was also constituted Keeper or Chief Forester of the Forest and Chase of *Hodenake*, with all the Profits, Commodities, &c. And to put in all manner of Officers, Bailiffs, &c. Still further there was another Grant to him from *Edward of Gowerlands* in *Wales*, and to have the Rule, Government and oversight of them as the present Officers turn'd out to admit the Duke.

Besides 11 these large Grants from *Edw. V. Richard* when he came to reign added, most royally, further Favours to him; For he had made him, First of all Great Chamberlain of *England*, *June 18.* afterwards he made him Steward of the Honour of *Tutbury*, in the County of *Derby* and *Stafford*; also of the Castle, Town and Lordship and Manour of *Newcastle under Tyne*; the Lordships and Manours of *Worksworth* and *Ashborn*, and all the Castles, Lordships and Manours, &c. in the same County, parcel of the Duchy of *Lancaster*: Also the Office of Constable of the Castle of *Tutbury*, Master Forester of the Chase of *Nedewood* and of *Duffeld Firth*; and the same Duke to be Supervisor of the Honour aforesaid, and of the same Castles, Manours, Lordships, Towns, Lands and Tenements, Forests, Ghaces, Parks and Warrens in the County aforesaid, with the Appurtenances, parcel of the said Duchy: Also Master of the Game | of the same Forests, Chaces, Parks and Warrens aforesaid; also Chief and Great Steward of the Honours aforesaid, and other Premises, for the term of the said Duke's Life, with the Fees, &c. anciently due and accustomed thereto; and an 100 l. of lawful Money for the term of his Life, out of the Revenues aforesaid, by the Hand of the Receiver. Also, the Office of the Steward of the Lordship of *High Peak*, and to be Master of the Forest, and Surveyor of the Forest there. And also to be Constable of the Castle of *Donington* in the County of *Leicester*, and Steward of the same Castle, Lordship and Manour, parcel of the said Honour of *Tutbury*. And also to have Power and Authority, during his Life, to make from time to time, all Bailiffs, Foresters, Parkers and other Officers and Ministers. || Deduct.

To the same Duke, *K. Richard* granted also the Office of Constable of all the Castles, and of Steward of all the Castles, Lordships, Manours, Lands, &c. in the Counties of *Salop* and *Hereford*, which were then vacant, and which hereafter should be vacant; and also the Supervisorship of all the King's Subjects there.

To the same Duke was also a Grant by Letters Patents to be Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Manour and Town of *Uske* in the *Marth of Wales*; and of all other Castles, Lordships, Manours, Towns, Lands, &c. which were Parcels of the Earldom of *March* in *North Wales*, *South Wales*, and *March of Wales*: And also to be Keeper or Chief Forester of the Forest and Chase of *Treweke*, and all other Forests and Chaces, parcel of the Earldom aforesaid in *North Wales*, *South Wales*, and *March of Wales*, for term of Life. And again, to the same Duke, the Office of Chief Justice and Chamberlain in *South* and *North Wales*, for term of Life; giving further Power and Authority to make, exercise and execute all singular things belonging to those Offices.

Further by another Patent *K. Richard* granted to *Henry D. of Bucks*, the Offices of Constable, Steward and Receiver of the Castle, Manours and Towns of *Monmouth* and *Kidwelly* in *South Wales*; and of all other Castles, Lordships, Towns in *North* and *South Wales*, and *Marches of Wales*, Parcel of the Duchy of *Lancaster*; and the Office of Master Forester and Master of the Game within all the Forests, &c.

And lastly, he had granted him the Stewardship of the Town of *Chesterfield*; and of the Manour and Lordship of *Scarfe-dale* in the County of *Derby*, for term of Life. *J. S. Journ. of K. Rich. III.*

England (for they went together a long time) which he alledg'd belong'd to the Partage that fell to his Great Grand-mother the Lady *Anne* Daughter and Heir of *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *Woodstock*, created by King *Richard II.* Duke of *Gloucester* and Earl of *Buckingham*, and of his Wife *Eliana*, Daughter and Co-heir of *Humphry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and Constable of *England*: Which Claim, had he considerably look'd upon, could not rightly revolve to him, but rather was for the King's Part; for *Humphry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, of *Essex* and *Northampton*, Lord of *Brecknock* and Constable of *England* (in the time of King *Edward III.*, and the last Earl of the Family of the *Bobuns*) had by the Lady *Jane* his Wife, Daughter of *Richard Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, two Daughters and Heirs *Eliana* and *Mary*: *Eliana* was married to the same *Thomas Plantagenet*, alias *de Woodstock*, youngest Son of King *Edward the Third*, Duke of *Gloucester* and Earl of *Buckingham*: *Mary*, the second Daughter, was married to *Henry Plantagenet* Duke of *Lancaster*, and after King of *England*, by the Name of *Henry the Fourth*, and the Earldom of *Hereford* fell to his Wife; in favour whereof, he was created D. of *Hereford* by *K. Rich. II.* and the Earldom (now a Duchy) and the Rights thereof remain'd in the King, and in the King's Heirs and Successors until the Death of *K. Hen. VI.* who died without Issue, and then all the Estate of *Lancaster* (especially that of the Royal Family of *Lancaster*) escheated to King *Edward IV.* and from him it came to King *Richard*, as Heir to his Brother and all his Ancestors: But the D. of *Buckingham* pretended Title to that Earldom by his said Grandmother *Anne*, who was one of the Daughters and Heirs of the aforesaid Lady *Eliana* (Wife of *Thomas de Woodstock* Duke of *Gloucester*) and the Wife of *Edmond Stafford* Earl of *Stafford*, and Grandfather to this *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, who the rather presum'd

to make this Claim, because the Issue of the other Sister *Mary* being extinct, he took himself also to be her Heir.

But King *Richard* relishing something in this, near the Disposition and Inclination of *Bullingbrook*, answer'd, "That the Earldom of *Hereford* was of the Inheritance of *Henry IV.* who was also King of *England* (tho' by Tort and Usurpation) and will you, my Lord of *Buckingham*, claim to be Heir of *Henry the Fourth*? You may then haply assume his Spirits, and lay claim to the Crown by the same Titles.

This was as bitter as short, and doubly ill taken; First, because it came with a Repulse: Next, because it seem'd to proceed from a Suspicion, and as a tax of his Loyalty, and begets another pretence of Exception in the Duke's Bosom, which he call'd a breach of Promise in the King, for not joyning the Prince his Son in Marriage with the Lady *Anne Stafford* his Daughter: But all those Colours were but to give Complexion to the Face of his Defection; the true Cause was well divined and found out by the King, his Ambition and Aim to be Sovereign, rais'd by an overweening of that Royal Blood he supposed to be in his Descent from the said *Thomas de Woodstock*, &c. Son of a King, and yet he was not resolutely determin'd to make his Claim to the Crown this way, nor to tempt the Kingdom by Arms, until those Embers which (as it were) lay but like warm in his Thoughts, were quicken'd and reviv'd by the Animation of || *Dr. Morton Bishop of Ely*, then a Privy Counsellor, tho' he stood in some Umbrage and Disgrace in the Court with the King, for his Practices against him, and was at this time in the Custody of the Duke of *Buckingham* as a Prisoner; (n) more expressly, for that being a Privy Counsellor, he had given secret Adversement to the Earl of *Richmond* of what pass'd in the secret Counsels of the King; to this Ad-

Morton
Bp. of *Ely*.
(n) A great
Mistake,
he was ne-
ver a Privy
Counsellor
to *K. Rich.*
he was
seiz'd be-
fore *Rich.*
Election
the very
day the *Ld*
Hastings
was mur-
der'd, and
kept in the
Tower till
the D. of
Bucks had
him sent to
Brecknock
vantage Hol-

The Title
of the
Earldom
of *Here-*
ford, and
Consta-
bleship of
England.

1483. vantage he applies that which he had wittily drawn from the Duke's Discontent and Passionate Discourses at time past. By which, perceiving the Glance of his Ambition, and that deriv'd from the great Opinion of his Royal Blood, he pregnantly tickles and feeds that Humour, until he had foth'd him past his own Strength or Retirement; for his secret Drift was, to apt and prepare the Duke to a Rebellion at any hand, tho' not to set his own Title on foot, yet lays open the Advantage of the present times to it, proposing flat Usurpation and Tyranny against the King Regnant, and the strong likelihood of his Deposing. This lifts the Duke something higher in his own Opinion. But coming to Pause, and perceiving *Richmond* was the Man they had aim'd at for this Great Blow (who had condition'd by Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, (for the Countess of *Richmond*, had by the Means of Dr. *Lewis*, conciliated the Friendship of the Queen Mother to that Alliance, and to draw as many of the House of *York* into the Action as were at her Devotion) that many Potent Lords and some Foreign Princes had promised their Aids.) He began to retreat, and conceive he had taken the wrong Path to his Journey's end, for his Title and Claim must be nothing, if those of *York* and *Lancaster* were united: And that the Earl (who stood between him and his Aims) was not only resolute to attempt, but strongly aided for it, himself not able, upon such an Instant, to raise a Power able to Encounter, much less give Check unto his violent Ambition, therefore concludes all against himself, and that it wou'd fall out far better to side with the Times; a Consideration which doubtless wou'd highly stir a Spirit where so much Greatness of Opinion and Ambition was. And the Doctor discerning this Disgust, and that he was startled in his Hope and Resolution, to recover him an entire Man, and not let him stand by an idle Spectator in so meritorious an Action, he opens a private way of Honour and Satisfaction, suggesting him the first and greatest Man the Kingdom was to know next the King: And finding his particular Dislikes to King *Richard*, of quickest Sense and Argument to him, he freshly urges (and as it were) refrigerates each Particle, to the greatness of his Spirit and Discontent. The Duke replies not much at that time, but

Sir Thom.
Maore.

busy in his Thoughts leaves him, and presently fashions a Visit to the Countess of *Richmond*, (a Lady of a politick and contriving Bosom) to know the credit of his Intelligence, which she insinuates, with Arguments so full of Circumstance and Honour, besides her Son's Indearment to him, their nearness of Blood, affirming the Duke's Mother a *Somerset*, the reciprocal Affinity between her Father and his, and then the Bravery and Religion in the Cause, that the Duke now forsakes himself, and fully gives up his Resolution and Promise to her: Thus prepar'd, he finds out the Lord *Stanley*, the Marquess of *Dorset*, *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and his Brother the Bishop of *Exeter*, Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *John Wells*, *Robert Willoughby*, *Edward Woodvil*, *Thomas Arundel*, who had severally rais'd Forces, and intended their Rendezvous near *Gloucester*, so to march for *Dorsetshire*, there to receive the Earl and the Duke with his *Welshmen*: But the King was early in his Preparation, to prevent them before they could unite, or the Earl of *Richmond* arrive there, else they had fastned a most dangerous Blow upon him. And at this full stop, in these Progresses, methinks, we may observe, how uncertainly in our strongest Valuations we are our own; and that our greatest Confidences and humane Policies, are but heavy Weights hung at trembling Wires, while our Expectations are apt to be flatter'd and outgo themselves, but are overtaken in their Success and Fates, as was this Great Man's; for their Forces neither met by Sea nor Land, the *English* being scatter'd by a sudden and huge Inundation that so dangerously overflow'd all Passages, they cou'd not joyn nor pass the *River Severne*, while the suddenness and strangeness of it struck the Soldiers with such Alteration, that most part of them forsook the Duke and left him to himself: The Earl of *Richmond* was as unfortunately met at Sea by a great Tempest, upon the Coasts of *England*. The King took the Advantage this Accident offer'd, and pursu'd the Duke, not only with a Galloping Army, but with Edicts and Prescriptions that promised a Thousand Pounds in Money (whereunto some Writers add, so much Lands as was worth One Hundred Pounds per Ann.), to any one that should bring in the Duke, who was betray'd and brought to the King, then at *Salisbury*, by || *Humphry Banister*, of an eternal

* The King was now in the Month of *Octob.* at *Lincoln*, providing to go to meet the Duke his Rebel, and with such Strength as he surely confided in. He was greatly incens'd against the Duke for so bad a Requital of the extraordinary Gifts and Honours he had bestow'd upon him, which made him stile the Duke, *The most untrue Creature living*, in a Postscript under his own Hand, to a Letter to the Bp of *Lincoln* his Chancellor, now absent and sick; ordering him by some fit Officers of the Chancery, to send him the Great Seal, which he should have occasion to use. The Original is still preserv'd in the Tower, and friendly shew'd me by Mr. *Geo. Holmes*, Deputy Keeper of the Records. It ran to this tenor.

By the K. I. N. G.

Right Reverend Padre in God, and Right trusty and welbeloved, We grete you wele, and in our hertiest wyse thank you for the manyfold Presentes that your Servantes in your behalve have presented unto Us at this oure being here, which we assure you we toke and accepted with good hert: and so we have cause. And whereas We by Goddes Grace intend briefly to avaunce us towards our Rebel and Traitor the Duc of *Buckingham*, to resiste and withstand his malicious purpose, as lately by oure other Letters We certified you oure mynde more at large: For which Cause it behoveth us to have our grete Sele here, We being enfourmed, that for suche Infirmities and Diseases as ye susteyne ne may in your person to your ease conveniently come unto us with the same: Wherefore we wil, and nathelless charge you that for ch with upon the sight of this, ye causly do the same oure grete Sele to be sent unto us; and such of thoffice of oure Chaucery as by your Wisedome shal be thought necessary, receiving these oure Letters for youre sufficient Discharge in that behalve. Yeven undre oure Signet at oure Cite of *Lincolne* the xii. day of *Octobre*.

Then follows the King's Postscript under his own Hand, viz.
"We wolde most gladly ye came your self, yf that ye may, and yf ye may not, we pray you not to fayle, but to accomplishe in al dyllygence our sayde commaundemente, to sende oure Seale incontinent upon the syght hereof, as we truste you with such as ye truste, and the Officers parteyning, to attende with hye, praying you to ascerteyn us of your News ther. Here loved be God, is al wel, and trewly determyned, and for to resiste the Malys of him, that had best Cause to be trew, the Duc of *Buckingham* the most untrue Creature lyvyng. Whom with God's Grace we shal not be long til that we wyll be in that parties, and subdew his Malys. Wee assure you there was never falsre Traitor purvayde for, as this Berrerr *Gloucester* shal shew you."
|| This Note of *Buck's*, is scarce agreeable with the Kings Gift to this *Rauf Banister*, (for so was his Christian Name, and not *Humphrey*) and with the King's Commendation of his Service in his Letters Patents. For he gave him the Manour and Lordship of *Ealding* in *Kent*, late belonging to the D. of *Buckingham*. So the Letters ran, *Richard &c.* "to al and singular the Officers &c. Wit ye, that in consideration of the true and faithful Service, which our well beloved Servant *Rauf Banister*, Esq; now late hath done unto us, for and about the taking and bringing of our said great Rebel into our Hands; we have given unto the said *Rauf* and to his Heirs male the said Manour for ever. K. Rich. Journ. J. S.

1484. Brand, having liv'd by this Man's Service, and now thought treacherously to subvert by his Ruin. The Duke being examin'd, freely confess'd all, and for it lost his Head in the Field according to Marshal Law used by Armies, in Nov. Ann. Dom. 1484. Ann. 2 Rich. III.

The Duke
executed
by Mar-
shal Law.

And here, if we view him in the Figure of his Ambition or Fate, we shall find Dr. Morton his *Caput Argol*, or the malignant Planet of his Fortune; who, as Sir Thomas Moor confesseth and affirmeth, by his Politick Drifts and Pride,

advanced himself and brought the Duke to this Ruin. The rest fled, some into Sanctuaries, others into *Brittain* to the Earl of *Richmond*, and some into *Flanders*, all their Plots being now how to be safe.

And thus far King Richard, in the Voyage of his Affairs, had a promising Gale; we will therefore here cast Anchor a while, and clasp up this First Book with the Relation of his Better Fortunes.

BOOK II.

The ARGUMENT of the Second Book of the LIFE and REIGN of RICHARD III.

The Earl of Richmond practiseth with Foreign Princes, and with the English Nobles for Assistance and Forces to make his First and Second Invasions of England; he came first to Poole with Ill Success, secondly to Milford cum bonis avibus. What Bastards are, and whereof they are capable, who be of the House of Lancaster; how Lancaster and Beaufort, or Somerset differ. Bastards of Kings must not take the Surnames of the King or Kingdom. The Honourable Privilege of the Name of Plantagenet. Prince Edward and Queen Anne, John de la Poole Proclaim'd Heir of the Kingdom by Richard the Third. Bastards of John Duke of Lancaster made Legitimate and Capable of Offices, Honour and of Heritage by Richard II. and the Parliament. What the Legitimation of the Pope is. Arms and Names of Princes Bastards. The Nobility of King Henry VII. He assid not much in the Titles of York and Lancaster. The Pope giveth to him the Title, De jure Belli, & de Domo Lancastria. The greatness of the Title of York; of Counsel and Counsellors. The Prerogative of the King in Judgments and Controversies. The Earl of Richmond landeth at Milford Haven; his Entertainment there and in Wales: His Aptness for divers Wives: He marcheth to Bosworth: King Richard and he Fight; Richard is overcome and slain, also the Duke of Norfolk by the Earl of Oxford (ut Creditur). The Earl of Richmond is straight Crown'd King in the Field: The fatal Error of King Richard: King's lov'd Combat: The Titles of King Henry VII. Kings go not now to Wars: Cruelties committed upon the Body of King Richard: He was attainted of Treason, tho' against the Laws of Nature and of Royal Majesty, with many of his Followers and Servants: The Earl of Surrey how released out of Prison; his Genealogy from Hewardus Walter de Buck, and his Progeny.

WE left King Richard the Third in the growth of a flourishing and promising Estate, and his Fate now, in the rise of a peaceful and prosperous Reign, of a calm and hopeful Prefage: But Fortune, that lends her Smiles as Exactors do Money, to undo the Debtor, soon call'd for the Principal and Interest from this Prince, to whom she was merely Novercal, and he might well call her, with the expert Heroes in Euripides, *Fortuna diurna*, i. e. Fortune of a Day's life; for in her best Mood, she is most slippery in her Favours, and tedious in her Mischiefs, as was aptly consider'd by a grave Man; *Fortuna adversas res cupido animo inducit, secundas pango*; She is mother but a little while, a Step-Dame a long time, and for ever to some; here then we are aggressing into the Turbulent and Luctual Times, which were towards the end and period of his Life and Reign; the Formal and final Causes happening from the Invasions attempted by the Earl of Richmond. I will begin the Second Book there, and may say Inva-

Eurip. in
Hera.

Vale. Max.
l. 7.

sions, because he twice invaded the Kingdom, tho' by Error or Ignorance of our Vulgar Historians they are confounded and made one, which corruptly maims the Story, and conceals and pertermits some very remarkable Agitations; particularly, the true Cause of the Duke of Buckingham's Ill Success and Defeat is misunderstood, or not at all known. To come to it therefore more certainly, we must take notice of the First Preparation by the Earl of Richmond, who was resolv'd to advance his Claim that way, and unbosoms himself to the Duke of *Brittain*, his Possibility and Advantage by Friends, if he could raise but sufficient Strength to set him safely in England. The Duke gives him all good Wishes to his Undertaking, but opposes (against all Arguments of drawing him in) first, his Amity and League with England, which in Honour and Justice he was not to violate: Then his Wants by the long Civil and Cruel Wars with his Barons, that had so exhausted his Coffers, as durst he dispense with the former Cause, yet that might render him excused,

1484. excused, being unable to furnish him, at least in so short a time as his Expedition required; beyond which Answer, for the present, the Earl thought not fit to press him. But having a prompt and strong Affiance in his good Fortune, makes up to some of the Duke's most honourable and powerful Friends, to lay Siege that way to him by private Advantages; for by his ingenious Demeanour he had won the Inclinations of many Great Ones, being Master of a pleasant acute Wit, which was well supply'd in him by the strain of all Courtly Acts; to those he had the help of the French Tongue, which he spoke excellently well; and, to give the more plausible Access and Influence, he was (as Philip de Comines, who knew him, testifies) a very Compleat and well Featured Gentleman which makes the Rule certain, and well animating;

Gratior est pulchro veniens e Corpore virtus.

The Beauties of the Mind more gracious are,
When as the Bodies Features are more fair.

In the number of those Eminent Persons he had gain'd during his Fair Imprisonment, more fortunately he had apply'd himself unto the Lady Margaret Dutches of Brittain, Daughter of Gaston de Foix (a Great Man in the Western Parts of France, whose Ancestors were well affected to the English) and Madam De Bevier, the Dutches, so far countenanced him in his Design, that she became an earnest Suitor unto the Duke her Husband, and prevailed both for his Liberty and Aid; for Caution and Pledge herein, he was only to kneel at the High Altar, before the blessed Sacrament, in the Cathedral Church of St. Vannes, there to make his Religious Vow, justly and truly to observe what Restitution he privately had promised to the Duke and Dutches; which Protestation made, he had three Ships well rigg'd and furnish'd with Men, Arms and Victuals, as my Author relates.

John Froissard Paradin. Hist. de Brit. The Duke had by this Lady his Daughter and Heir Anne, who brought the Dutchy of Brittain to France. Hist. de Br.

Au Conte de Richmond furent aux despens du duc trois grosses Navires de Britannia, charges de gens de Armes, &c. & qui se misent in mer.

But, by the favour of this British Writer, the Earl staid many Days at St. Malo, to receive and send Intelligence, and made it the beginning of October, 1484, before he came to St. Poole in Dorset; where he lay some time at Anchor, to send his Boats a Shore as Explorers or Spies, for discovery of the Coasts, where the King's Army or his Friends lay, who return'd without any particular Satisfaction, but that there was many arm'd Men about the Country. The Earl (who in all things was circumspect, and cautiously timorous) resolv'd immediately to loose from thence; but the Night following, a terrible Tempest constrain'd them with all haste to weigh Anchor and make into the Maine; the Storm and Darknes of the Night severing and dispersing their Ships, some to the Coasts of Brittain, but the Earl himself to the Coasts of Normandy. And this was the success of his First Invasion, which though it bore an inauspicate Face, it proved of a friendly Event: For had he landed about Poole, or but stay'd till the King's Ships had come in, that lay waiting not far off, he had been a lost Man every way; the King being not only active to meet their Contrivements, but had some advantage upon them, by the close Intelligence of a Friend, and knew that the Forces of the Duke of Buckingham, with the Earl of Devon and others, were to meet near Gloucester, and march in their full and united

Strength to'ards the Sea-coasts of Dorset, there to receive the Earl; But the King encounter'd with the Duke of Buckingham's Army, Beat him and cut of his Head, before any of the rest could come at him, daily putting the Ordinary Bands of these West Countries in a ready Posture for Guard of their Coasts; and that if the Earl of Richmond or any of his French Forces came ashore, they were to be Entertain'd courteously by them, pretending themselves of the Duke of Buckingham's Army, who had Routed the King's Party, and were sent thither to receive and conduct the Earl with his Men to London. This was the projected End: But 'tis of remarkable Note, to look into the various Paths of this Earl's Fortune, and how they brought him to his Journey's End, when they appear'd most doubtful and threatening, not only gave him Advantage by the good Success of his Enterprises, but made the most adverse Accidents serve as prosperous unto them; for was it not happy the Storm at Poole drove him from the Coasts of England, and no less fortunate, that the Duke of Buckingham was defeated, whereas had the Duke atchieved that Day, the Earl of Richmond not being there, (who was to be present in Person, and General of the Field) we may with reason conjecture his Emulation and Policy would have accumulated the Honour and Fortune of the Conquest to his own pretended Title: such Spirits like the Sea, where they intrude or win, making their Advantage their Right, and not easily surrender, so much is the Engagements of Ambition, too strong for all Ties of Faith and Right.

The Example is observable in the Earl of Richmond himself; who altho' he knew the Children of the Duke of Clarence and others, had better Right to the Crown, yet once possess'd he would not resign, no not to his own Son whilst he could hold it; nor did he want his Predecessors, as all Men know, who know any thing. And to take all Relations in our way that may be level with our Story, betwixt this and his Second Invasion, some other Passages offer themselves, as an Interim and not impertinent to supply the Reader's Observation.

The Death of the King's dear and only Son (at least Legitimate) who died in the Castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, in the Month of April, Anno Dom. 1484. gave such a passionate Charge upon the Nature and Affections of the King and Queen (being then in the Castle of Nottingham) that as mine Author saith, *Subitis doloribus insanire videbantur.*

The death of Edward Prince of Wales, Son of Richard 3. Chron. Croyland. Ibidem.

Yet the King being a Man of an equal Moderation to his Courage, puts it into the Scale of his other worldly Encounters; and as it was said of Julius Caesar, That he soon pass'd the Death of his only Daughter Julius (most precious in his Affection) *Et tam facile dolorem huius, quam omnia vicit;* so King Richard temper'd his Grief and Business so together, that the One made him not unsensible, nor the other negligent; but as the Prior of Croyland telleth, did all things gravely and discreetly as before.

Rex Richardus nihilominus tamen suam partem defensione vacaverit. Altho' the Queen could not hold so proportion'd a Temper over her Grief, the Tenderness of her Sex letting it break upon her in a more passionate manner, and with such an Impression, that it became her Sickness past recovery, languishing in Weakness and Extremity of Sorrow, until she seem'd rather to overtake Death, than Death her; which was not long after the Prince's, and added not a little to the King's sufferings and Sorrows, (tho' traducing

1484. traducing Spirits have charged him with short-
ning her Life by Poison or some other Practice,
which are prestigious and black Comments,
falsly plac'd in the Margent of his Story, and
may more nearly touch the Credit of the Au-
thor's than his, if we judiciously take a view
of him and his Actions; and look upon the in-
dulgent and active Care for his Country, which
he gave a constant and sincere Expression of,
instantly after his Son's Death, when by the
Deliberation and Consent of the Barons, he
was industrious to think of a Successor, and to
nominate such an One, whose Blood and Worth
might make him equally Heir to the Crown
and the Peoples Affection, (with the highest ap-
probation of the Kingdom) and none more near
to either than Sir John de la Poole Earl of Lincoln,
Son and Heir of John de la Poole Duke of Suffolk,
and of the Lady Ellizabeth Plantagenet, Dutches
of Suffolk, the Sister and Heir of this King Rich-
ard, who was declared and proclaim'd Heir ap-
parent to the Kingdom. This was a || Contrecarre
to the Faction of Richmond, and, indeed, what
greater Affront could thwart them, if those of
the House of Lancaster or Beaufort, were next
Heir to the Crown, (as the Pretenders affirm'd
for the Earl of Richmond) who would likewise
have him to be *Caput gentis Lancastriæ, & Prin-
ceps Familix*, tho' they could scarcely prove him
(not without question I am sure) *Membrum il-
lius Familix*, until he came to be King, for it
was a Question in those Times, and much dis-
puted, whether the Beauforts or Somersets were
of the House of Lancaster or no? Most true it
is, the Children of the House of Lancaster be-
ing lawfully Born, and after Henry Plantagenet
Duke of Lancaster had conquer'd and deposed
Richard II. were to be held Princes of the Blood
Royal, and Capable of the Crown in their na-
tural and due order. But those of Beaufort or
Somerset were, as the Vulgar hath it, *Filii Populi*,
or as the Imperial Juris-consults say, *liberi vulgo
questi*, who by the old Greeks were term'd *Αν-
τρέες i. e. sine Patre*, the Doctors of the Spiritu-
al Law, drawing the *Originem* of such Children
ab illicito & damnato coitu, of the polluted adul-
terous Bed (and so those Beauforts, three Males
and one Female, begotten by John of Gaunt
as he believed) according to the Laws were to
be reputed, the Children of Sir Robert Swinford,
begotten upon Katharine his Wife in his life time,
who was Daughter of Sir Payen Roget a French
Man, dwelling in Beauforts, and was Guyen Herald
to the Duke of Lancaster. His Dutches Dona
Constantia (a most noble and Virtuous Lady,
Daughter of Don Pedro King of Castile) was
living also in the time he kept this Katharine
and had those Beauforts, who were Surnamed so
from the Place of their Birth, a Town of his
own in Anjou. But to Note transitu, how ob-
noxious this Duke made his Frailties, that (think-
ing to put a smoother Face upon his Sin) gave
it but the same Blush, by making this Katharine
Swinford his Dutches, against the liking of the
King and all his Noble Friends, and direct Te-
nor of the Common Laws, which pronounce
Marriages between such as have lived in Adul-
tery unlawful: Nay, to make him the more
Marvaile and Smiling Discourse of the Court, the
Glass of his Age was turn'd to his last Year,
when he sacrificed these scatter'd Embers of his
Desires and Passion. But he obtain'd those Chil-
dren to be legitimated: First, by the Pope Ur-
banus the Sixth; next by the Charter of King
Richard II. and had both these Indulgences after-
ward enlarg'd and confirm'd by Parliament.
Yet neither these four Legitimate Children, nec

John Earl
of Lincoln
and after
Duke of
Suffolk pro-
claim'd
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|| A Coun-
ter
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John Sa-
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Ep. 85.

Sir Thom.
Walsin in
Rich. II.

He marri-
ed her in
the Year
1693, and
died Ann.
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qui nascebantur ab illis, were permitted to the 1484.
Princely Familiar Title of Lancaster, so long as
that Name flourish'd, much less of Plantagenet, ^{Parl. Ann. 20 Rich.}
for that was the peculiar Sir-name in chief of
the Kings of England and Princes of the Blood
Royal, since the time of the Second Henry, Son
of the Empress Matilda, the first Founder of that
Name in the Royal Family of England. Of which
Honour were Partakers the Princely Family of
Wales, of Brotherton, of York, of Lancaster, of
Clarence, of Woodstock, of Gloucester, &c. And
there are yet some Noblemen in Portugal, who
descended from John Duke of Lancaster, and are
call'd and written *de Lancastro*, others of the
like Origin and Title may do as much. Nei-
ther would King Henry IV. Henry V. nor King
Henry VI, all Kings of the Lancastrian Race in-
dure to let the Lineage of Beaufort (tho' they
respected them as Kinmen, and advanced them
to many Honours) assume the Surname of Lan-
castro, holding it an Arrogation and Usurpation
of Royalty and Royal Rights, wherein they fol-
low'd their Ancestors, who devised other Names
for their Base Children; as Fitz-Roy, Oxenford,
Fitz-Herbert; Clarendon; Fitz-Henry; Longuee
Cornwal; and so they continued the Name of
Beaufort and Somerset until the Earl of Richmond
came, and this was in imitation of the Kings
of France as I conceive: For within the reach
of my Observation, since the time of Hugh
Capet, they never vouchsafed any of their Base
Sons to be capable of the Crown of France, or
to have the Adven (as they call it) nor the
Surname of France; but the Illegitimate Daugh-
ters may take the Surname France or de France;
because they can make no Claim to the Crown
by a pretended Permission of a Salick-law, which
John de Tillet witnesseth.

*La troisieme lignee a du tout rejete, les Bastards
non seulement de la Couronne mais aussi de l'adven, &
Surnom de France, qui Concession est permis aux Ba-
stards de Roy, &c.* Arms of Bastards
of the
Kings of
England.

And as the Bastards of the Kings of England
had other Names, so they took differenc'd Arms
or else were permitted to bear their Mother's (if
of any Family). If tolerated to bear the Arms
of England; then they were Diversify'd in a
checking, debasing and rebating manner, with
Bastons, Bends, Sinister Bars, Bordures, Marks
of Baseness, Obscurity and Novelty, which any
new Gentleman might bear, such as the Learn'd
call'd *Filios terre & novos Homines*; and we vul-
garly, Upstarts. But to object against the use
of this in England; the Example of Hamelin is
brought in; and to credit it, his Arms forg'd
by some weak and negligent Heralds, who call
him Hamelin Plantagenet; when the truth is, this
Hamelin (Base Son of Jeoffery Plantagenet, Earl of
Anjou) was simply call'd Hamelin, and his Son
William took the Surname of his Mother Dame
Isabel de Warren, Daughter and Heir of William
de Warren Earl of Surrey, which their Posterity con-
tinued; as Joannes de Warren the First, and
Joannes de Warren the Second; both Earls of Sur-
rey; and Isabella de Warren and Elianor de Warren,
&c. mention'd in the Charters and Records,
but never Plantagenet, which is acknowledg'd
by our best Heralds and Antiquaries; Mr. Wil-
liam Camden hath these words, *Isabella filia sola
Gulielmi de Warren Comitum Surrie Hamelinum
Notum Galfredi Plantageneti, &c. Titulo Co-
mitis Surrie maritum exornavit. Hamelinus
Gulielmum Surrie Comitum genuit, cujus posterit a
scito Warrenorum Nomine eundem Titulum gesserunt.*
And that the Base Son of King Edward IV. was
commonly call'd Arthur Plantagenet proves no-
thing neither, well considered: For in the
Times

Don Di-
art de Lan-
castro a
Noble

Gentlem.
of Portug.
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himself

descended
from the
D. of Lan-
castro Va-
lodelid.

Thepecu-
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the anci-
ent Kings
of England.

Arms of
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1484. Times when this *Arthur* lived, the Name of *Plantagenet* being only left in the House of *York*, (the *Lancastrian Plantagenet* being more extinguish'd) had not the former Honour and Reputation, but was darken'd and setting, rather drawing a Contempt and Hate to them that bare it, the White Rose daily fading and withering; and so malignant was their Planet then, that, as a learned Gentleman hath further observed, It was not safe in that time to be a *Plantagenet*; therefore, the Permission of those Times can be no Warrant for the Objections, nor the Ignorance of the Poetical Heralds, who have strain'd this Fable of *Hamelin*. Yet farther, not only giving him and his *Posterity* a false Surname, but assign'd him by the like Fabulous Art, a Shield of familiar Ensigns, the Arms of *France* border'd with an Orle of *Normandy* or *Guyen*; which he, nor yet any of the Antique Lineage of *Anjou* or their Progeny ever bear, or could by just Title bear, either simply or compounded, or the Progenitors of our *English* Kings the Lillies of Gold in an Azure Field, until King *Edward* claim'd the Crown of *France*, and assum'd them in the Right of Queen *Isabel de Valois* his Mother, who was the first that bare them quarterly with the Arms of *England*.

But the Arms of the ancient Earls of *Anjou* were a Scarboucle, (that is, a Golden Buckle of a military Scarf or Belt, set with Precious Stones) not a Carbuncle or more precious Ruby, for the Term is erroneous and absurd, if consider'd: The Princes of *Anjou* bare this Scarboucle in a Shield party per Chief, Argent and Gules; and the Heirs of this *Hamelin* (who took the Surname of *Warren*) bare also the Arms of the House of *Warren* in their Shields and Caparisons, but bare the Scarboucle of *Anjou* for their Crest, as they were descended out of that House, as I have seen upon a Seal of *Joannes de Warren* Earl of *Surrey*, at a Charter, dated 20 *Edw. III. Ann. Dom. 1346. apud Dom. Rob. Cotton*, which hath given me occasion to speak thus much to cure the Blemish that mistake hath thrust into History, such Absurdities having their Infection, and passing by an Age or two upon the easy and common Judgments, after grow up for tall and undeniable Truths: For some merely reading the Complexion of things, as they do Men by their outides, or as Boys Poetry, with tickled Faith; through such wide Ears and Observations, crept in that Parasitism on the one side, and Pride and Usurpation on the other side, that made the House of *Lancaster* and the *Beauforts*, alias *Somersets*, all one; which (whilst the House of *York* flourish'd) were held to differ as much as Royal and Feudal, Sovereignty and Suzerainty; for their Modesty at first was very well pleased with that of *Beaufort*, and it seem'd Honourable enough until the Children of *John de Beaufort*, the eldest Brother (being Earl of *Somerset*) assumed the Name of their Fathers greatest Honour and Earldom for their Surname, and the rest following, quite left the Name of *Beaufort*, and made the other Hereditary. From this *John de Beaufort*, Earl of *Somerset* and Marquess of *Dorset*, descended *Henry Duke of Somerset*, Father Natural to *Charles Somerset*, created Earl of *Worcester* by King *Henry VIII.* And 'tis worth the noting, that this Duke *Henry* left the Faction of *Lancaster* to follow *Edward IV.* The first *Beauforts* legitimated by the Pope, and *Richard II.* have no other Surnames but *Beaufort* in either of the Instruments Apostolical; nor any Words to give or emure them to any Capacity of Royal Title, or State of Sovereignty in the Crown, only purged them by the Pope's Spiritual Power from the

foulness of Bastardy, allowing them as Children legitimate and lawfully born, but gives 'em no other Title than *Joannes de Beaufort Miles*, *Henricus de Beaufort Clericus*, *Thomas de Beaufort Domicellus*, *Joanna de Beaufort Domicella*, and more the Pope cannot do. As the Doctors of *Sorbone*, and some of the best Canonists hold, who peremptorily affirm, That the Pope cannot make Bastards capable to inherit the Hereditary Lands of their Father; neither can give them power to constitute Successors or Heirs, or hold Offices, Dignities, or Titles, without the Prince's special Dispensation, to which the Civil and Imperial Laws agree, and is authentick in *England*, as a learn'd and eminent Judge reports, tho' others think it of too severe a nature, and moderately agreeable to Reason and Law (the Law much observing Reason) That Bastards being honest and worthy Men (the rather if they be avow'd by their Fathers) may be admitted to Honours, Dignities, Titles, Feuds and other Ornaments of Rewards and Virtue. Of this Indulgence and Connivence, we have Examples in *England* by two worthy and deserving Men, (flourishing this Age) who, tho' Bastards, held the greatest Offices in *England*. So *Rich. II.* in the Charter for the Legitimation of the *Beauforts*, wou'd have Men of Desert (and avow'd by their Fathers) capable of Advancement and Honours. The Tenor of which Charter and Confirmation of it by Parliament I shall exhibit, as it is taken out of the Archives and Tower Records, opening the way by a short Advertisement, That in this Act of Parliament there is an Induction to the Charter, made by *Dr. Edmond Stafford*, Brother to the Earl of *Stafford* and Bp. of *Exeter*, Lord Chancellor of *England* in the 20th Year of *Richard II.* which intimateth, That Pope *Urbanus VI.* at the earnest Request of the King, vouchsafed to legitimate these *Beauforts*, the Base Sons and the Daughter of the Duke of *Guyen* and *Lancaster*: That the King also, having power to legitimate and enable Bastards in the same kind, and in as ample manner as the Emperor hath or had, for so he press'd and avow'd in the Act, was pleas'd at the Humble Request and Suit of the Duke their Father, to make them not only legitimate, but also capable of Lands, Heritages, Titles, Honours, Offices, Dignities, &c. And that the King, for the more Authority thereof, crav'd the Allowance and Favourable Assent of the Barons in Parliament, which was granted: The Charter runs thus;

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum *Joannis Ducis Lancastriae.*

Richardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ; Charissimis Consanguineis nostris, Nobilibus viris Joanni de Beaufort Militi, Henrico de Beaufort Clerico, Thomæ de Beaufort Domicello, & Nobili Mulieri Joannæ Beaufort Domicellæ præclarissimi Patris nostri Nobilis viri Joannis Ducis Aquitaniæ & Lancastriæ Germanis natis & legibus nostris salutem.

Nos pro honore & meritis, &c. Avunculi nostri, proprio arbitratu & meritorum suorum intuitu, vos, quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac morum honestate fulgetis, & ex regali estis prosapia propagati, &c. hinc est quod Joannis, &c. Avunculi nostri gentis vestri, precibus inclinati vobis (cum ut asseritur defectum natalium patimini) hujusmodi defectum & ejusdem qualitates quasunque abolere præsentibus, vos haberi volumus, pro sufficientibus, ad quoscunque honores

Thomas
Gainsford.

Scarboucle, falsely
call'd Carbuncle.

Difference between
the House
of Lancaster
and Somerset.

The Earls
of Worcester
from whom.

1484.

The Civil
and Imperial Law
against Bastards.
Sir Edm.
Cook.

Dr. Steph.
Gardiner.
Sir Thomas
Egerton
Chancellor
of Eng.

1484. *noves, dignitatis præminentias, status, gradus, & officia, publica, & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atq; Judicialia & Nobilia, quibuscunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiam si, Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baronie vel alia feuda fuerint, etiamsi mediate vel immediate, à nobis dependant seu teneantur præfici, præmoveri, eligi, assumi & admitti, illaque recipere proinde libere ac licite valeatis, ac si de legitimo thoro nati existeritis, quibuscunq; Statutis, seu consuetudinibus regni nostri Angliæ in contrarium editis seu observatis quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expressis, nequaquam obstantibus, de plenitudine nostræ regalis potestatis & de assensu Parliamenti nostri tenore præsentium dispensamus, vosque & quemlibet vestrum natalibus restituimus & Legitimamus, Die Feb. Anno Regni 20 R. 2.*

Which in English is as follows;

A Charter of Legitimation of the Bastards of John D. of Lancaster.

“**R**ICHARD,, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland; To Our most Dear Cousins, the illustrious John Beaufort Kt. Henry Beaufort Clerk, Thomas Beaufort Gent. and Joanna Beaufort Gentlewoman, of Our most renowned Uncle, the Noble John Duke of Guienne and Lancaster, Children German and Our Lieges, Greeting. We for the Honour and Merits, &c. of Our Uncle, out of Our own Good Pleasure, and in consideration of his Deserts, because you are conspicuous for your Virtuous Inclinations, and Honesty of Life and Manners, and descended of Royal Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that mov'd by the earnest Entreaties of Our Uncle your Parent, to remove from you (for (as is said) there is a Defect in your Birth) this Defect and all its present Consequences, We will that you be and be reputed Capable, to be preferred, promoted, elected, assumed and admitted to any Honours, Dignities, States, Degrees, Offices Publick and Private, as well perpetual as temporary, and judicial and noble, by what Appellations soever distinguished, whether Dukedoms, Principalities, Earldoms Baronies and Feuds, whether mediate or immediately depending or holden of Us, and them to take hold of, and enjoy as freely and rightfully, as if you had been born in lawful Matrimony, all Statutes and Customs of Our Kingdom of England, to the contrary enacted or observed, as if they were here mentioned at length, notwithstanding; with which, out of the Fulness of Our Royal Power, and with Consent of Our Parliament, by the Tenor of these Presents We dispence, and you, and every one of you, to Birth Restore and Legitimate. — Day of Feb. in the 20th Year of Our Reign. R. II.

Here we find large Graces Honours and Priviledges conferr'd upon those Beauforts; for the King calls then *Consanguineos suos*, and not only confirms their Legitimation, but makes them (by the help of the Parliament) capable of Baronies, Earldoms, Dukedoms, and Principalities; enableth them for all Offices publick and private, temporary and perpetual, to take hold of and enjoy all Feuds, as well noble as other, all Lands

and Seignories Hereditary, as lawfully, firmly and rightfully, as if they had been born in lawful Matrimony, but yet confers no Royal Title nor Interest in the Crown, at the least, to the observation of those who allow not the Claim of the Beauforts and Somersets, and say, that to reach that, there must be Words of a higher intent, Words of Empire, Majesty and Sovereignty; such as *Regni (summa potestas; Corona; Sceptum, Diadema, Purpura, Majestas*, and the like: Neither of these, nor any importing their extent, being in this Grant, so no Title to the Crown or Sovereignty cou'd pass to them.

To which the other Side replies, That there is a Word in the Charter that comprehendeth Empire, Reign, and Sovereignty; that is, *Principatus*; whereof the King and Parliament make the Beauforts capable, *Principatus* being the State of *Principes*, a Title of the most absolute Sovereign Power; for the Roman Emperors in their greatest Height, were call'd *Principes*, therefore *Princeps* is thus defined; *Princeps est penes quem summa Reip. potestas est, & qui primus omnium dominatur*; and *Principatus* and *Dominatus* are used as Synonomies. But it is conceiv'd an Error now, to take *Principatus* for *Regnum*, or *Supremus Dominatus*, being the word *Principatus* long before, and in the Age of Richard II. also ever since, hath been restrain'd to the Estate of *Primogenitus* and Heir apparent, not only of Kings, but also of Dukes and Marqueesses, as well Feudal as Sovereign. And the next King Henry IV. a wise, discreet, and wary Prince, though he was much inclin'd to those Beauforts, (as being his Natural Brethren by the Paternal side, and willing to advance them all he cou'd) yet he discover'd clearly enough by that certain Charter, in which he entail'd the Crown successively to his Four Sons, and to the Heirs of their Bodies, that he reputed not the Beauforts to be *Lancastrians* or near the Crown: Neither is there the least Clause or Mention to leave a ny Remainder therein to them: First, he entail'd the Crown to his eldest Son Henry Prince of Wales, after him to the Heirs of his Body; If they fail, then to Thomas of Lancaster his Second Son, and to the Heirs of his Body, so to his Third Son John of Lancaster, and to the Heirs of his Body. Lastly, to the Fourth Son Humphrey, and to the Heirs of his Body, for still, and for every Estate: The words are, *Post ipsum successive Heredibus suis de ipsius corpore legitime pro-*

creandis, which is all, and implicatively an express Exclusion of the Beauforts. This Charter was confirm'd by Act of Parliament holden at Westminster the Two and Twentieth Day of December, in the Eighth Year of Henry IV. and seal'd with his own Signet. Upon the Dexter side of that, hung the Seals of sundry Lord's Spiritual; on the Left side, the Seals of the Lords Temporal Witnesses. And albeit, the Earl of Richmond cou'd not so well and rightly bear the Name of Beaufort or Somerset, being a Teudor by his Father, and so to be surnamed, or of some other Welsh Name (if there were any in his Family) by his Mother he was descended from the Beauforts; for the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, was Daughter and Heir to Sir John de Beaufort Duke of Somerset, (p) and Grand-child to John of Gaunt, by Katharine the Wife of Otto de Swinford, which John de Beaufort was created D. of Somerset by Henry V. His Wife was the Daughter and at length the Heir of Sir John Beauchamp

Principatus Princeps.

The Charter of H, for intailing the Crown,

This Charter I saw in the Hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and took these Summary Notes The Nobleness &c. Family of Hen. E. of Rich.

Glover 1413

(p) She was Daughter to John Duke of Somerset, Grand Daughter to John Earle of Somerset, and Great Grand Daughter to John of Gaunt. See Cambel. Sub tit. Somersetshire,

1483. of *Bletso*, and the Widow of Sir *Oliver St. John* when he married her: But the Earl of *Richmond*, by his Grandmother *Katharine* Queen of *England*, was descended from the Kings of *France*; and I have seen him in a Pedigree (drawn after he was King) deriv'd from the ancient Kings and Princes of *Brittain*. *Polidore* saith, he was *Ex fratre Nepos* to King *Henry VI.* who call'd him Nephew, and he the King, *Avunculum nostrum* (our Uncle) instead of *Patrum*, as it is in the Records of Parliament, *Ann. 1 of Hen. VII.* but not his Nephew, as we erroneously now take it, that is his German younger Brother's Son, for then he had been a true Masculine Issue of the House of *Lancaster* and Royal Blood of *England*.

But he was Nephew to him by his Brother *Uterine*, *Edmond Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, the Son of *Owen Tudor* or *Meridock*, and of Queen *Katharine*, Daughter of *Charles* the Sixth King of *France*, which the *French* well knew, and gave him the better Esteem for it, but those Honours were obscure Additions to him that must not go less than for a Prince of the House of *Lancaster*, and so of *England*, which pass'd with such vulgar credit in *France*, that *Du Tillet* mistook *John* Duke of *Somerset*, Father of *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, for the true and lawful Son of *John de Gaunt*, &c. by his first Wife *Blanch Plantagenet*, Daughter and Heir of the Earl (q) and Earldom of *Lancaster*. *Philip de Comines*, Lord of *Argent*, had better intelligence of his Pedigree and Title, which he gives us thus.

Il n'avoit croix, ny pile, ne null droit (Come je croy) a la Couronne d'Angleterre: And this expresses, he had no great Opinion of either, tho' he was then King when this was writ. But let us suppose him lawfully descended from that D of *Lancaster*, his Claim must stand excluded whilst the House of *York* survived; for *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York* and King of *England* Designat, by Act of Parliament holden 39. Year of King *Henry VI.* to whom these Titles of Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earl of *Chester*, and Protector of *England* were given by the Three Estates in that Parliament, descended from the Daughter and Heir of the Second Son of King *Edward III.* (For as before, so still I leave the Infant *William* of *Hatfield* without the Catalogue) and King *Henry IV.* and his Progeny, descended from the Third Son; and King *Henry VI.* being the best of the House of *Lancaster* then living, did acknowledge in that Parliament the Title of *Richard* Duke of *York*, the only lawful and just Title; so consequently next and better than that of *Lancaster* or any other; and before any *Beaufort* or their Heirs, the Issue of the two Daughters of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*; *Philip* and *Katharine* (married to the King of *Portugal* and *Castile*) were to be prefer'd if Foreign Titles be not excluded by Parliament. But the Earl of *Richmond* measuring his own Height by the Advantage of a Tumultuary and Indisposed Time, and finding his *Lancastrian* Pretence began to have a popular Retinue he was now incompatible of any others Precedency and Proximity: For those Great Ones that led him by the Hand into the Action, laid the Line by their own corrupted Hopes and Fears of the Success, therefore wou'd not let the Fortune of their Expectation faint in him. Bishop *Morton* steer'd much in the course of their Affairs, and was a great Oracle to the Earl, who was not too Partial and Credulous, especially where he believ'd the Persons of any Honesty, Virtue, or Learning, for which his Fame yet bears some Stains of *Morton*, *Dudley*, *Empson*, *Bray*, *Ursewike*,

Knevet, &c. for there be two Extrems observ'd in the Counsels of Princes, one, when the Prince is subject to follow the Counsels of Evil Men; the other, when the Prince is too opinionated to consult with Counsel; such an one as was *Charles* the Hardy D. of *Burgundy*, so opinionated and overweening of his own Wisdom and Judgment, that he underthought all Mens else; which wide Conceit of his hath left this Monument.

Carolus pugnax aliorum Consilia & Rationes (ne Pe Hant. dicam) sequi vix audire volebat, ignominiae loco habens ab aliis discere, & judicavit, se proprio cerebro omnia Concilia habere recondita.

And to give us yet a further Character of Bp. *Morton*, Sir *Thomas Moor* (sometimes his Master) tells us, his best Inclinations were sway'd to the dangerous Positions and Rules of Policy; and Dr. *John Hird* in his Metrical History of *England*, brings him in an Ambodexter and Observer of Fortune, one while *Yorkizing*, another while *Lancastizing*, thus delivering himself:

*Si Fortuna meis favisset partibus olim,
Et gnato Henrici Sexti diadema dedisset,
Edwardi nunquam venissem Regis in aulam,
Sed quia supremo stetit hæc sententia Regi,
Henrico auferre, ac Edwardo reddere Sceptrum,
Tanta mea nunquam lussit dementia mentem,
Ut sequerer partes Regis victi atque sepulti,
Adversus vivum, &c.*

If smiling Fortune had any Party own'd,
And the Sixth *Henry's* Offspring had enthron'd;
I'd ne're have struck to Royal *Edward's* Claim,
Nor fill'd his Court, assistant to his Fame:
But since all-potent Heaven had so decreed
Henry shou'd fall, and *Edward* shou'd succeed,
No stupid Madness cou'd my Mind misguide
With a dead King prepost'rously to side
Against a living Victor

Which may be thought well said by a mere Politician, but from a Friend it wants something of a Christian; for true Friendship and Piety will own us in the blackest Adversity and Silence of the Grave, as the Divine *Ariosto* hath something near observ'd in this elegant Stanza.

*Nessun puo super du chi sia amato
Quando felice in sula urota si ede;
Perech' ha i veri, & i finiti amici alato,
Chi mostran tuti, una medesima fede,
Se poi si cangia in tristo il he'sto stato,
Volta la turba adulatrice il piede,
Et quel di cuor' ama riman' forte,
Et amai l suo amico doppola morte.*

*Ariost.
cant. 19.*

No Man whilst he was happy ever knew
Assuredly of whom he was belov'd,
For then he hath both feigned Friends and true,
Whose Faith seems both alike till they be prov'd;

But he is left of all the flattering Crew
When from his happy State he is remov'd:
But he who loves in Heart, remains still one,
And loves his Friend when he is dead and gone.

Dr. *Morton's* Aims were drawn from other Rules, which with good Alacrity, made him Archbishop and Lord Chancellor of *England*, and put him the next List into a Cardinalship, and then he stood on Tiptoes by the King according to the Roman marshalling of States; for in the Pope's List of Ranges and Presence, his Holiness is the first, then the Emperor, next a Cardinal, then

1485. then a King: And in this, Sir Tho. Moore notes the extremity of his Pride, to abuse his Wisdom and Piety, which otherwise might have kept Him and his Memory unsully'd in these Preferments, so much our Vices impostumate our Fames, Hypocrisie leaving the Scar but of a deform'd Cure upon it at best.

Fra. Goodwin in Catalogo Episcoporum. But Dr. Goodwin, Bishop of Hereford, presents him nearer (as it were) in his Domestick Nature, and reports when Dr. Morton was Archbishop of Canterbury, he exacted and extorted a far greater Sum of Money from the Clergy of his Diocess than was ever before, and for his private Commodity (which he covetously sought) brought certain Leams or bigger Ditches to his own Grounds about Wisbitch, from the River Nine, which was before Navigable, and of much publick Use, but hath since serv'd for little or none.

Job. Stow. And John Stow says, he was the stirrer up of those great and grievous Taxes which rais'd the People to Arms and Rebellion. These Notes of his Natural Dispositions stuck like Wens upon the Face of his Religion, and from that Mind, whereby Affections juggle Religion and Conscience out, how hazardous may the Power and Council of such be, to the Inclinations of a Wise Prince; but this Prelate made his so canonical and fitted them to the Times, and his Temper, that they deceived not his Expectation, but brought him home to his Ends, and to the Favour of a provident and wise Prince; that he was so, the World must justly avow; and in all his Actions, we may see him of a safe and contracted Wisdom, govern'd by a most cautelous Spirit; as great a Husband of those Virtues he had, as of his Glory; not too Modest (if I be not much mistaken) to hear of either; of both which he hath left us pious Tastes. But the most

Q. Elizab. surviving addition of Memory, is that great Example of Majesty and her Sex, Qu. Elizabeth, who was said to be like this King her Grandfather, as well in composition of Qualities, as Favour and Lineaments, that she was his lively and perfect Image; and to use an even Hand in the Extention of Himself and his Power, it must not be denied, (how far off soever he was at first) after the Crown yielded to him, he was the true Proprietary of all the Rights and Titles which carried it, or had dependency thereon, and to colleague all in a full and perfect strength, the Title of York was confirm'd to him by Marriage of Elizabeth Plantagenet, eldest Daughter of Edward IV. Prince or Head of that Family, to whom the Title of Lancaster instantly escheated as he was King, which before was

* In delay in controversie or in nubibus, or * Abbeyance (as our Lawyers say) for no Man being a Subject, how Capital and Chief a Judge, or of what Judicatory Power soever, could give a Definitive Sentence, in any ambiguous Cause or Act of the King: But the King himself which is an ancient and authentick Paragraph in the Laws of

England, as learned Judge Bracton affirmeth.

Brac. lib. 2. cap. 16. De Chartis, & de factis regum non possunt Justiciarii disputare, nec si disputatio oriatur, possunt eam interpretari, sed in dubois & obscuris, & ubi aliqua dictio contineat duos intellectus, Domini Regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas, &c.

The reason is given in the Books of the Civil and Imperial Laws peremptorily, quia de principali Judicio non est disputandum. So that Controversy, whether the Beauforts or Somersets were of the House of Lancaster, or capable of the Crown or no, cou'd not be determin'd until there came a competent Judge, a King, and King of England, who by that Vertue and Power decreed to himself, the Title of Lancaster, with all the

Royal Apurtenances confirm'd by the Pope, as proper to him, and then the Writers, both English and French, had some colour to say he was De la ligne de Lancastre, & caput gentis regalis & Princeps Familiae Lancastriensis.

But the Chancellor Morton, by a more happy and plausible Insinuation, term'd the Marriage an Union of York and Lancaster, and not improperly, nor without a very favourable acceptance to the King, (at least in the beginning of his Reign) though after (as may be observ'd) he thought those Attributions but small Wyers to hold the Weight and Consequence of his Crown; nay, so slender was his Affiance, (or rather none at all) in his Titles of York and Lancaster, much less of Somerset, that he seem'd tacitly to wave and quit them, and stuck to that of his Sword and Conquest; for the more publick Vote and Knowledge whereof, there was at his Coronation, Proclamations made with these Titles, Henricus Rex Angliæ Jure Divino, Jure Humano, & Jure Belli, &c. which the Barons could not fan-

K. H. VII. only affected the Title de Jure Belli.

cily avow'd and maintain'd he might justly assume and bare it, having as a Conqueror entered the Land, fought for the Crown, and won it: They answer as peremptorily, That he was beholding to them, both for his Landing and Victory, and by their permission had that fair and prosperous Footing upon their Coasts; not by any Stroke of his French, who were not so many as the least Legion of the Romans, and had found but bloody Entertainment by the valiant English, if ever they had landed; besides, the Instigation of a mortal Hatred against the Invader, never to be extinguish'd, but with an utter Expulsion and Destruction, which they humbly pray'd might be worthy of his consideration, and not to take from his loving People the just due of their Affections, by ascribing so much of his Victory to the French, or his Welsh Sword; sith they voluntarily open'd their Arms and Country to receive him and put the Crown upon his Head; that this was their free and voluntary Act, they hoped he could not forget: And if so, why wou'd he make such an Archievement, a Conquest, or a Purchase of the Sword; Terms of a most harsh and dissonant Sound to the English, who reputed them as barbarous and tyrannical, their Ends and Events to enslave Them, their Goods and Fortunes, under a Licentious Power, that might act and will any thing:

Quicquid Victor audet, aut Victus timet? The Examples of the Conquering Goths and Vandals, Longobards in Italy and Spain, Saxons and Normans in England; and lately, the Spaniards in America, with many other Cruel Lords estated only by their unjust Arms and Swords, being fresh and bleeding Instances, that when but mention'd, stir up Thoughts of Horror and Detestation of the Sword's Title. But the more they oppos'd it, the more he is constant to have it assented by the Pope, with his Title of Lancaster, which he thought wou'd be a stronger Bridle to check all Murmurs, but yet endeavour'd it not directly and disertly, but under a close and borrow'd Pretext, the outside of his Embassy being only to obtain a Dispensation and Pardon for his Marriage, pretending a fear of Incest, his Wife being his Kinswoman; Et quanto Consanguinitatis & forsan affinitatis gradu, which Pope Innocentius the Eighth granted the first Year of his Reign, and afterward (upon what Occasion I cannot say) he renew'd the same Suit to Pope Alexander VI. who confirm'd and ratified the Pardon and Dispensation made by his Predecessors, in the Fourth Year of this King's Reign.

Ann. Dom. 1486.

Ann. Dom. 1490.

1484. But 'tis observable, that the Pope herein taketh not upon him to confer or give any new Titles; neither did the King publicly solicit the Pope to confirm these Two Titles, his Ambassador had that Particular in his Private Instructions: So that by this, the Pope seemeth only to make a Rehearsal of those Titles as due and proper to him before, and the Titles *De jure Belli*, & *de jure Lancastriæ*, seem'd not as any Matters or Subject of the Bull, but rather some Desire the Pope had, to express a Love and Honour to the King, and that he was pleased, *Ex proprio & mero motu & certa scientia sua*, to make such honourable Memorial of all the Majestical Titles in the King's Right, as the more stately Embroideries to his glorious Letters of Apostolical Indulgence, for the Dispensation of the said Marriage convey'd, and in these words:

Hic Rex Angliæ, de Domo Lancastriæ Originem trahens; ac qui notorio jure, & indubitato proximo successionis titulo & Prælatorum & procerum Angliæ Electione & concessione &c. Etiam de jure Belli est Rex Angliæ.

After, for the more clear repairing and curing all Flaws and Defects of Titles, the Pope addeth this Gracious Clause; *Supplemusq; omnes, & singulos defectus, tam juris, quam facti, si qui inter- venerint in Regno dicto.*

And then in the End, not in the Front, this Bull is intituled, *Pagina confirmationis nostræ, approbationis, pronuntiationis, constitutionis, declarationis, suppletionis, monitionis, requisitionis, prohibitionis, Benedictionis, inhibitionis, & excommunicationis, & Anathematizationis in quoscunq; qui presumpserint, infringere, vel ausu temeritatis, contravenire his literis Apostolicis.*

For all this must be held, and thought to be done *Autoritate Apostolica*, i. e. by the Authority of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul.

And thus the King received of the Pope the two Titles, *De Domo Lancastriæ*, and *De Jure Belli*, without any seeking or Solicitation (as we are led to credit) for there appeareth not any express Suit or Motion by the King to that purpose; though by Circumstances and Probability it was preferr'd under Hand, for the other Things were but of slight Request and no necessity, nor obnoxious to any Danger; when those two Titles were the present Marks, his Aim was strongly and mainly directed to. Though, I must confess, after a while, he was as lightly satisfied in these (notwithstanding the Pope's Thunder and Lightning, added to them) as in the Titles of York and Lancaster, which he discover'd, and not obscurely, when he moved the Estates in his first Parliament, to grant an Estate Hereditary and Entail'd of the Crown and Kingdom, with all the Appurtenances, to the Heirs of his Body: beyond this he cou'd not require much, nor they give, which was unanimously condescended unto, as a Gift of a new Title confirm'd by their A&T; the Copy whereof I have transcrib'd (where I come to rehearse the Titles of our Sovereign Lord the King, that now is). Nor is the Divination of this Piece so dark, but that the Cause may be guess'd at, why he held himself not safe in the Titles of York and Lancaster, of Beaufort and Somerset already touch'd at, but may fall more seasonably elsewhere into our Stories, without confounding it with Historologies, and presenting Matters out of their time and place; my Purpose only being; to take so much Light from the Story of Henry VII. as shall but properly conduce to the true shadowing and proportioning of K. Richard's, being necessarily inforc'd to inculcate such Matters as may seem of no present conclusion; yet

losing their Observation, we shall want the knowledge of many things much pertinent to the Credit and Honour of K. Richard and his Actions: To which, according to the Orders and Affairs of Time, I am now to come again.

And here, upon our Account, we shall find it near upon Ten Months since the Duke of Buckingham was suppress'd, and the Earl of Richmond driven from Poole with the Storm, who was now again very busy raising fresh Preparations in France, and King Richard upon the Intelligence, as sticking to levy Soldiers, and re-inforce all his Havens and Frontier Places. But the Earl of Richmond found it not so easy a Matter now as at first, to draw a Party and Concurrence from France, having sped so ill in his former Undertakings, which indeed struck a great Discouragement in the Expectation of all his Favourers, and made his Welcome the colder to the D. of Brittain; the rather also, because he had been with the French King before he came to him, which was taken but ill, altho' the Earl cou'd not otherwise do, being forc'd upon the Coasts of Normandy; and coming into the Road at Deipe, landed, to Refresh Himself and Company: From thence he intended to Roan, which being so near Paris, engaged him thither to the King, being, (as Philip de Comines saith) follow'd in a very honourable Port, by 500 Englishmen. In his Stay there (to shew us how much Interest a provident and active Spirit hath in Fortune) he so heighten'd and sweeten'd his Behaviour to the Court, as conciliated the Favour and Respect of the Greatest and Noblest Persons to him. But most happily, the fair Opinion and Esteem of the Princely Lady Anne de France, eldest Sister to King Charles the Eighth; who had such an Influence upon him in his Minority, that she out-pitch'd Lewis Duke of Orleans, chief Prince of the Blood: In Envy or Mislike whereof, he took Arms and raised a Civil War in France (as John Tillet and others write). She was Wife to Peirce de Bourbon Lord of Beaujen, after Duke de Bourbon; but Beaujen being his most stately and honourable Seigniory, he was call'd Mounseigneur de Beaujen; and his Lady had so flexible an Inclination to the Earl of Richmond's Cause, that she importun'd the King to aid him with a good Sum of Money and 3000 Men, but odd Fellows: For Philip de Comines saith, they were *Trois mille hommes les plus meschans que lux peut troit ver*, no better than Rogues and Trewans, Men of base Quality and as low Courage. Whilst these were levying, the Earl (thrifty of all Opportunities, and as diligent to add what advantage of Time and Aid he cou'd) visits the Duke of Brittain to the same purpose. The Duke propounds it to his Council, which Peter Landois his Treasurer and Chief Counsellor objects against, with this Reason, That if the Enterprize succeeded well, yet the Event must fall out unhappily and ill to him; the Earl having now interested himself to the Favour and Assistance of Charles King of France: And this wou'd be the first Link of so strong an Engagement, that the Earl and his Confederacy must be lost to Brittain when he came to be King, being respectively tied to lend the King of France Aid against them, if any Cause shou'd happen, which the King of France had a prepared Stomach for, and had not been nice to seek any Provocation that might countenance a Quarrel against the Dutchy of Brittain, which was beyond his span, so long as they continued in League with England; that being untwisted, and France and England contracted, how easy was it for the French to invade and swallow up both him and his Dukedom. To make the present Advantage, there-
fore

I have seen this Bull in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Cotton.

The Pope's Charter for the Title of Lancaster, &c. for the dispensing with the incestuous Marriage.

1485. The second Invasion of the E. of Richmond.

Comines, p. 536.

1485. fore, as profitable as safe, his Advice was to stay the Earl: The Duke knowing his Coffers at that time very lank, and that the King of England would offer well for him, approv'd the Counsel, and resolv'd to be led by *Landois* (whose Respects (notwithstanding) were very affectionate to the Earl). But whether by the secret Caution of some Friends, or suggested to him by his better Genius, sure it is, by some unknown Means he had knowledg of it; and yet this was determin'd but at Night, and design'd for the Morning: But before Midnight, or the knowledge of their Flight, he, and Twelve Gentlemen his Followers, had left *Vannes*, and recover'd *Anjou* (under the French King's Protection) from thence to the French Court again, the King being still very pliable and constant to his Promise concerning those French Forces under his own Charge. The next thing he works at, is how to enlarge the Earl of Oxford out of the Castle of *Hamme*, committed thither by *Edward IV.* (and in this he uses, or rather follow'd indeed) the Contrivement of *Dr. Morton*, who held good Quarter with the Earl of Oxford, and by his frequent Visits, had a familiar and easy Door open'd, which the Earl readily took the opportunity of, least it shou'd be shut again by some Miscarriage, for *Richmond* thought, or found the Constitution of his Design not a little strengthned by the Earl of Oxford's Confederacy: Nor did he mistake himself in his Account, when he set him down of Special Use, knowing him a Man of an Eminent Power, wisely and valiantly Temper'd: and to give him the stronger Presumption and Confidence, one that most mortally hated *Edward IV.* and all the House of *York*: To begin therefore an Obligation, the E. of *Richmond* makes a Complemental Journey to *Hamme* (r) where the E. of Oxford was then, under the Charge of *S. James Blount*; He finds all honourable and respective Entertainment, with fit liberty and occasion to propound himself unto the Earl who had been partly prepared by *Dr. Morton*, and therefore met him the nearest way, engaging himself solely to the Premises, and (by virtue of an indefatigable Confidence) sets upon his Keeper, wins him to the Faction, and to *Paris* with them. By which time, all Preparations were in readiness; and whilst they make this Stay in the French Court, the Earl of *Richmond* receives a fair Excuse and Protestation from the D. of *Brittain*, with offer of Auxiliary Forces: This Supply came very acceptably, and however he resented the Duke's late Purpose upon him, his Wisdom told him, he must now convert his Anger into Thanks, which he returns with a reciprocal Protestation and Order, to send the Troops to *Harfieu*, where his Shipping lay, and was the Rendezvous for his Soldiers.

In the end of July 1485. he took leave of the King and his most Noble Cousin *Madam De Beaulieu*, departing for the Port of *Harfieu* in *Normandy*, where he met with Two Thousand *Brittains* from the Duke honourably accommodated. But by the Way, he made some stay at *Ro-ven*, and had News which much distemper'd him, That the Lady *Elizabeth* was forthwith to be married to King *Richard*; this quicken'd his Haste for *England*, presuming, his landing would forbid the Banes, otherwise he might sit down with folded Hands, for upon this Marriage insisted the main Hopes and Consequence of his Fortune; without her, all his great Pretences would faint, yet seemed to hear it, as a thing that cou'd not concern him so much, having so present and provident a Wit, that in any Chance he wanted not Counsel and Determination in

himself for all Fortunes; instantly resolving to apply his Suit to her Sister the Lady *Cecily*: But ere he could perfectly fashion these Intentions, they were also countercheck'd by the next *Pacquet*, which assured him the Lady *Cecily* was lately married: Neither did that (after some Collection) seem much to discompose him; but quickly, varying his Disposition to his Fortune, he would now fix himself upon some Choice in *Brittain*, amongst his noble Friends (for the most part *Welsh Men*) and treats about a Daughter of *Sir William Herberts*, a Gentleman of a noble Alliance and principal Power in the South part of *Wales*; who had married the eldest Daughter, not long before, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the Earl of *Pembroke* (by a new created Friendship betwixt them) imbosoms the whole Design, and presses his Comprobation in it; for by this means it was presumed, the greatest part of *Wales* would fall under their Command; which had been no small Addition to a Banish'd Man's Fortune. Whilst those things were in their Mould, *Dr. Morton* gave him such assurance, by Letters, of the Countries Readiness to receive him, that it was thought best to take the Advantage of landing there; and in the Month of July they loose from *Harfieu*, and safely arrived at *Milford Haven* in *Pembrokeshire*, his Native Country: After some Refreshing, he marches to a Town call'd *Harverford West*, and was entering amongst his *Brittish* Kindred, who welcom'd him as a Prince, descended from their ancient Princes of *Wales*, (the Country generally very noble and loving to their Friends) whilst he continued amongst them, *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, *Sir Walter Herbert*, *Sir John Savage*, *Sir Gilbert Talbot* (who drew his young Nephew the Earl of *Salop* into this Action with him) and divers others of all Qualities, brought or sent their Forces. His Army thus strong and united, he passes the *Severne*, and marches to *Litchfield*, purposing to hold on to *London*, if the King had not interposed it, who, though he lay at *Nottingham* when the Earl landed, and while he marched through *Wales* had constant Spies upon him. But as no Policy or Law can secure their Faith, that think they may dispence with it, so all Benefits are too narrow, where Ambition and Ingratitude urges Merit: And to shew there is not much of our Fate in our own Providence, when this King thought the Nobility most firmly cemented to his side, and was to put himself upon their Constancy; they make a present and general Defluxion to the other; but he had heightned and contracted his Resolution and Judgment to the greatness of his Cause, and was not now to be outbid by Chance or Danger. The next Day (which was Sunday about Evening) passing through *Leicester* in open Pomp, the Crown Royal on his Head; with him *John D.* of *Norfolk*, Marshal of England, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Earl of *Westmoreland*, the Viscount *Lo-* and other of the Nobility and Gentry; at *Reutmore Heath* the Armies came to an Interview, and put themselves in array: The next Morning, early, there was some Conference held in the King's Tent, by those Peers and others of principal Trust, who gave him particular Information of all those secretly revolted; and it much amazed him, the Earl of *Northumberland* was one, to whom he had ever been most constant and forward in his Respects and Favours; therefore where he had conferr'd so much, he suspected little. But no Obligations are religious if not held so. And altho' in the Conflict he stood but as neutral, yet the suddenness and example of it drew many from the King, even at the In-

stant when he was ready to arm himself: Yet this was not of so great and sensible amazement unto him as the Lord Stanley's Defection; who, in pledge of his Faith, had left his Son George Stanley, whilst his Wife (the Earl's Mother) had made her subtil Perswasions of stronger Tye, and sub-induced him to the Lancastrian Side, which he aided with 26000 Men, if Philip de Commynes be not mistaken; for our Stories have but 5000. But it was a very great Defection, and made the Earl's Army far stronger; so that the chiefeft Point of Consultation now, was how to preserve him by Flight, and the recovery of some Strong Hold, until the Tempest had scatter'd or spent its violence, which they conceiv'd could not be long, if the Camp broke up and once dissolved. But no Argument could fasten on him, tho' the benefit of a Swift Horse was offer'd at his Tent Door, nor the Fatality and Protent of Prodigies, related by his Friends, as presaging some inevitable Calamity, and that Prophetical Prediction,

Jack of Norfolk be not too bold,
For Dicken thy Master is bought and sold.

These things aggravated, the weakness of his Army objected, Counsels, Perswasions, Terrors, Prodigies, Prophecies, cou'd not make him hear, so fatally resolute he stood in the Jealousie and Reputation of his Honour and Valour, peremptorily protesting, He would rather adventure Life, Crown and Fortunes, than his Honour to a cowardly and sinister Construction. This might taste of a desperate Will, if he had not afterwards given an Apodixis in the Battle, upon what Plat-form he had projected and rais'd that Hope, which as it had much of Danger in it, so of an inconcuss and great Resolution, and might have brought the Odds of that Day to an even Bett; for knowing the Earl to be thirsty and appetent after Glory and Renown, but of an unpractis'd Skill in War, and as inferior in Courage to him, he had projected (in manner of Stratagem) so soon as the Armies approach'd ready for the Charge, to advance himself before his Troops, and give the Earl, being General of his Forces, the Signal of a Combat. And to provoke and single him with a more glorious Invitation, he wore the Crown Royal upon his Head, the fairest

Why K. the Crown Royal upon his Head, the fairest Mark for Valour and Ambition. Polidore says he wore it, thinking that Day should either be the Last of his Life, or the First of a Better; which may as well be a reason of his wearing it Three Days before at Leicester, when he rode from thence to Bosworth. But doubtless, by it he intended chiefly, that the People might see and know him to be their King: And those that stood arm'd against him, looking upon that Imperial Evidence, where their own Hands and Voyces had set it, should by the Awe and Sovereignty of it, consider how lately they had avow'd him their lawful King; and by what Pledges of their Faith and Allegiances, they stood solemnly bound to defend him and his Title in it, against all other: Whatever was his Mystery, it render'd him a valiant and confident Master of his Right; and in the Constancy of Hope and Resolution he gives order for the Battle: The Armies confronted, and whilst the Alarm and every Blow began to be hot and furious, forth breaks King Richard towards the Earl, wafting him by a Signal, who seem'd readily to accept it; and pricking his Horse forward came on very gallantly, as if but one Genius had prompted their Spirits and Ambition: For a good Author testifieth that Comes Rich-

mondix directe super Regem Richardum, &c. But his Carreir soon faltred, and Mars became Retrograde, it being but a nimble Train, to draw the King on to some Disadvantages, or else he liked not his furious Approach, for suddenly he makes halt, and with as much Credit as he could (and no Harm) recover'd the Vanguard of his Army, whither Richard pursued him, with so much speed and fierceness, that he forc'd him to his Standard: And now, high in Blood and Anger (to see his Valour deluded by such a Politick Bravery) with his Sword makes way, and with his own Hand slew Sir Charles Brandon, Standard-bearer, thinking to have made the next Blow as fatal to the Earl; but the confluence of Souldiers interjecting, rescued him, Sir John Cheney being one of the foremost, whom the King struck from his Horse to the Earth; but charged and environ'd with Multitudes (that like a Storm came on him) Valiant Richard falls the Sacrifice of that Day, under their cruel Swords, so rabious in their Execution, as if his Body must suffer more, because they cou'd not kill his Better Part, mangling and wounding his dead Corps whilst it lies drencht in Gore.

Et Lupus & Turpes instant morientibus urfi,
Et quæcunque minor nobilitate fera est.

Ovid. trist.
l. 2. Elg.

Foul Bears and Wolves insult and tear the Slain
With each Inferior Savage of the Plain.

As Curs in their Kennels will bite and tear
the Skin of those Beasts which in the Field
they durst not bark at:

Occidit in bello miseranda cæde Richardus,
Crimibus attractus, dum ferro sæviat hostis.

Dr. John
Hird. in
Hist. Angl.

Drag'd by the Hair to Hostile Swords a Prey,
And slain with barb'rous Wounds the van-
quish'd Richard lay.

And after all (to complete their Barbarism) threw his Body behind One upon a Jade, and so convey'd it to Leicester. A Story to be thought incredible, at least to charitable and modest Ears, and highly upbraided by the happier and Christian Fame of William the Conqueror, who severely punish'd a Soldier for but hacking the Thigh of King Harold after he was dead, though an Usurper and his perfidious Enemy; with all nobleness causing the Body to be delivered to his Mother for an honourable Interment, which was solemnly celebrated in his own Abby at Waltham. The Battle thus fought and won, the Victor was crown'd in the Field with that Crown King Richard wore, which the Lord Stanley put upon his Head, and salutes him King, by the Stile of Henry VII. King of England, &c. And Henry Earl of Richmond Son of Edmund ap Meredith ap Teudor (alias of Hadham) Earl of Richmond, and of Margaret Daughter and Heir of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset attain'd to the Crown, and had the easier ascent by the Oversight and Remissness of Richard in that Catastrophe of his Reign, who gave too much Opportunity and Scope to the Actings of his Enemies when they were under his Power and Arm. And in the Fortune of his Judgment (at the closing of the Scene) that did not better pre-suppose his Enemy too prudent and reserv'd, to trust the Advantage he had upon so sharp and single an Hazard: But Richard believing he had the odds in Courage and Monomachy of him, which probably might make him Master of the Combat, and so of the Field (the Strait being so desperate too) resolv'd rather to trust to the Fate of his own Valour, than the Chance of an uncertain Escape; a Resolution not so rash and overweening

1485. overweening as commendable, if we look upon the very Aims and Necessity of it; neither is it new or improper for Princes to demand the trial of Camp Fight, or Single Combat personally in their Armies, and to the Generals in their Absence: *William* the Conqueror challenged King *Harold*; before that, a Combat was fought between *Edmund Ironside* and *Canute* the Danish King, for the whole Kingdom of England: Our *Richard I.* and *Edward I.* in *Palestine* proffer'd the like to several of the Pagan Princes; so did *Edward III.* *Henry V.* with the Kings of *France*.

The Challenge of *James V.* King of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk. In the Last Age, the valiant Prince *James* the Fifth of *Scotland*, in person challenged *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Duke of *Norfolk*, General for the King of *England*, who accepted it; but the King into his Demands would have the Country or Lands then in controversy, to be made *Brabium victoris*, which was without the General's Power to engage, being the Inheritance of the King his Master, but proffer'd better Lands of his own upon the Combat, which was not accepted, so that concluded nothing.

The better End of these Challenges and Combats, being at first level'd from Mercy and Piety, for by this Single Adventure, the Innocent Blood of Armies was (more than stanch'd) preserv'd, Foreign Stories brings this home to us, and highly Characters their Kings and Generals in the like Examples, which this Age draws a Curtain before as not-fit for Imitation, making too desperate a Wound in a settled State and Succession; the first who rendred that (or some more Politick) Reason for Princes not to adventure themselves, was *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, (as a late Writer ascribed) but is mistaken; for the more ancient Histories of *Syria* and *Persia* mention some Kings that refrain'd from Wars long before; as *Herodotus*, *Diadorus*, *Trogus Pompeius* tell us: But let us take measure from that Times, Wisdom: Valour, Policy, &c. to this, and we shall find them but tottering Foundations of States which cannot uphold themselves, or obvert the least Decree of God, when he intends to scourge or alter Kingdoms; for where such Vicissitudes are destin'd, the Counsel and Faculties of Men must be darkned, and there will fall out all Concurrences and Advantages to further that Purpose. So in the Extirpation and Transferring of Families, the Potter in *Jeremy*, breaking one Jarr to make another, whose fatal Commutations should extimulate the Piety of our Natures, and make us modest Censurers of their Events: For as we see things but thro' a Cloud, whilst we measure them by Accidents, so we intrude on God's Providence, judging Men's Actions in their Success, while we over-act our own. Of such a Composition was the Ill-wishers of King *Richard*, who forgot him not in his Grave, but endeavour'd to be equally cruel to his Memory: And in *November* following a Parliament was holden, in which he was attainted of High-Treason; a Strain very high to make him guilty of that, being a King, he cou'd not commit. By the same Figure may others, who were stiled Chief Aiders and Assistants of King *Richard* in the Battle of *Bosworth*, as Sir *John Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. though some would have him retired from the Court all King *Richard's* Reign. But Sir *Thomas Moor* affirms, he was constantly with him and near his Counsels, Sir *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, Son and Heir apparent to the Duke: *Francis Lovel* Viscount *Lovel*, Sir *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Fer-*

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Cruelties done to the Body of *K. Rich.* Noble Persons attainted by Parliament.

Sir *Thom. Moor*.

1485. rers of *Chartley*, Sir *John de la Souch*, Sir *Robert Harrington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *Will. Berkeley*, *Will. Catesby*, *Thomas Broughton*, *John Buck*, *Humphry Stafford*, *Rob. Middleton*, *Robert Brokenbury*, *John Kendal* Secretary to the King, *Walter Hopton*, *Jeffrey Saint-German*, *Rog. Wake*, *Thomas Billington*, *William Sapcote*, *Will. Brampton*, all Knights; and some Herald's at Arms, with divers other; an Act of Parliament being made to Disable and Forejudge them of all manner of Honour, State, Dignity; also to Forfeit all Mannors, Castles, Lordships, Hundreds, Franchises, Liberties, Advowsons, Privileges, Nominations, Presentations, Tene-ments, Rents, Suits, Reversions, Portions, Annuities, Pensions, Rights, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, and Debts. These be the words of the Act, and if *ius*, then *ius summum* in all Extremity.

Those of Note that were taken, lost their Heads at *Leicester* two Days, after, being *St. Bartholomew's-Day*, and had a Glimpse like that *Bartholomew* in *France* in our Time; all such Slaughters from thence call'd *Bartelemies*, and *Bartelemies*, simply in a perpetual Stigma of that Butchery.

It is suggested, the Duke of *Norfolk* was slain in the Battel by the Earl of *Oxford*; and the Story of *Croyland* seemeth to say as much; Comes *Oxonix* *valentissimus miles in eam aliam ubi Dux* *Norfolciae constitutus erat in agro.* (de *Redmore*) *tum Gallicorum tum Anglicorum militum Comiratu stipatus tendit; &c.*

Amongst those that escaped the sad Destiny of that Day, was the Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Thomas Howard* Viscount *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Stafford*, and his Brother *N. Stafford*, and many other Nobles and Gentlemen that got into Foreign Countries and Sanctuaries, obscuring themselves till the Storm and Smart of that Day's Memory were past. But some would maintain *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* to be one of them that submitted to the New King at *Bosworth*, immediately after the Overthrow, which must not be believed, if we understand the Composition of those Times and Affairs: For certain it is, the *E. Richmond* had peremptorily proscib'd all those he had cause to fear or hate, whose Names are partly in the Rolls, kept in the Chapel of the Convertites in *Chancery-lane*, and partly omitted by the Scribes.

Now the Earl of *Surrey*, of all the rest, was so terrible and distasteful to him; there could be no Excuse left for his Life. And therefore let no Man think he was taken or submitted; but took an happier Season some Months after. The Relation and Truth is (by the Warrant of one that well knew him, and the Inter-passage of his Fortune) the Earl opportunely left the Field, but so wounded, that Faintness and Night constrain'd him to the House of a Gentleman not far from *Northingham*, and one that bare a faithful Respect to the Earl and his Family, until he was recovered. In the meantime, that terrible Parliament held in the next *November* was concluded, and the King's Desires reasonably well appeased, in seeing the Execution of his New Laws past upon some of them.

After which, (some small distance of time) followed a gracious Pardon to all the Offenders in that Cause, which proffer'd Mercy this Earl laid hold on, hoping to restore himself (by his Submission) his offence consider'd, being but an Act of Loyalty to his Master. But this confidence sent him to the Tower; for tho' the Violence of the Storm appear'd well calm'd, yet the

The Duke of *Norfolk* slain by the Earl of *Oxford*.

The Earl of *Surrey* escapeth at *Bosworth*.

1485. the King retain'd some Heavings of it in his Thoughts: And this Imprisonment continued from his First year of Reign unto the Fourth; and towards the Beginning of that, being in the Tower with the Queen Elizabeth (to whom he was shortly after to be married) he took occasion to call for the Earl, (bearing still a gust of the same Tempest in his Brow) and challenged him upon the old Quarrel, his Service to the late Usurper and Tyrant, (as he usually term'd King Richard) the Earl humbly moved his Pardon, and more favourable Consideration to the Nature of his Offence, which Thousands more conceiv'd to be but a due effect of their Liege Duties, and Allegiance to a Prince so lawfully, and with all general sufferance crown'd, whose Title he held himself bound to defend by the Law of God and Nations, and would die in defence of him and that Crown, though he should find it upon a Stake: The King left him with a stern and ruffling Reply, but in cold Blood better acknowledged his Integrity, and thought he would come of no less Value to him, having the Advantage to merit him by his Pardon, which soon after he granted him; nor did the Earl lose ought of that Opinion: Shortly after, being made of the Privy Council, then Lieutenant or Governour of the North, and General against the Scots, whom he overthrew; as fatal was he to them at Flodden Field, where he took their King in the time of Henry the Eighth, who made him High Marshal and Treasurer of England, and restor'd him to his Father's Dukedom, the Inheritance of his Grandmother Mowbray, being a Man of such a happy Direction in his Carriage and Wisdom, that all his Actions came home with prosperous Success, and accumulated what was sometime spoken of his great Ancestour Hewardus, of whom it was question'd, *Utrum felicius an fortior esset*, so Fortunate and Honourable hath that House been in the Service to this State; and in the infinite Alliance and Cognation, it holds with the most Ancient Families, the Extractions and Propagations from Mowbray, Warren, Bruce, Dalbrey, Marshall, Segrave, Plantagenet, Brotherton, Bigot, Fitz-Alan, Matrauer, Buckingham, Oxford, and Dacres: The Father of which Heward, was Leofrick Lord of Burne, and the adjacent Country in Lincolnshire; his Mother was the Lady Edina, descended from the great Oslac, a Duke amongst the Easterlings in King Edgar's time: In whose Family, I also find a Noble Kinsman of his called Haward (to note obiter). This Haward was of a Noble and Magnificent note, a goodly Personage, answer'd with an equal Strength and Valour; *Et nimium Bellicosus*, much, or too much devoted to Mars. He served in the Wars of Northumberland, Cornwall and Ireland; and after in the Lower Germany, where he made up much of his Fame, and married a fair Lady called Turfrida, the Daughter of a Nobleman in Flanders, where he continued until the Death of his Father call'd him Home. About which time, William Duke of Normandy made his Conquest of this Kingdom, and had gratify'd Johannes Talhois the French Count, now Earl of Holland, with Leofricks Country of Holland, in the Marshland; and the Count very rudely had expuls'd the Lady his Mother, out of her Possessions and Dower. Hawardus set upon him with such Forces as he could speedily raise, took, and held him Prisoner in despite of the Conquerour, until he redeem'd himself, and accounted for what he had done with a large Sum of Money. This drew those of the Nobility

Scots overthrown by the E. of Surrey.

Ingulfus.

Lib. Eliensis.

to the protection of his Sword, which the Conquerour had chased out of their Country, who had forsited themselves in the Isle of Ely, and made Hawardus their General, where he built a Castle that a long time after had his Name. But the Normans took that Advantage to infest his Country, and put him again to the Recovery of it, which he so fortunately settled, that the Conquerour was contented to make him his, and hold him in good favour whilst he lived. He was buried in the Abbey of Croyland: Concerning his Issue by the Lady Turfrida, there is mention only of a Daughter named Turfrida, married to Hugo Enermua, Lord of Deeping: But circumstance will persuade us, he had other Issue, if we consider him in the likelihood of his Strength and Ability, and that divers continued of his Sir-name in that Country a long time after him, which makes it probable, he had a Natural Son, (at least, bearing his own Name of Heward) that next to him was the Original Ancestor of this House of Howards. And let it not be thought any Disparagement for a Noble Family to be raised from a Natural Issue; for many Princely Families have been deriv'd and propagated from Natural Sons, as was Eneas, Romulus, the Founders of the Roman Families; So was Theseus and Themistocles, as Plutarch writeth; others say as much of Hercules, &c.

The honour of Bastards.

Hom. Livy.

The King of Spain descended from Henry de Trastamara, Base Son of Alphonso the Justicer, King of Castile. And who doth not honour the Princely Race of William the Conquerour, Bastard Son to the Duke of Normandy? Where was a more Heroical Man than Robert Earl of Gloucester, base Son of King Henry I.? The Earls of Warren descended from Hamelin, a base Son of Geoffry Plantagenet, Earl of Anjou: The Noble Herberts are also said to come from a base Son of Henry the First.

And the Duke and Earls of Somerset (which followed the red Rose) were the Offspring of the Beauforts, Natural Sons of John de Gaunt.

For a further Conjecture, why these Howards must be descended from Hewardus or Herewardus (for so some Writers call him; but (Ingulfus, who best knew him, constantly calls him Hewardus), both Names may signify in the Saxon old Dutch, a Chief Captain of an Army, whom the Romans call'd Imperator.) And that the Titles and Names of great Offices have given Sir-names to many Noble Families, we have Examples in plenty; Particularly, the Visconti of Milan, the Chamberlains of Normandy, the Stewards of Scotland, the Butlers of Ireland, and divers others, who had their Sir-names from the Offices of their Ancesters and Fathers; and the same Presumption or Argument may be for taking the Sir-name of Howard, and the Origine of their Family from Hewardus, the Howards from the time of Heward, dwelling in these Countries of Holland and Marshland, and were Lords of some Lands belonging to him, until by their Matches, with the Daughters and Heirs of Filton, Tendring, Mowbray, Tillney, &c. they became possessed in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Berkshire, and were Lords sometime of Sunning-hill near Windsor, and bore the Sir-name ever since (or with small interruption) the old Sir-name written Heward, or Hereward in Charters and Records, and Howard in Stories. But descend we thro' the Succession of those times to William Howard, Chief Justice in the Reign of Edward I. Grandfather to Sir John Howard, Admiral of the North Fleet, in the Naval Wars of Edward III; his Son Sir Robert Howard married the Daughter of the

1485. the Lords Scales, and Sir John Howard (who liv'd in the time of Henry IV. and died Anno 16. Henry VI.) had two Wives, Margaret Daughter and Heir of Sir John Plais, Knight, by whom he had Eliza: an only Daughter, married to John de Vere Earl of Oxford, who brought him a goodly part of the Howards Lands: Her Heirs were married to Latimer and Winckfield, very fruitful Families. His second Wife was the Daughter and Heir of Sir William Tendering of Stoke-Nayland in Suffolk, by whom he had Sir Robert Howard his eldest Son, who married Margaret Mowbray, Daughter of a Cadet of the House of Lancaster, who became Co-heir with her Sister the Lady Berkeley, Wife to Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, dead in Venice, and left his Son Henry Howard Heir to Howard and Mowbray; and John Howard, the Son of John Howard, was created Earl of Norfolk by King Richard III. in the right of his Mother Mowbray, he married the Daughter of the Lord Moulins, and by her had Thomas Howard, the first Howard Earl of Surrey; this is he who survived the Danger of Bosworth Field, and became afterwards Duke of Norfolk, from whom all the Howards now living are Descended, whose Family hath been so fruitful to furnish this Kingdom with four Dukes, many Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, three High Treasures, six High or Great Marshals, ten High Admirals, with some Honourable Custos of the Privy-Seal, and sundry Chamberlains of the King's House; and one lately lived who had born the Offices of High Constable, Lord Lieutenant, Lord high Steward, Marshal and Admiral of England, Lord Chief Justice in Oyer of the better Part of this Kingdom, and Chamberlain of the Royal House, a Man honourable in his Departments, and fortunate in his Undertakings; as at the great Marine Battels against all the Naval Powers of Spain, the Pope, and Princes of Italy, Anno Dom. 1588. and in the Siege of Gady's, An. Dom. 1596.

Sir Charles Howard.

Camden in Olfad.

Lodow. du Guicci. Paes. Baess. The Antientry of Buck.

M. Paris. M. West-minst. Radulphus de Cogeshall. Tho. Walsing.

And this is the Grand-Child of that Thomas Lord Howard, who for his beter Distinction and perpetual Honour is stiled *Triumphator Scotorum*.

I have stray'd into this Digression, as a grateful Tender of an Acknowledgment I owe to that Illustrious Family, for their Noble Patronage and Favour to my Ancestors, especially to that Unfortunate Bucke and his Children, who wither'd with the white Rose, (bearing an Ancient and Heradetriy love to the House of York, and stood in good Credit and Favour with the King his Master) nor let this Remembrance of him, and his obscur'd Family, seem Ostentation or Vain-glory, whilst I say no more than what other Histories dictate; which give him an able Character. Master Camden Clarentius (in his Immortal Britannia,) deriveth this Sir John Bucke, from Sir Walter de Bucke of Brabant and Flanders, who had that Sir-name of great Antiquity from the Castle de Bucke in Lisse, a City and Frontier Town in Flanders, where the ancient Earls were accustomed much to reside; the Ruins of this Castle remained in the late time of Lodowicke Guicciardine, who saith, He saw the Carcass thereof: And this Walter Bucke was a Cadet of the House of Flanders, employ'd and sent by the Prince (then Duke of Brabant and Earl of Flanders) to King John, with Auxiliary Troops: Roger Woodover saith, Walter Bucke, Gerard de Scottigni, and Godescalius, venerunt in Angliam cum tribus legionibus Flandrensum & Brabantianorum militum, &c. and he did the King excellent Service here (as many of our Historians report, for which the King bountifully rewarded him

with Lands in Yorkshire and Northamptonshire: 1485. And in Yorkshire (where he made his Seat) he found an ancient Family of the Sirname of Bucke of Bulton, in the Wapentake of Bucrosse, where that Family had anciently been, (for the Name is a Saxon or Dutch word, and signifieth a Beech Tree, or Beech Wood) here Walter contracted Alliance, and married Ralph de Bucke, his Eldest Son, to the Daughter and Heir of Gocelinus de Bucke, Grandchild to Radolphus de Bucke, who was a Part Pounder and Benefactor to the Abbey of Bredlington, (as is mention'd in the Charter of Henry I. made for the Foundation of that Monastery) and from this Walter descended John Bucke Knight, who married a Strelley, and was so constant in his Affection, that (altho' she died in his best Age) he made a Religious Vow, and became a Knight of the Rhodes; his Arms are yet to be seen in the Ruins of the Hospital of St. John's near Smithfield, and in the Church of Alhallowes at the Upper end, of Lombard-street, which was repair'd and enlarg'd with the Stones brought from that demolish'd Canoby: He liv'd sub rege Edvardo filio Regis Henrici: as I have seen by the Date of his Deed in Hertbil, Anno 1 Ed 1. & Anno 22 Ed. 1.

From this Knight of the Rhodes descended Sir John Bucke, who for his too much forwardness in Charging a Fleet of Spaniards (without the Leave of the Earl of Arundel Lord Admiral) was committed to the Tower, (testified by the Records there) Anno 13. Richard II. Lawrence Bucke his Son, follow'd Edmund Plantagenet Duke of York, and was at the Battel of Agincourt with him, when he was Slain: John Bucke Knight, the Son of this Lawrence, married a Daughter and Heir of the House of Starvelly, out of which are descended the Barons Parres of Kendall and Rosse, Queen Katherine (the last Wife of King Henry VIII.) the Lord Parre Marques of Northampton, and the Herberts Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery.

These Buckes residing for the most part at West-Stanton, and Hertbil in Yorkshire, and match'd into the Families of Strelley or Stirely of Woodhall, Thorpe, Tilney, (then of Linconshire) and Savill, by which we have much noble Kindred; Sir John Bucke for his Service to the House of York, especially at Bosworth, lost his head at Leicester; He married the Daughter of Henry Savill, by whom he had Robert Bucke and other Children, who were brought into the Southern Parts by Thomas Duke of Norfolk, where they have remain'd ever since; for the Children (being Orphans) were left in miserable Estate by the Attainder of their Father; But the Duke bestow'd two Daughters in Marriage, one with the Heir of Bucke, the other, with the Heir of Fitz-Lewis, very ancient Families, from which Matches divers Honourable and Noble Persons are descended. The Sons were, one a Souldier, the other a Courtier, the third, a Priest; afterward the Duke bestow'd Robert Bucke, the Eldest Son at Melford-Hall in Suffolk, and married him into the Families of Higham and Cotton, as also did the Blounds of Elwaston, the Talbots of Grascon, from whom the Barons of Monjoy, and the late Earls of Shrewsbury descended; one of the Daughters of this Bucke married to Frederick Tilney of Shelly-Hall in Suffolk, his nearest Kinsman by the Dutches his Mothers side. But some perhaps must call this my Vanity, I shall but answer them, that I think my self bound (by all the Blood and Memory I claim from them,) to pay them my best Relations and Endeavours, acknowledging with the great Consular Philosopher, *Parentes charissimos habere debemus, quod ab*

85. *his vita, patrimonium, libertas, Civitas tradita est.* And I should think there is none, who hath an interest in the quality of Gentile or Noble, (for all is one) but looks back (with some delight) to their first Commemoration; and finds a strong Engagement due to the Vertues and Worth of their first Fathers; for that expresse Charge to Honour Father and Mother; is not to be understood, only of our Parents superstit, and living here with us, but our Forefathers: that is, beyond our great Grandfather, for we have no proper word for them above that degree (but Antecessors, *vulgo* Ancestors) whom the Romans called *Majores*, and comprehended all our Progenitors departed sooner or later) for the Words *Pater* and *Mater*, as also, *Patres* & *Parentes*, extend very largely, and reach up to the highest Ancestors. The ancient Roman *Jurisconsults*, deliver in their Law for an Axiom, that *Appellatione Parentum omnes in infinitum majores utriusque sexus significantur*; and the word *Parentes* yet spreadeth further, comprehending all Kinsfolks and Cosins, of our Blood and Linage, being used in that sense by *Ælius Lampridius*, by *Julius Capitolinus*, and other the best Writers in the Times of the declined Empire,

as *Isaac Casaubonus* hath well observed in his Annotations. 1485.

The *Italians*, *Spanish* and *French*, (whose Language is for the most part *Romanzi* (Mongrel *Latin*) and broken and corrupted *Roman* Language (use *Parenti*, *Parentes* and *Parents* for all their Kinsfolks and Gentilicious Cosins.

We *Englishmen* (being more precise) follow the Ancient and Classick *Latin* Writers, holding Parent strictly to the simple Signification of *Pater* and *Mater*, the present and immediate Parents. But the using of the word *Parentes*, as those Imperial Historians use it; serveth better for our purpose here: And I could (not willingly) imitate the Pious Gentlemen of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *France*, in their Religious and Charitable Endeavours, to advance the Happiness of their Parents defunct, if those Desires could be steed them. But where I should crave Pardon, I become more Guilty and Extravagant; it is time therefore to know good Manners, and return home to our proper Task, which will be to re-fell the gross and black Calumnies thrown unjustly upon the Memory and Person of King *Richard*, And falls within the Circle of the next Book.

BOOK III.

The ARGUMENT of the Third BOOK of the LIFE and REIGN of RICHARD III.

The Defamations of King Richard examined and answered. Dr. Morton and Sir Thomas More malevolent to the House of York, Their frivolous Exceptions against his Gestures, Looks, Teeth, Shape and Birth, his Vertues depraved. The Death of King Henry the Sixth, and his Son Edward Prince of Wales. The Actors therein. The Offence of Killing an annointed King. Valiant Men hate Treacheries and Bloody Acts. King Richard not Deform'd. The Slanders of Clarence translated to King Richard. The Cause of Clarence's Execution. How the Sons of King Edward came by their Deaths. King Richard Excusable thereof. The Story of Perkin Warbeck compared with Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, who are Biothanati. Counterfeit Prince detected, Young Prince marvellously preserved. Many Testimonies for the Assertion that Perkin Warbeck was Richard Duke of York; his honourable Entertainment with foreign Princes. Vox populi. Reasons why it is not Credible King Richard made away his two Nephews; the force of Confession. The Evil of Torture, the Guilt of attempting to Escape out of Prison, what an Escape is. The Earl of Oxford severe against Perkin, and his End. The base Son of King Richard the Third secretly made away. The Son of the Duke of Clarence put to Death. The Power of Furies. Demones & Genii. Apollonii Majestas.

Quod tibi non vis alteri ne feceris.

Erasmus in Chiliad. THERE is no Story that shews the Planetary Affections and Malice of the Vulgar more truly than K. Richard's: and what a rikle game Kings have to play with them; tho' his Successor Henry VII. play'd his providently enough (with help of the Standers by) yet even those Times (which had promised the happiest Examples of a State, and best of a King) both groan'd and complain'd; but had not the sting and infection of King Richard's Adversaries, who did not only as the Proverb saith, *cum larvis lētare*, contend with his immortal Parts, but raked his Dust, to find and aggravate Exceptions in his

Grave; having learnt their Piety from the Comical Parasite, *obsequium amicos, veritas odium in Adolph.* parit, and finding it as well guerdonable as grateful, to Publish their Libels and Scandalous Pamphlets, (piece of Policy and Service too) to the Times, (and an offence to resent any thing good of him) they gave their Pens more Gall and freedom, having a Copy set by Doctor Morton, who had taken his Revenge that way, and written a * Book in *Latin* against King Richard, which came afterward to the Hands of Mr. Moore (sometime his Servant) so that here the Saying of *Darius*, which after became a Proverb) hath place. This Book was lately in the Hands of Mr. Ratham, as Sir Edward Hoby, who saw it, told me.

1485.

Hoc Calceamentum consuit Histiaens, induit, autem Aristagoras.

Dr. Morton (acting the Part of *Histiaens*) made the Book, and Master Moore like *Aristagoras* set it forth, amplifying and glossing it, with a purpose to have writ the full Story of *Richard the Third* (as he intimateth in the Title of his Book;) but it should seem he found the Work so melancholy and uncharitable, as dull'd his disposition to it; for he began it, 1513. when he was Under Sheriff, or Clerk to one of the Sheriffs of London, and had the Intermision of Twenty two Years (which time he took up in Studies, more Natural to his Inclination, as Law and Poetry, * for in them lay his greatest fancy) to finish it before he died, (which was in 1535. but did not yet lift himself so hap-pily into the Opinion of Men, that his Com-mendations had more Fortune than Observa-tion;) and past him under the Attributes of Learning and Religion; tho' in both he came short of what was ascribed to him; for if he understood the Latin and Greek, (then held great Learning) yet was he so far under the desert of an excellent Scholar, as the learned censured him a Man of slender Reading, and *Germanus Brixius, Irruditus, i. e. unlearned*; for the Sanctity of his Life, *John Balæus*, who took not up his Knowledge of him an Age off, (as some of his Admirers,) but from the Original, thus gives us his Draught.

He wrote many Poems and Epigrams, sundry pretty Comedies, and Entertainments, ofentimes personating with the Actors, as his loving and familiar friend *Erasmus* reports. *Brixius* *Antimore*.

Jean. Ba-leus de-scriptori-bus. Brit. Cent. 8. cap. 69.

Hoc nos probe novimus qui eramus eidem Thomæ Moro viciniore, quod pontificum, & phariseorum crudelitati ex avaritia subserviens omni tyranno truculentior ferociebat, imo insaniebat in eos qui aut Papæ primatum, aut purgatorium, aut mortuorum invocationes, aut imaginum cultus aut simile quiddam diabolicarum imposturarum negabant, a vivifica Dei veritate ita edocti. Consentire hic Harpagus noluit ut Rex Christianus in suo Regno primus esset, nec quod ei liceret cum Davide, Salomone, Josaphato, Ezechia, & Josia Sacerdotes, & Levitas rejectâ Romanensium Nembrodorum tyrannide in proprio ordinare dominio, &c.

In English thus.

" This we, who were no Strangers to the
" said *Thomas Moore*, very well know, that, for
" covetous Ends ministring to the Cruelty of
" the Priests and Pharisees, he raged more
" fiercely than any Tyrant; yea, was trans-
" ported even to Madness against those, who
" instructed by the Life-giving Truth of God,
" denied either the Supremacy of the Pope, or
" Purgatory, or the Worshipping of Saints or
" Images, or such other diabolical Impostures.
" This Man of Avarice would not agree that a
" Christian King should be Supreme in his own
" Kingdom, nor permit him with *David*, *Solo-*
" *mon*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Ezechiah*, and *Josias*, reject-
" ing the Tyranny of the Roman *Nimbods*, to
" order the Priests and Levites in his own Do-
" minions, &c.

Rich. Graf-ton faith, he died mocking and scoffing as he lived.

Adding the Attribute of *tenebrio*, of *veritatis evangelicæ perversissimus osor*, of *obstinatus Calôphanta*, of *impudens Christi adversarius*; and faith of his end, that *decollatus fuit in Turri Londinensi sexto die Julii, Anno Domi 1535. Capite ad magnam Londini pontem (ut proditoribus fieri solet) suspensi imposto, & nihilominus a Papistis pro novo Martyre colitur.*

That is, " He was Beheaded in the Tower of London upon the Sixth day of July, in the Year 1535. his Head, (as is usual to be done

" with Traytors,) being fix'd on a Pole upon the Bridge of London; notwithstanding of which he is by the Papists adored for a new Martyr.

Thus he became a Martyr and a Saint; but we shall find other Cause of his Condemnation by his own Testimony; for when he stood at the Bar arraigned, some Exceptions having been urg'd against him, for seeming to uphold and maintain the Pope's Supremacy in England; his Reply was, he could not see *quomodo laicus vel secularis homo possit vel debeat esse caput status spiritualis aut ecclesiastici*; yet insinuated, that this Opinion was taken hold of but for a Pretext to supplant him; the greatest cause of the King's Displeasure being for his withstanding the Divorce, between him and *Katharine of Castile* his Wife, and his second Marriage with the Lady *Anne Bullen* *Marquesset of Pembroke*: And his own words (spoken to the Judges, as they were set down by his dear Friend, *George Conrinus*, in a short Discourse upon his Death) are, *non me pudet quamobrem a vobis condemnatus sum (videlicet) ob id, quod nunquam voluerim assentiri in negotium novi matrimonii Regis*, which uttered after Sentence of Condemnation, (when no Evasion or Subterfuges would avail) must proceed surely from his Conscience; and before this, he wrote a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Cromwell*, (which I have seen) wherein he protested, he was not against the King, either for his second Marriage, or for the Churches Supremacy: But wisheth him good Success in those Affairs, &c. which renders him (well look'd upon) not so stout a Champion for the Pope, as many of his partial Friends and Romanists supposed; Neither so sound in his Religion; for I have seen amongst the multitude of Writings, concerning the Conference about the Alteration of Religion, and suppressing of Churches and religious Houses, that his Connivance and Consent was in it; nor could he excuse it, with all his Policy and Wisdom, neither had the K. ever attempted it, had not the Pope and his Agents opposed that second Marriage, an Error and Insolency Rome hath ever since repented. But it prov'd a happy blow of Justice to this Kingdom, cutting off him and his Authority, which else had hazarded the best Queen that ever was, the Sacred and eternally honour'd *Elizabeth*, to whose growing Glory and Virtue Mr. *Moore* became an early and cruel Adversary, even before she was *in rerum natura*. To know him further, let me refer you to the Ecclesiastical History of Mr. *John Fox*, in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* who describes him Graphically; for his Historieal Fragment, it shews what great Pains he took to item the Faults and sad Fortunes of King *Richard III.* And how Industrious he was to be a Time-observer, it being the most plausible Theme his Poetical Strain could fall on in those Times, and could not want Acceptance nor Credit, well-knowing in what Fame he stood, and that the weaker Annalists and Chroniclers, (of mean Learning and less Judgment) would boldly take it upon trust from his Pen; who *tanquam ignotum & servum pecus*, have follow'd him step by step without Consideration, or just Examination of their Occurrents and Consequents. And the Reputation of him and Dr. *Morton* (being both Lord Chancellors of England) might easily mislead men part blind, who have dealt with King *Richard*, as some trivial clawing Pamphleters, and Historical Parasites, with the magnificent Prelate *Thomas Wolsey* Cardinal and Archbishop of York, a man of

*In scriptis
dici. Rd.
Cotton.*

1485. very excellent Ingredients and without Peer in his time; yet his Values had the sting of much Detraction, and the worth of his many glorious good Works interpreted for Vices and Excesses; to such it must be said, *quod ab ipso allatum est, id sibi relatum esse putant*. And if their Injustice suffer under the same lash, they must know this doom hath the credit of an Oracle, *quale verbum dixisti tale etiam audies*.

But so much Gall and Envy is thrown upon King Richard's Story, as cannot possibly fall into the Style of an ingenious and charitable Pen; all his Virtue is by a malicious Alchymy substracted into Crimes, and where they necessarily fall into mention, either scornfully transmitted or perverted; with injurious Constructions, not allowing him the Resemblance of Goodness or Merit: If his Disposition be Affable and Curteous, (as generally it was, which their own Relations cannot deny) then he insinuates and dives into the Peoples Hearts: so where he expresses the Bounty and Magnificence of his Mind, it is a subtle Trick to purchase Friendship; let him conceal the Knowledge of his Injuries, and his Patience is deep in Hypocrisie; for his Mercy and Clemency extended to the highest Offenders, (as to *Fogge* the Attorney, who had made a Libel against him, besides the Counterfeiting of his Hand and Seal) they were but palliated, and his Friendship merely a Court Brow. They have yet a more captious and subtle Calumny, reproaching the Casting of his Eyes, Motions of his Fingers, Manner of his Gesture, and his other natural Actions.

I confess with *Cicero* that *status, incessus, sessio, officio, lib. 1. occubatio, vultus, oculi, manuum motio*, have a certain kind of Decorum; but he makes it not a Vice to erre in any of them, nor that any Errour committed in them was a Vice; altho' in him it must be so defined by the Laws of *Utopia*: Nay, they will dissect his very Sleeps, to find Prodigious Dreams and Bug-bears; (Accidents frequent to themselves) which they dress in all the Fright and Horrour Fiction and the Stage can add, who would have sung *Pans* to his Glory, had his Sword brought Victory from *Bosworth* Field: But now, their Envy is born with him from his Mother's Womb, and delivers him into the World with a Strange prodigy of Teeth; altho' (I am perswaded) neither *Dr. Morton*, nor *Sir Thomas Moore* ever spake with the Dutches his Mother, or her Midwife, about the matter.

But if true; it importeth no reason why those early and natalitious Teeth should presage such Horrour and Guilt to his Birth when we shall remember those many Noble and Worthy Men who have had the like, (without any Impuration of Crime) as *Marcus Curius Sirnath* thereupon *Dentatus*, *C. Papianus*, King of the *Epirots* (a Prince much renown'd for his Victories and Virtues) *Menodas* Son of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, born with an intire Semicircular Bone in their Mouths, instead of Teeth: then they aggravate the Pangs of the Dutches in her Tra-

vail with him: which had not been sufferable without Death, if so extream and intolerable, as they would have them thought for,

Quod ferri potest leve est; quod non, breve est.
What can be born is light; what cannot, short.

But she overcame them and lived almost Fifty Years after; others have died in that Bed, yet the Children nor made Guilty of Murther; *Julia* the Daughter of *Julias Caesar*, Wife to great *Pompey*, *Juliola* the dear Daughter of *Marcus Cicero*, Wife of *Dolabella*, and *Junia Claudilla* the Empreß, and Wife of *Caligula*, died all of the Difficulties and Extremity of their Child-bearing; so did *Q. Elizabeth* Wife of King *Henry VII.* and since the Mother of that most towardly and hopeful Prince *Edward VI.* in travail of his Birth; with many Thousands more, whose Deaths (much less their Pains) were never imputed to their Children.

The next Objection is somewhat of more regard, (but as far without the certainty of a Proof) which is the pretended Deformity of his Body, controverted by many; some peremptorily asserted he was not deformed, of which Opinion was *John Stow*, a Man indifferently inquisitive (as in all their other Affairs) after the verbal Relations and Persons of Princes, and curious in his Description of their Features and Lineaments, who in all his Inquiry could find no such Note of Deformity in this King: but hath acknowledged *viva voce*, that he had spoken with some ancient Men, who from their own Sight and Knowledge affirmed he was of bodily Shape comely enough, only of low Stature, which is all the Deformity they proportion so monstrously; neither did *John Rouse* who knew him, and writ much in his Description observe any other: And *Archibald Chaitlaw*, Ambassador unto this King from Scotland, in his Oration says, he had *corpus exiguum*; not otherwise; so (to my conceit) *Philip de Comines* and the Prior of *Croyland* (who had seen and known this Prince) seem to clear him implicatively; for in all their Discourses of him, they never directly nor indirectly, covertly or appertly, insinuate this Deformity which (I suppose) they would not have passed: And by his sundry Pictures which I have seen, there was no such Disproportion in his Person or Lineaments, but all decently compacted to his Stature, his Face of a warlike Aspect, (which *Sir Thomas Moore* calleth a crabbed Visage) of all the Children being said to be most like his Father in favour and composition of Shape, who tho' not tall was of an even and well-disposed Structure.

And *Sir Thomas Moore* himself, doth not certainly affirm the Deformity, but rather seems to take it as a Malitious Report; for, saith he, King *Richard* was deformed as the Fame ran by those that hated him; *habemus remum consistentem*, and surely it had been a strange kind of Confidence and Reason in *Dr. Shaw*, || to disclaim a thing which must be so palpable, openly in the

† *Sir Thomas Moore* describes him thus: He was little of Stature, ill featur'd of Limbs, Crook-back'd, his Left Shoulder much higher than his Right, hard favour'd of Visage, the Dutches his Mother, had so much ado in her Travel, that she could not be Deliver'd of him uncut; he came into the World with his Feet forward, and not Untoother'd.

Holinshead's Description of him is much the same: He was small and little of Stature of Body greatly deform'd, the one Shoulder higher than the other; His Face was small but his Countenance Cruel, and such as at the first aspect a Man would judge it to favour and smell of Malice, Fraud and Deceit.

|| *Mr. Buck* cannot avoid erring; there is no mention even in *Dr. Shaw's* Speech of King *Richard's* being like his Father in the Body, 'tis said in the Face only. His Words were "The very Noble Prince, the Special Pattern of "Knighly Prowess, as well in all Princely Behaviour as in the Lineaments and Favour of his Visage, representing the "very Face of the Noble Duke of *Berk*, his Father. Hol. p. 728. *Sir Thomas Moore* writes, That the People instead of Applauding this Haçangue, stood amaz'd at the Preacher, who for mere Shame hid himself, and not long after pin'd away to Death. Hist. of Edw. V. and Rich. III.

1485. Pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, whilst the Protector was present, before many Hundreds of People, (who had seen and known him before) and might then better view and note him; In these words, 'The Lord Protector is a very noble Prince, the special Pattern of Knightly Prowess, as well in all Princely Behaviour as in the Lineaments of his Body and in the Favour of his Visage, representing the very Face of the Noble Duke his Father; this is the Father's own Figure, this is his own Countenance, the very sure and undoubted Image and express Likeness of that Noble Duke.

Socrates, Aesopus, Epictetus, Galba a great and excellent Captain of the Romans, all of deformed Stature.

Now, what can Malice extract out of this, to upbraid or stigmatize his Honour; if Men of blemish'd Persons may contain a Wise, Valiant, Learned, Liberal and Religious Soul; and be in every Part most absolute, exampled to us in many famous Men, and at our Home (as well in this present Age as in the more ancient) we have had Men of a harsh Fabrick, most nobly furnish'd in the Composures of their Minds.

But because these Cavils could not fetch Blood from him, they will make him guilty of other Men, and first of King Henry VI. whose Murther they say (and very favourably) his Brother Edward contrived, but wrought him to act it; an Accusation of very harsh Credit, that either King Edward, so truly noble and valiant a Prince, should put a Prince and his own Brother, upon so horrid a Thing, or he indure to hear it. Sir Thomas More holds King Edward would not engage his Brother in so butcherly an Office, there being many Reasons that he durst not, neither do his Adversaries charge him directly by any credible Author of that Time, † or discover by whom this Murther was; only the Prior of Croyland maketh it somewhat suspicious.

Chron. Croyland.

Hoc tempore inventum est corpus regis Henrici sexti exanime in turre Londinaria. Parcat Deus, & spatium penitentie ei donet quicunque sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini ausus immittere, unde & agens tyranni & patiens gloriosi martyris titulum mereantur.

That is, "At this Time the Body of King Henry VI. was found Dead in the Tower of London. May God spare, and give time of Repentance to him, who hath dared to lay Sacrilegious Hands upon the Lord's Anointed, whence the Actor hath merited the Title of a Tyrant, as the Sufferer that of a Glorious Martyr.

Tyrannus in the proper Construction, being Rex, for whosoever is Rex is Tyrannus, according to the ancient Signification; for amongst the Greeks *Tyrannos* was used for a King simply, good or bad, and this (some hold) makes against King Edward; Richard being Duke of Gloucester then, yet so doubtfully as may be refuted by good Authority; for it is the Opinion of very grave Men, Henry VI. was not murther'd, but died of natural Sicknes, and extream Infirmitie of Body.

Idem Croyland.

Rex Henricus sextus, ab annis jam multis ex accidente sibi. agitudine quandam animi incurreret infirmitatem, & sic aeger corpore & impositis mentis permansit diutius; i. e. King Henry VI. for many

Years, by reason of a Sicknes which had befallen him, had contracted a certain Weakness of Mind, and so remain'd for a long time both diseased in Body and distempered in Mind. This consider'd with the Aggravation of his Grief and Sorrow, || in the loss of his Crown and Liberty (being then a Prisoner) the Overthrow of all his Friends and Forces in the Battel of Tewkesbury, but (above all) the Death of his Son the Prince, might master a stronger Heart and Constitution than his, in a shorter time; which Opinion is receiv'd and alledged by a learned and discreet Gentleman.

The occasion of the Murther of King Henry VI. hath no other Proof but the malicious Affirmation of one Man; for many other Men more truly did suppose that he died of mere Grief and Melancholy, when he heard the Overthrow of his Cause and Friends, with the Slaughter of the Prince his Son: And *Johannes Majerus* saith it was reported, King Henry VI. died of Grief and Thought. Concerning the Slaughter of the Prince his only Son, it is noted to be casual, and made sudden by his own Insolence, not out of any pretended Malice or premeditated Treachery, and so it cannot be called Wilful Murther; for the King demanding him why he invaded his Kingdom, his Reply was, he might, and ought to do it, in defence and preservation of the Right, which the King his Father and his Heirs had in the Crown; and maintain'd this lofty Answer so peremptorily and boldly, the King in rage struck him with his Fist, (as some say armed with a Gantlet) and instantly the Noblemen attending, as *George Duke of Clarence*, *Marquess Dorset*, the Lord Hastings and others, drew their Swords upon the Prince and killed him; which they would make the particular fact of Duke Richard.

But to the contrary, I have seen in a faithful Manuscript Chronicle of those times, † That the Duke of Gloucester only of all the great Persons, stood still and drew not his Sword; the Reasons to credit this are, first it might be in his mere Sense of Honour, seeing so many drawn upon him, there was no need of his; or in his respects to the Prince's Wife, who (as *Johannes Majerus* saith) was in the Room and near a kin to the Dutches of York his Mother, and to whom the Duke was also very Affectionate, (tho' secretly) which he soon after demonstrated in marrying her; nay, this Duke bore such a Sense of noble Actions in his Bosom, that misliking the obscure and mean Burial of Henry VI. this Prince's Father, he caus'd his Corps to be taken from Chertsey, and to be honourably convey'd to the Royal and Stately Chappel of Windsor, ordain'd for Kings.

And Sir Thomas Moore saith further, He was suspected to have the contriving Part in the Duke of Clarence his Brother's Death, yet confesseth it was commonly said Richard oppos'd himself against the Unnatural Proceedings of the King, both privately and publickly; and the truth is, it was the King's own immovable and inexorable Doom who thought it justly and necessarily his due; for Clarence stood Guilty of many Treasons and great ones, and by

† Edward Hall writes, "Richard Duke of Gloucester as the constant Fame ran, (to the intent that his Brother King Edward might reign with more Surety) murder'd King Henry with a Dagger."

Sir Thomas Moore, "He slew with his own Hand King Henry VI. being Prisoner in the Tower, as was constantly said, without Commandment or Knowledge of the King. *Ibid.*

The Lord Bacon, speaking of the Ignominy offer'd his Corps at Leicester, "No Man thought it unworthy Him who had been the Executioner of King Hen. VI. that Innocent Prince with his own Hand. *Reign of Hen. VII.*

|| This, says Hulinthead, is recorded by some Persons altogether favouring the House of York.

† Edward Hall affirms he was murder'd by George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, &c.

* The Lord Bacon says, He was the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of Clarence his Brother.

1485. his Ingratitude had so forfeited himself to the King's Displeasure, that no Friend durst move in his Behalf; this the King did afterward acknowledge with some Discontent, when his Wrath had cooled, as we may guess in this Expression of his: *O infelicem fratrem, pro cuius salute nemo homo rogavit*; yet Polidor Virgil doth not rightly understand here as I conjecture by the Sequel; but let us interpret that a little, and take up another Accusation which puts into the way.

Polidor
Virgil.

That Richard Duke of Gloucester should scandal the Birth of the King his Brother with Bastardy, and alledge it for a special Matter in Dr. Shaw's Sermon, that he should fame King Edward IV. a Bastard, and that the Dutchess, his Mother had wanton familiarity with a certain Gentleman; this he might erroneously scatter in the Pulpit, and take it upon the like Intelligence, by which (in the same Sermon) he call'd her (to whom King Edward was betrothed before his Marriage with the Lady Grey) Elizabeth Lucy, whose Name was for a certain Ellenor Butler alias Talbot, so call'd by King Richard, and written in the Records.

Error of
Dr. Shaw.

That the
Duke of
Gloucester
rais'd not
the slan-
der a-
gainst
the Dut-
chess his
Mother,
nor of his
Brother's
Bastardy.

This Drift had been too gross for King Richard, to lay an Imputation of Whoredom upon his own Mother, (a Virtuous and Honourable Lady) being it cast also a Shame and Bastardy upon himself; for if she offended in one, she might as likely offend in another, and in the rest.

And to quit him of it, Sir Thomas Moore, Richard Grafton, Mr. Hall, say that King Richard was much displeased with the Doctor, when he heard the Relation, which the Duke of Buckingham also affirmed in his Speech to the Lord Mayor of London. That Dr. Shaw had incur'd the great displeasure of the Protector for speaking so dishonourably of the Dutchess his Mother.

That he was able of his own knowledge to say, he had done wrong to the Protector therein, who was ever known to bear a reverend and filial Love unto her: and to cut off all farther Doubt and Question, it was proved and is testified upon Records that George Duke of Clarence only rais'd this Slander in an extreme Hatred to the King his Brother; (many Jarrs falling between them) by which the King had a just cause to take notice of his Malice.

Visus est dux Clarentie magis, ac magis a regis presentia se subtrahere, in consilio vix verbum proferre, neque libenter bibere aut manducare in domo Regis, i. e. "The Duke of Clarence was observed more and more to withdraw himself from the Presence and Conversation of the King, to keep Silence in the Council, scarcely uttering one Word, and willingly neither to Eat nor Drink in the King's House.

* Anno 10.
Edward 4.

(a) Lib.

M. S. in

quarta. a-

pud Dom.

Rob. Cot-

ton.

(b) Chron-

icle,

Croyland.

(c) Loyal-

ty bind-

eth Me.

father Al-

lie. Quod

vulgo &

corrupte

Father in

Law dici-

ca.

When Richard even in that calamitous Time Henry VI. had overthrown King Edward in a Battle, * recover'd the Kingdom, and proclaim'd Edward an Usurper; so faithful was his Brother, that (a) he was proclaim'd Traitor for him; and (b) when Queen Margaret besieg'd the City of Gloucester with the King's Power, the Citizens stood at defiance with her Army, and told her it was the Duke of Gloucester's Town, who was with the King, and for the King, and for him they would hold it; his Loyalty bearing a most constant expression in this Motto (c) *Lou-also me lie*; which I have seen written by his own Hand and Subscribed, Richard Gloucester. The other was as constantly undermining of him, after confederated with the Earl of Warwick his Father Allie, who had turn'd Faith

from the King, and went into France, soliciting for Force against England; which they brought in, fought with the King and overthrew him, and so fiercely pursuing the Victory, that the King was forc'd to fly out of the Land: Clarence not so satisfied, (unless he might utterly supplant him) studied that Slander of Bastardy, to bring in himself an Heir to the Crown, which was proved and given in express Evidence against him, at his Trial and Attainder by Parliament, amongst sundry other Articles of High Treason.

Videlicet, That the said Duke of Clarence had In Parlia-
falsly and untruly Publish'd King Edward a Ba-
ment, An.
stard and not Legitimate to reign, that him-
17 Ed. 4.
self therefore was true Heir of the Kingdom, *vidit &*
the Royalty and Crown belonging unto him, *legit.*
and to his Heirs; these be the very words of
the Record, and enough to tell us who was the
Author of that Slander, and what important
Cause the King had to quit himself of Clarence;
a bitter Proof of the old Proverb, *fratrum inter Erasmus*
se iræ acerbissimæ sunt; and all the Favour Clarence *Chiliad.*
could at his end obtain, was to choose it, (as
John de Serres reporteth it) so that it was not *Joan. de*
the Duke of Gloucester, but the King's implaca-
Serres In-
ble Displeasure for his Malice and Treasons that
cut him off, who could not think himself secure
whilst he liv'd: Witness Polidor Virgil, *Edwar-*
das Rex post mortem fratris se a cunctis timeri a-
animadvertit, & ipse jam timebat neminem.
That is, "King Edward the Fourth after his
" Brother's Death, perceiv'd that he was feared
" by all, and himself now feared no Man.

Next, for the Murther of the two Sons of King Edward IV. Edward V. King in hope, and Richard of Shrewsbury Duke of York and Norfolk his younger Brother, they alledge it in this manner. *Who made a way the Sons of K. Edw. the Fourth.*

That King Richard, being desirous to rid those two Princes his Nephews out of the World; imploy'd his trusty Servant John Green to Sir Robert Brackenbury Lieutenant-Constable of the Tower, about the executing of this Murther; and by reason that Plot took no effect, (Sir Robert not liking it) the Protector suborn'd Four desperate Villains, John Dighton, Miles Forrest, James Tyrrell, and William Slater to undertake it, who, (as they further alledge) smother'd them in their Beds; which done, they made a deep Hole in the Ground, at the foot of the Stairs of their Lodging, and there buried them, hiding the place under an heap of Stones (not after the ancient manner of *tumulus testis*). Others vary from this, and say confidently, the Young Princes were Imbarked in a Ship at Tower-Wharfe, and convey'd from thence to Sea, so cast into the Black Deeps; others aver they were not Drown'd, but set safe on Shore beyond Seas. And thus their Stories and Relations are scatter'd in various Forms, their Accusations differing in very many and material Points, which shakes the Credit of their Suggestion, and makes it both fabulous and uncertain, one giving the Lye to the other, their Malice having too much Tongue for their Memories, and is worth the noting how opposite (and as it were) *ex Diametro* repugnant they are.

*In vulgus fama valuit filios Edwardi Regis ali-
quo terrarum partem migrasse, atq; ita superstites esse.* Polidor
Virgil, l.
2. 6.

Thus Polidor, with which Dr. Morton and Sir Thomas Moore agree in one place: The Man (say they) commonly called Perkin Warbeck was as well with the Princes as with the People, English and Foreign, held to be the younger Son of Edward IV. and that the Deaths of the young King Edward and of Richard his Brother, had come

Dr. Mor-
ton, Sir Tho.
Moore.

1485. come so far in question. as some are yet in doubt whether they were destroy'd or no, in the days of King Richard; By which it appears they were thought to be living after his Death. And as the act of their Death is thus uncertainly disputed, so in the manner of it controverted.

For Sir Thomas Moore affirmeth (as before reported) they were smother'd in their Beds with Pillows; but Pollidor saith peremptorily it was never known of what kind of Death they dy'd.

Another Author, and more Ancient, agreeth with them.

Vulgatum est Regis Edwardi pueros concessisse in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur; one reason of this may be that they who held Perkin Warbeck and Richard Duke of York to be all one,

give another Account of his Death, whereas if it had been certain these four before named for Assassines had murder'd them, than the Place, Time and Manner had been easily known upon their strict Examination, they living freely and securely, (and without question) long after this Murder was said to be done. * Therefore there can be no Excuse for this Neglect of Examination, much less for the suffering such to go unpunish'd and at liberty, which methinks maketh much for the clearing of King Richard.

As for the burying of their Bodies in the Tower †, if that be brought in Question, certes, the Affirmative will be much more hard to prove than the Negative.

* Sir James Tyrrell when he had murder'd the two Young Princes, rode in great hast to King Richard, and shew'd him all the manner of the Murther. The King gave him great Thanks, and as some say, Knighted him. Sir Tho. More's Hist. Edw. V. and Rich. III.

The Lord Bacon affirms of King Richard, "He was the Murderer of his two Nephews (One of them his Lawful King in the Present, and the Other in the Future failing of him)" Hen. VII.

Habington in his History of Edward IV. p. 229. writes, "His two Sons were Inhumanely murder'd, and as obscurely Buried."

† The Truth of this Burial of the Princes is now past Dispute; since the Bones of them have of late Years been found. For when, in the time of Chichester Master of the Ordinance, great heaps of Records of Bills and Answers lying in the Six Clerks Office were removed thence, to be repositied in the White Tower, and a new Pair of Stairs were making into the Chappel there, for the easier Conveyance of them thither, the Labourers in digging at the foot of the old Stairs came to the Bones of consumed Corps, cover'd with an heap of Stones; the Proportion of the Bones being answerable to the Ages of these two Royal Youths. The News of this Discovery, being brought to K. Charles II. he was so well satisfy'd that these must be those Princes Bones, that he caused them to be translated, and decently and honourably interred in Henry the Seventh's Chappel among their Royal Ancestors, the Kings and Princes of this Land. And this Discovery that Time hath made, makes it very probable, that the bloody Part of this commonly received History is true. They are repositied near two other Royal Children, Mary and Sophia the Daughters of King James I. And the Monument for them made of white Marble hath this Inscription in Capital Letters, Viz.

H. S. S.

"RELIQUIÆ EDWARDI VI. Regis Angliæ, & RICHARDI Ducis Eboracensis.
 "Has fratres germanos turri Londinensi conclusos, injeclisq; Culcistris suffocatos, abditè & inhonestè
 "tumulari jussit Patruus RICHARDUS perfidus Regni prado. Offa desideratorum dñe &
 "multum quæsitæ, post annos CXC & I, Sclatorum in rudetibus, (Scala ista ad Sacellum Turris
 "Alba nuper ducebant) aliè defossa, indicis certissimis sunt reperta XVII die Julii, Anno
 "Dom. MDCLXXIII. CAROLUS II. Rex Clementiss, acerbam sortem miseratus inter
 "avita Monumenta Principibus infelicissimis Justa persolvit, Anno Dom. MDCLXXVIII.
 "Annoq; Regni sui XXX. F. S.

And it adds a great Suspicion to K. Richard's Guilt of these Princes Bloods, that after the Queen Dowager had delivered her Son Duke Richard out of her own Custody, she still kept the Sanctuary in the Abby with her Daughters; and that for many Months after his Usurpation of the Crown. For there she was in the Month of March, which was Eight Months after, and could not as yet be perswaded to leave the Place. Which must needs be out of the Fear and Dread she had of K. Richard, and of some further Mischiefe to befall her and the rest of her Family. He in the meantime, thinking her Abiding here, might continue odious Reflections upon him from the People, laboured all he could to remove her thence. Insomuch that for her better Confidence and Satisfaction, I find in an Original Journal wherein the Transactions of his Reign are entred, that he solemnly Swore upon the Gospels, before an Assembly of Lord's Spiritual and Temporal (as it seems in Parliament time) the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London present, That if she would come from Sanctuary, she should be provided for by an Honourable Allowance; and that her Daughters should have no harm done to their Persons, nor be put into the Tower, but that he would marry them to Gentlemen. And further he caused all this to be drawn up in a Form in perpetuum rei Memoriam. Which was to this Tenor:

"Memorandum, That I Richard by the Grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Ireland, in the presence of you my Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, and the Mayor and Aldermen of my Cite of London, promitte and swere verbo Regis, upon these holy Evangelies of God by me personally touched, that if the Daughters of Dame Elizabeth Gray, late calling her self Quene of England, that is to wit, Elizabeth, Cecily, Anne, Katerin, and Briggitt, woll come unto me out of the Sanctuarie of Westminster, and be guided, ruled and demeaned ster me; than I shal see that they shal be in Suretie of their Lyffes; and also not suffer any maner hurt by any maner persone or persones to them or any of them, in their Bodies and Persones to be done, by wey of Ravishment or defouling, contrarie to their Willes, Nor them, or any of them, emprisoned within the Toure of London, or other prisonne; but that I shal put them in honest places of good name and fame, and them honestly and curtesly shal see to be founden and entreated; and to have al thynges requisite and necessary for their exhibicion, and findinges, as my Kynneswomen; and that I shal do marie suche of them as now ben mariable to Gentilmen borne, and overliche of them geve in marriage, Landes and Tenements, to the yerely valewe of CC Mark for terme of their Lyffes; and in likewise to the other daughters, when they come to lawful age of Marriage, if they lyff. And suche Gentilmen as shal happen to marie with them, I shal straitly charge from tyme to tyme lovingly to love and marryce them as their Wiffes and my Kynneswomen, as they woll advoid and eschue my displeasur. And over this, that I shal yerely from hensfurth content and pay, or cause to be contented and paid, for the Exhibicion and finding of the same Dame Elizabeth Gray, during her natural lyff, at four termes of the Yere, that is to wit, at Pasche, Midsummer, Mickelmesse, and Christenmesse, to John Nesfelde, one of the Squieres for my body, for his finding to attend upon her, the Summe of DCC Mark of Lawful Money of England, by even porcions.

"And moreover I promitte to them, that if any surmyse or evyl report be made to me of them, or any of them, by any persone or persones, that than I shal not geve thereunto faith no credence, nor therefore put them to any maner ponishment, before that they, or any of them so accused may be at their lawful Defence and answer. In witnesse whereof to this Writing of my Othe and Promise aforesaid, in their said Presences made, I have set my Signe Manuel, the first Day of March the first Yere of my Reigner.

It may also be taken notice of what extraordinary Gratifications the King granted to Tyrrell that common History reporteth to be the great Deviser, Procurer and Manager of this bloody Business, and to Brakenbury the Lieutenant of the Tower that was to conceal it. To this later were given the Manors of More Morden, Detling, and Newenton, of Crowthorne, and Cokered, and other Lands in Romney Marsh; all the Lands and Tenements in the County of Kent, and elsewhere, lately belonging to the Earl Rivers, the Chenies, and Walter Roberts, of the value of 117 l. 11 s. 4 d. And also the Manor of Mawdelyn near Berkhamsted in Bucks; And the Manor of Glassbury, value 22 l. 5 s. 3 d. The

King

King appointed him also Receiver, for his Truth, Sadness and Discretion (as the Letters ran) of the King's Issues, Profits and Revenues of his Lordships of *Middleton* and *Merden* in *Kent*. He had also, with the Constableness of the Tower, the Office of Master and Operator of the Monies, and Keeper of the Exchange within the Tower during his Life. He had also the Keeping of the Lions, with the Fees.

Sir *James Tyrrel* who was Knight of the King's Body, had the Office of Steward of the Lordships of *Lanemherby*, *Lanthefant*, *Newport*, *Wenloke*, and *Keweth Meridith* in *Wales*, and the Marches, for the term of Life; with the Wages, Fees, &c. accustomed, and to make Officers under him: He was also Chief Governor of *Glamorganshire*. He had also granted him (with one *Richard Gold*) the Ward and Marriage of *Rob. Arundel Trerise*, Son and Heir of *John Arundel Trerise*, Esq; with the Keeping of the Lands, Tenements and Manors, &c. during his Minority. He appointed him the Rule and guiding of the Castle of *Guisnes*: to have and occupy the said Charge during Pleasure, and in the Absence of the *L. Mountjoy* Lieutenant there. And a Commission was made to the Lieutenant, Coroner, Knights, Esquires and other Officers of the Shires of *Glamorgan* and *Morgannok*; to accept the same Sir *James* as their Governor and Leader, as he had been heretofore, notwithstanding the King sent him to *Guisnes*: and they to be ready with Horses and Harnes and Money, for Men to attend upon his Deputies, to do the King's Service, when they should be called. This was dated in *January*, Anno 2do. The King also sent him to *Flanders* for divers Matters concerning greatly the King's Weal. As the King thus gratified him with Gifts, and honoured him with Places and Offices of Trust, so he kept him as much at a distance as he could. He put him in great Trust in *Wales* against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Disturbances there. *Richard Vinors* Esq; the Chamberlain of *Carmarthen*, had order to content him Wages for Sevenscore Soldiers, being of Sir *James*'s Retinue; that is, to each after the Rate of 6 d. a Day: And to pay him 100 Mark Sterling, which he spent in the King's Service at his late being in those Parts by the King's Commandment. And lastly, I find him one of the Commissioners, with the Earl of *Huntington*, *Morgan*, *Ridwelly*, and others, to enter into all the Castles of the Principality of *Wales*, Earldom of *March*, and Dukedom of *Buckingham*, and other Traitors, in North and South *Wales*, and the Marches, and to seize all the said Traitors Goods and Castles. And a certain Livelihood in the Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwall*, being in Travers and Controversy, between Sir *James Tyrrel* and Sir *Tho. Arundel*; who being now a Traitor, the King sends to Sir *Piers S. Albyne*, committing unto him full Power and Authority to seize and enter upon the said Livelihood and Appurtenances, to the use and behalf of the said Sir *James* his full trusty Knight.

John Grene, one of the Yeomen of the King's Chamber, commonly said to be the King's Messenger to *Tyrrel*, to recommend this black Work to him, was made Receiver of the Lordship of the Isle of *Wight*, and of the Castle and Lordship of *Portchester*.

John Dighton, *Tyrrel*'s Horse-Keeper, that is said actually to assist at the Smothering of the Princes, had, by the King's Gift, the Bailifship of *Aiton* in the County of *Stafford*, with the Wages accustomed, during his Life.

Further, it is a Circumstance that Makes this King look like an Usurper, and one that comes wrongfully to the Crown, that he was jealous of the Affection and Obedience of the People. Which appears in his altering the common Form of the Oath of Fealty: and in the room thereof requiring the Oath to be taken in these Words, *Viz.*

"I become true and faithful Liegeman unto my Sovereign Lord *Richard* the Third by the Grace of God King of *England*, &c. and to his Heirs Kings of *England*, and to him and them my feith and trowth shal bere during my liff natural; and with him and in his cause and quarrel, at al times shal take his part, and be redy to lye and dy ayenst al earthly creatures; and utterly endeavour me to the resistance and surpressing of his Enemies, Rebels and Traitors, if I shal any know, to the uttermost of my Power, and nothing concele that in any wise may be hurting to his noble and royal Person. So God me help and these holy Evangelies. I S.

For true it is, there was much diligent Search made for their Bodies in the Tower: All places open'd and digg'd that was suppos'd, but not found. Then it was given out a certain Priest took up their Bodies and buried them in another Secret place not to be found; hereunto (but with better Decorum for the more Credit of this Assertion) they might have added it was done *sub sigillo confessionis*, which may not be revealed.

Sir *Thomas More*, seeing the Absurdities and Contrarieties of these Opinions, (as a Man puzzled and distracted with the Variety and Uncertainty thereof) concluded their Bodies were bestow'd God wot where, and that it could never come to light what became of them; *Hall* and *Hollinshead*, *Grafton* and the rest, confess, the very Truth hereof was never known: And (if there be a strict Inquiry into the Mystery) we shall discover, that they were neither buried in the Tower nor swallow'd in the Sea; for the Testimony and Relation of sundry grave and discreet Persons (and such as knew the Young Duke of *York*) will resolve us how he was preserved and secretly convey'd into a foreign Country; also alive many Years after the Time of this Imaginary Murder; to which may be added strong Authorities having laid down some Conjectures that may Answer the Inquiry after the other. And first, whereas it is said the Lord Protector before his Coronation procur'd this Murder; to refel and contradict that, there be certain Proofs, that the Princes were both living in the Month of *February* following the Death of their Father, which was ten Months after; for King *Edward* died in *April* before, and this is plain in the Records of the Parliament of Anno 1 *Rich. 3.* where there is mention made of this Prince, as

then living; and Sir *Thomas More* confesseth that they were living long after that time before said; But I conjecture *Edward* the eldest Brother liv'd not long after, but died of Sickness and Infirmary, being of a weak and sickly Disposition, as also was his Brother, which the Queen their Mother intimated in her Speech to the Cardinal *Bourchier*; and the weak Constitutions and short Lives of their Sisters may be a natural Proof to infer it probable enough this Prince died in the Tower, which some Men of these Times are the rather brought to think, certain Bones like to the Bones of a Child being found lately in a high desolate Turret, supposed to be the Bones of one of these Princes; Others are of Opinion it was the Carcass of an Ape kept in the Tower, that in his old Age had happen'd into that place to die in, and having clamber'd up thither, according to the light and idle manner of those wanton Animals, after when he would have gone down, seeing the Way to be steep and the Precipice so terrible, durst not adventure to descend, but for fear stay'd and starv'd himself; and although he might be soon miss'd and long sought for, yet was not easily to be found; that Turret being reckon'd a vast and damn'd place for the height and hard access, no body in many Years looking into it.

But it is no great Consequence to our purpose, whether it were the Carcass of a Child or of an Ape, or whether this young Prince died in the Tower or no; for wheresoever he died, why should it not be as probable he died of a natural Sickness and Infirmary, as for his young Cousin-german the Son and Heir of King *Richard*? many Reasons conducing why the qualities and kind of their Death might be the same, and near one Time, being even Parallels

Philip de Commines in his 6th Book says, *Il avoit fait Mourir les deux fils du Roi Edoard Son frere. He caus'd the two Sons of King Edward, his Brother to be murder'd.*

almost

1485. almost, and in their Humane Constitutions and Corporal Habitude sympathizing, of one Linage and Family, of one Blood and Age, of the same Quality and Fortune; therefore not unlikely of the same Studies, Affections, Passions, Distemperatures, so consequently subject to the same Infirmities, to which may be added equal and common Constellations, the same compa-tient and commoriant Fates and Times, and then there is Reason and Natural Cause they might both Die of like Diseases and Infirmity, and were not *Brachidasos*, taken away by Violence Secret, or Overt: For it may with as much Argument be suspected the Son of King *Richard*, (being in the like Danger of secret Violence for the same Cause as his Cousin was) might suffer so.

But to open the Circumstance a little nearer; What Danger could the Lives of those two Princes be to *Richard*? who was accepted King by a just Title, and his Nephews declared Illegitimate by the High Court of Parliament; and whilst they were reputed such by so Great and General a Conclusion, why should he be less Secure of them, than *Henry II.* was of *Robert E. of Gloucester*, base Son to *Henry I.*? or *Richard I.* of his base Brother *Geoffrey Plantagenet*? So although, *John of Gaunt* left base Sons, aspiring enough, yet they were of no Danger to the *Lancastrian* Kings; neither did *Henry VII.* or *Henry VIII.* stand in any Jealousie of *Arthur Plantagenet*: And surely *Richard III.* was as Valiant, Wise and Confident as any of his Predecessors, and had as little Cause to dread his Nephews, as they stood adjudged, or be more Cruel and Bloody; neither hath my Reading found any Bastards of *France* or *Spain*, who have aspired so publickly, only except *Don Eurique E. of Trastamara*, who was drawn into that Action by the violent Rages of the People, and by the Perswasions of the revolted States of *Castile*, to put down a Monster of Sovereignty the hateful and cruel Tyrant *Don Pedro*. But being Sir *Thomas Moore* and our best Chroniclers make it doubtful, whether these two Princes were so lost in King *Richard's* Time, or no, and infer that one of them was thought to be living many Years after his Death, that might be enough to acquit him; which Opinion I like the better, because it mentioneth the Survivance but of one of them.

Neither do our most credible Stories mention the Transportation of more than one into *Flanders*, nor had they reason; it will be sufficient if one of them survived him; more or less time: We will follow therefore the Examination of his Story, under the Opinion of those Times, and the Attestation of grave and credible Men, because it will be more conspicuous in the true and simple Narration of this one Brother; every Story being fraught with Reports concerning him, and few or none of his Brother, finding no mention of the Elder Brother's being in *Flanders*; but of the Younger's much, and of his other Adventures: The Prudent and Honorable Care of sending away his younger Brother, by some is ascribed to Sir *Robert Brakenbury*, by others to the Queen his Mother, and it may well be the Projection of them both, tho' no doubt there was the Advice and Assent of other well-affected Friends. And it is the more credible, the Queen wrought in it; for the Story of Sir *Thomas Moore* saith, she was before

1485. suspected to have had such a Purpose, which was objected to her by some of the Lords; and the Cardinal *Bourchier* told her the main Reason which made the Protector and Nobles so urging to have him sent to his Brother (being then in the Tower) was a Suspicion and Fear they had she would convey him forth of the Realm.

So then, it may be clearly suppos'd he was sent into a foreign Country, and that *Flanders* (as all our Stories testify), there commended to a liberal Education, under the Curature of a worthy Gentleman in *Warbeck*, a Town in *Flanders*, but kept very privately all the Life-time of his Uncle, his Friends not daring to make him of the Counsel. After his Death, knowing *Henry Richmond* a cruel Enemy to the House of *York*, for his better Safety was committed to the Care of † *Charles of Burgundy*, and his Dutcheß the Lady *Margaret* Aunt to the Prince, as formerly the Dutcheß of *York*, upon a like Cause of Fear and Jealousy had sent thither her two younger Sons *George* and *Richard*.

The Dutcheß being very tender to let this young Duke have all Princely and Vertuous Education in *Torney* in *Antwerp*, and after in the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, as he had been in *Warbeck*, &c. And with the greater Circumspection, because the Dutcheß of *Burgundy* had as jealous an Opinion of *Henry VII.* as the Queen Widow had of *Richard III.* Therefore, as yet, it was advised to conceal his Name and Quality: being not come to the Growth nor Age to have Experience in his own Affairs, much less to undertake an Attempt so Consequent and Mighty as the Recovery of a Kingdom: Neither were the Times and Opportunity yet ripe or propitious to fashion such an Alteration as was projected and must be produced, tho' there was pregnant Hope of an Induction to a Change of Government stirr'd by the King's Covetousness and some Acts of Tyranny, Grievance and Rebellions in the North and West Parts; not long after (which lent a seasonable Hand to these Designs) great Unkindness fell out betwixt *Charles* the French King and *Henry VII.* who so far provok'd the French that he besieg'd *Bulloign* with a great Army by Land and Sea, the Quarrel was of good Advancement to the Dutcheß of *Burgundy's* Plot, and brought the Duke of *York* better acquainted with foreign Princes and their Courts; who was sent into *France*, into *Portugal*, and other Places, where he was receiv'd and entertain'd like a Prince.

In which time such of the English Nobility as were interested in the Secret, and knew where this Prince resided, found some Opportunity to give him Assistance; and sent Sir *Robert Clifford* and Sir *William Barley* into *Flanders*, to give him a Visit and Intelligence of what Noble Friends he had ready to Serve him; tho' their more particular Errand was, to take a strict Observation of him, and such private Marks as he had been known by from his Cradle: there had been some Counterfeits, encouraged to take upon them the Persons of *Edward E. of Warwick*, and *Richard Duke of York*: But here the certainty of their Knowledge found him they look'd for, by his Face, Countenance, Lineaments and all Tokens familiarly and privately known to them; observing his Behaviour, naturaliz'd and heightned with a Princely grace, and in his Dis-

† This is an Errour, *Charles Duke of Burgundy* died An. 1477. Six Years before *Edward* the Fourth, and Duke *Richard* was in *England* when his Father King *Edward* died.

1485. course able to give them a ready Account of many Passages he had heard or seen whilst he was in England; with such things as had been done and discoursed very privately; speaking English very perfectly; and better than the Dutch or Wallonish: By which Sir Robert Clifford and the rest, found themselves so well satisfied, and were so well confirm'd, that they wrote to the Lord Fitzwater, to Sir Simon Mountford, and others (who had a good Opinion towards him) the full account of what they had observ'd *ex certa scientia, & supra visum corporis*. About this time (to intermix the Scene with more Variety and fill the Stage) some principal Persons, well affecting the Earl of Warwick, and hoping to get him forth of the Tower, (in purpose to make him King) had enticed a handsome young Fellow, one Lambert Simnel, of Lancashire, bred in the University of Oxford to become his Counterfeit; and so instructed him in the Royal Genealogy, that he was able to say as he was taught; maintain'd and abettedy chiefly, by the Viscount Lovel, the Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Sir Simon Prest, &c. who being presented to the Duke and Dutchesse of Burgundy, and by them honourably entertain'd, drew to him in Flanders, one Martin Squart, a Captain of very eminent Parts, and some Forces, with which he made over into Ireland, where they receiv'd him as Edward Earl of Warwick, as he was of many here an honest Auld when the Deceit was discover'd, the Excuse was, Those Lords but used this Counterfeit of the Earl for a Colour, whilst they could get him out of the Tower to make him King. But the Veil is easily taken from the Face of such Impostors, Examples giving us light in many, for tho' some Men may, all cannot be deceiv'd. So Pseudo Agrippa in the Time of Tiberius, was soon found to be Clemens the Servant of Agrippa; tho' very like to him; and Pseudo-Nero in Otho's Time, who took upon him to be Nero reviv'd, was quickly unmask'd.

Don Tacitus Historicus. Counterfeit Princes,

Its writ- ten by the old Historians that King Harold was not slain at the Battle of Hastings by the Conquerors; but that he survived and went to Jerusalem, &c. But it not importeth whether he were the true Harold or Pseudo-Harold; because he never came to claim any thing in England,

Julianus Paterculus heathen of a certain ambitious Counterfeit in Macedonia, who call'd himself Philip, and would be reputed the next Heir of the Crown; but was discover'd and Nicknam'd Pseudo-Philippus. Also in the Reign of Commodus One pretended to be *Sextus Claudius*, the Son of *Maximus*; with many such that are obvious in old Stories; and many of the like stamp have been here convicted in England; which bred the greater Jealousy of this Richard; when he came first to be heard of; tho' those Jealousies proceeded not from the detection of any Fraud in him, but of the late Imposture of the said Lambert, the Shoemaker's Son; and the Abuse of the Comploters; for the Kingdom having been abused with those Pseudo-Chlorenches, had reason to be doubtful of every unknown Person which assumed the name of Greatness; in regard whereof many shrink in their Opinions from this Perkin; or Richard; many others suspecting their Belief, were very curious to inform themselves; who the further they enquired, were the more confirm'd, that he was no other but the second Son of Edward IV. against whom those of the harder Credulity, objected it as an Impossibility, that this young Duke could be convey'd out of the Tower, so long, and so conceal'd; which the wiser sort could easily answer by many ancient Example, which gives us divers Relations of Noble Children preserv'd more admirably. And this young Duke himself, in his own behalf when such Objections were made against him, did alledge to James King of Scotland, the History of *Joab*, mention'd in the Book of the Kings, and that most special one of *Moses*:

Which the Dutchesse his Aunt, Sister German to his Father, was strongly confirm'd in, giving him all answerable and honourable Accommodation; so did the chief Nobility of those Parts, and as an Heir of the House of York, there was render'd him the Title of *La-Rose-Blanch*, the proper and ancient Device of the House of York; withal, a gallant guard of Souldiers was allowed him for Attendance, and much was he favour'd by the Arch-Duke Maximilian, King of the Romans, by Philip his Son Duke of Burgundy, Charles the French King, the King of Portugal and Scotland, by the chieftest of Ireland, and many Personages in England, who at extreme Peril and Hazard, avow'd him to be the second Son of Edward IV.

The Princes aforementioned, readily supplying him with Coin and Assistance towards his Achievements. King Henry actively apprehends what it threatned, and bestirs himself to take off their Inclinations dispatching Dr. William Warham (after Archbishop of Canterbury) with Sir Edward Poynings, a grave and worthy Knight, to under-rate his Credit with those Princes; and such strong Perswasions were used, that Philip Duke of Burgundy (for his Father Maximilian was before return'd into Austria) utterly declines himself and his Subjects from his first Engagement, but excepted the Widow Dutchesse of Burgundy, over whom he had no Power of Command, because she had all Justice and Jurisdiction in those large Signiories, whereof her Dowry was compos'd.

And thus Richard was supplanted here; what hope of Aid he had, or did expect by his Voyage into Portugal, I cannot say, tho' his Entertainment there was honourable: But by reason of the distance of the Country, it may be thought he was to build little upon any from thence, his chief Confidence and Refuge being in England and Ireland, where he had a good Party, and sail'd with a pretty Fleet into Ireland; there he was welcom'd and receiv'd as the second Son of The King Edward; some of the Geraldins and other Great Lords in Ireland, proposing to make him their King: To overtake him betimes there too, Dr. Henry Denke, Abbot of Lanthory (a very wise and able Man) was sent and made Chancellor of Ireland; with him went the said Sir Edw. Poynings, who so actively bestir'd themselves, that in short time they drew the Irish from Perkin, so that now he must return Home; but by the Way, was encouraged to apply himself to James King of Scotland, whither forthwith he directs his Hopes, and found his Entertainment answerable to them; the King receiving him very nobly by his Title of Duke of York, calls him Cozen, with Promises to give him strong Footing in England, and (in earnest of his better Intents) bestow'd in Marriage upon him the most noble and fair Lady Katherine Gordon his near Kinswoman, Daughter of Alexander Earl of Huntly. This came home very sharply to King Henry, who knew King James to be a Prince so wise and vallant, that no easy Delusion could abuse him.

And true it is, King James was very precise in his Consideration of this young Duke; but very clearly confirm'd before he would acknowledge him, to King Henry is very studious how to thwart the Event of this Scene and fasten the King, but casts his Confidence again upon the fortune of his Judgment; and sends many Protestations, with rich Promises to King James for Perkin (for so we shall now call him with the Times) which took small effect at first; but King Henry (being a Man pregnant to find any Advantage, and One whose Providence would

1485.

The Pr-
tice of H.
VII. with
the Duke
of Burgun-
dy.Means u-
fed by H.
VII. to
prevent
the Pra-
tices of
Perkin in
Ireland.This Lady
was so
rarely fair
and lovely
that K. H.
VII. won-
der'd at
her Beau-
ty, and was
enamour'd
of her
sending
her to Lon-
don to be
safely kept
till his re-
turn out
of the
West-
Countries
where he
then was
and first
saw her.
K. Hen-
ry was not
of an emolous
Complexion

1485. wou'd not let it die) remembers the strong Affinity and Friendship betwixt King James and Ferdinando King of Castile, one of the most Noble Princes then living. At that time too, it happen'd so happily, there was a Treaty and Intelligence betwixt Henry VII. and Ferdinando, for proposition of a Marriage of Arthur the Prince of Wales, and Katharine Daughter of King Ferdinando. This Occasion no sooner offer'd it self to his Consideration, but a Post was dispatch'd to Castile, with Letters and Instructions, to give the King to know what had pass'd between him and King James of Scotland, urging him to use the Power and Credit he had with him, for the Delivery of Perkin to himself. Which Ferdinando undertook, and sends Don Pedro Ayala (not one Peter Hialas, or Peter Hayles) as our vulgar Stories have (a wise and learned Man, and of a very Noble House) who so ably used his Brain in this Employment, that King James pass'd to him his Promise, to dismiss Perkin to his own Fortunes, but would by no means deliver him to the King.

Thus Perkin was again supplanted *Virtute vel dolo*, and of necessity driven into Ireland, where he was formerly receiv'd and entertain'd; Whilst they were agitating their first Plot of setting him King, Charles the French King sends to him Lois de Laques and Estienne Friant to offer him his Friendship and Aid: With this good News Perkin hasten'd into France, where he found his Welcome very honourable, as befitting a Prince, a Guard appointed to attend him, of which Monsieur Congre-Salle was Captain. Before this King Henry had threatned France with an Army, but now upon a better View and Deliberation, foreseeing what this had in it, he propounds very fair Conditions for a Peace with the French King, which the French King was willing to entertain, and so it was concluded. Perkin after this began to think the King shorten'd his Respects, and look'd upon him (as it were) but *Imagine lusca*, with half a Countenance; and fearing there might be some Capitulation in this new League, that might concern his Liberty, privately quits Paris, returning to his Aunt of Burgundy. Altho' Perkin was thus shorten'd in his Foreign Expectations, he had those both in England and Ireland, that much favour'd him and his Cause, making another Voyage into Ireland, but return'd with his first Comfort; for though they stood constantly affected and were willing, the King's Officers curb'd them so, they could not stir.

From Ireland he sail'd into England, landing at Bodmin in Cornwall, the Cornish and Western Men thereabouts receiving him very gladly, proclaiming him King of England and of France, &c. by the Title of Richard the Fourth (as he had been proclaim'd before in the North Parts of England, by the Council and Countenance of the King of Scots). Out of Cornwall he marches into Devonshire to Exeter, to which he laid Siege, having then about 5000 Men in his Army; but the King's being at Hand and far stronger, he was forc'd to rise from the Siege; upon which those few Friends he had left (finding his Want, and the King with greater Strength approaching) forsook him to provide for themselves. Thus abandon'd, no way before him but Flight, and being well mounted, with a Train of some Forty or Fifty resolute Gentlemen, recovers the Abbey of Beaulieu in Hampshire, where he took Sanctuary, from which the King's Party who pursued him, wou'd violently have surpris'd him; Which the Abbot and Religious Persons wou'd not endure as a thing too foul against their Privilege. The King after sends to him

Proffers of Favours and Mercy, with Promises of such Honour and Condition as drew him to the Court, where the King look'd upon him with a very gracious and bountiful Usage as a Noble Person: But his prompting Jealousies and Fears soon cast a dulness over this first Favours and Promises; then a Guard must be set upon Perkin and his usual Freedom restrain'd: These were harsh Presages (he thought) which so justly mov'd his Suspicion and Discontent that he thought Sanctuary again must be his best Safety, and passing by the Monastery of Shrene, he suddenly slips into it from his Guard; whither the King sends unto him with Perswasions of the first courtly and honourable Tincture; but Perkin that had discern'd the Hook, was not easily to be tempted with the Bait this second time.

Then the King dealt with the Prior for him, who would not yield him, but upon faithful promise from the King to use him with all Favour and Grace, which was protested, although Perkin no sooner came into his Power again but he was sent to the Tower, where his Imprisonment was made so hard and rude, that it much dejected and troubled him; oftentimes in private and with piercing Groans; having been heard to wish himself born the Son of any Peasant; and indeed, every one could tell he far'd the worse for his Name, it being an Observation of those Times, that there was Three Men most fear'd of the King, Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, Perkin, alias Richard Plantagenet, and Edmond de la Poole, Son of King Edward's Sister, all of the Family of York, but most of all Perkin, being of a more active Spirit, so more sensible of his Wrongs than the other, and cost the King more Consultation and Treasure in the working him into his Hands; therefore answerably aggravated his Miseries and Disgraces which now began to exceed; for he was not only sharply restrain'd in the Tower, but the Fame was the Question *dr * Gebenne * Rack* was given him: † Sometimes he was taken forth † The Ld. and carried in most ignominious manner abroad *Perulam* to be set in the Pillory, otherwhile in the Stocks; *says he* after all these bitter and cruel Punishments (to set in the pull down his Stomach) there was sent some unto him of purpose to perswade his Submission to the King's Mercy; and by renouncing his Blood, Birth and Title, to confess himself no other but Perkin Warbeck, the Son of a base Flemming; which he scorning and denying, his Sufferings were made more rigorous, and he lodg'd poorly and basely, as meanly fed, worse clad, untill at length by Torments and Extremities he was forc'd to say any thing, and content to unlay what they would have him, to accuse himself by a forc'd Recantation of his Family, Name, and Royal Parentage; this must be compell'd too under his Hand, then to be brought by the Officers unto the most publick Places of London and Westminster, to suffer as before related, and with a loud Voice to read the same, which might pass and might at present with the Multitude for current, who knew not how it was forced from him; nor had Judgment enough to know and consider, that Racks and Tortures have made very able Men accuse themselves and others unjustly. Seneca telleth of a Man who being suspected of Theft, was enforced by Torture to confess the Theft and his Fellow Thieves; but having none, he accused the good and just Cato, to avoid the Torture; nay, (which is a thing of more horror) it maketh Men by false Oaths to blaspheme God; therefore St. Augustine inveigheth sharply against the cruel Use of it, and amongst many other Sins which he findeth in it, this is one.

1485. Tortus si diutius nolet sustinere. Tormenta, quod non commisit, se commississe dicit.

August, in
Civitate
Dei.

The tortured gladly doing this the sooner to exchange those Torments with Death, as the far less Pain.

And therefore this young Man may be excusable in what he did against himself, his Youth being ignorant of these high Points of Honour, and could not yet be confirm'd in any brave and firm Resolution, nor happily in Religion, and the worse also by the reason of his long imprisonment and heavy Trouble, having no Counsel to strengthen him, nor so much as in Charity to comfort him, but left a miserable desperate forlorn Man, and fear'd to be so for ever, and at the best. And if learned grave Men, Men of Grace, having large Talents of Spirit and Science, for fear of such Punishments, have denied some chief Points of Christian Faith, yet have been excused for the Torture sake, (of which we have testimony in Ecclesiastical Stories) what may a tender and unexperienc'd Youth do? For which just Causes, the best Doctors of the Civil Law, and also of Theology, condemn and abhor the use of Torture, as having a further Mischief in it, and is *Arcanum Gehennæ* a secret of Torture or of Hell.

The
French call
Torture
la Gehenne.

For when the Prisoner's Body by extreme Torment is brought into any mortal State or Symptom of Death, or made incurable and deadly, then to avoid the Imputation of Murder, the Prisoner by a short and private Process is condemn'd of some capital Crime, and presently executed, whilst there is yet some Life in him; and to that Censure *Perkin* at last came; for nothing could serve but his Blood, his Confession being only extorted from him to persuade the People he was an Impostor; and because they could not lay hold of his Life by the Course of Law or Justice (being not attainted nor condemn'd of any capital Crime). This Scruple being a little consider'd, there was found out a way to remove that, and Matter enough to make him guilty of a capital Offence: For which purpose it was devised there shou'd a practice of Escape be offer'd him; and because the Case of *Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick* was like unto his, and as well wish'd, being not attainted of any Crime, he also must desire to escape, that Device being the only matter of Guilt or capital Crime which was wanting, and might be (as it were) created for them the more colourably to effect their Executions; there not wanting Instruments for that purpose, to betray their innocent Confidence, whose Imprisonment had lain so heavily and cruelly upon them, that they were easily persuaded to catch at any hope of Liberty.

Turk and
Warwick
Parallels.

Some say the Earl of *Warwick* at his Arraignment was charg'd with persuading the other to make his Escape, but sure it is, they both gladly hearken'd to the Motion of it, and were soon after accused as guilty of Practice and Conspiracy to escape out of the Tower, so for the same arraign'd and condemn'd to Die; tho' great difference was put in their Process and Execution; for the Earl of *Warwick* was try'd by his Noble Peers, and had the Supplice of a Nobleman, in an honourable Place, the Tower of London: *Per-*

kin, alias *Richard*, by a Common Jury, who are Men (many times) of little Honesty, and to suffer at the common and infamous Place, *Tyburn*, by the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, to confirm the People he was what they condemn'd him for: For his Nick-name was supposed to have utterly disnobled him, and (as it were) divested him of all his Noble Blood and Titles, the Condition of an Impostor serving best for a Cloak against that Purple Shower, which was at the Fall and Cruel Usage of this miserable Prince*.

It may be thought the Earl of *Warwick* had as shamefully suffer'd, if the Wit and Malice of the Cardinal could have reach'd to have made him a Counterfeit: But all Men knew, he was not only a true and certain Prince, but free from all Practice, (b) yet he was restrain'd of his Liberty, and a Prisoner the most part of his Life, from the time of his Father's Attainder until he suffer'd; this was after they had surviv'd King *Richard* their Uncle about Fifteen Years.

Now for their Offence, the learned Judges will tell us of what Nature and Quality it is call'd in Law.

Some holding an Escape to be but an Error, The a natural dislike of Bondage, or a Forfeit of Simplicity, proceeding from a natural and very tolerable desire of Liberty, which Opinion is contingent to Right; and the Cause of these two Princes may also be the better receiv'd, if it be well consider'd, that this Plot of their Escape was not projected by themselves, but cunningly propounded to them by proper Instruments (being young and unexperienced) to entangle them in some capital Offence, and so of Death, of which kind of Offences they stood clear before, not once accused, having never been indicted or attainted of any thing Capital. Therefore now their Innocence must be made guilty; and in this I say no more than all our Historians or others say, who agree in one Opinion, That the King could not take away the Lives of *Perkin Warbeck* and the Earl of *Warwick*, until this Practice of their Escape was laid to them, and they made guilty thereof. Therefore they were not Traytors before, neither was *Perkin* now to be thought a Counterfeit, but a Prince of the Blood, claiming the Crown; for otherwise, he was *Perkin of Flanders*, a base Fellow and a most culpable and notorious Traytor; then what need they look further for a Crime to put him to Death? And if he were not a Traytor surely it was a Tyranny to make, of an innocent and guiltless Man, a guilty Felon, and by Trains and Acts to forge an Offence out of nothing. For doubtless an innocent and true Man may seek Freedom; and purpose an Act of Escape, also commit it, and yet be still an Honest Man, and a Faithful Good Subject; for Nature and Reason teacheth and alloweth all Men to eschew Injuries and Oppression.

Besides this Practice of those Young Men, to escape, was found (as *Polidore* well observeth) *Crimen Alienum*, and not *Crimen proprium*; then how much greater was the wrong, to take away their Lives.

But however it may be laid upon them, it was nothing but a Desire of Liberty out of Durance, in which they were kept for a small, or no Offence.

* He openly read his Confession, and took it upon his Death to be true, that he was an Impostor. *Ld. Verulam, Hen. VII. Holinhead*, relates, That he and *John a Water*, Mayor of *Cork*, took it on their Deaths to be true, what they had confess'd and ask'd the King's Pardon.

(b) A notorious Falsity; He was Tried for endeavouring to escape with *Perkin*, and to raise Sedition and destroy the King; to which Indictment he pleaded guilty. *Ld. Verulam Hen. VII.*

1485. The Civil Law holdeth Suspicion of Flight or Escape to be no crime. *Suspicio fugæ quia, non solet detrimentum, reipublicæ adferre, non censetur crimen*; so Ulpian. And by the Laws of England, if a Prisoner do escape, who is not imprisoned for Treason or Felony, but some lesser Fault of Trespas, according to the Old Law of England.

Just. Stan-
ford in
pleas de la
Corone, lib.
1. cap. 26.
27.

Escape non adjudicabitur versus eum, qui commissus est Prisonæ, pro transgressione. Escape shall not be adjudged for Felony or other Crime, in one who is committed for Trespas.

For the Offence of the Escape is made in the Common Law, to be of the same Nature and Guilt with the Crime whereof the Prisoner is attainted: And certainly, neither the Earl of Warwick, nor Richard, alias Perkin were attainted of Treason or Felony, &c. before

But to close this Dispute and Tragedy, not long after, some of the Instruments that betray'd them into this, as Walter Blunt, Thomas Astwood, Servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, finished at Tiburn, because they should tell no Tales.

And to this succinct Relation, there can be no better Testimony than the Hands of those Witnesses, who have seal'd their Confession and Knowledge with their Bloods: Men of all Conditions and Estates, all maintaining at the last Gasps, that Perkin was the true Duke of York; whose Affirmations I will produce, give me but

Whether leave, by the way, to answer one Objection or Cavil brought against this Duke, call'd in scorn Perkin Warbeck. A new Writer affirming him to be an Impostor, whose Learning may be as much mistaken in this as other things, tho' he laid a great pretence to Knowledge, especially in the History of England and other Countries. Indeed his Judgment and Reading are much express'd alike in his Pamphlet, which he calls [The History of Perkin Warbeck,] wherein he forfeits all his Skill, to make him a Parallel in adverse Fortune and supposed base Quality, to the unhappy Don Sebastian late King of Portugal, who he also protests an Impostor. And to arrive at this huge Knowledge, he wou'd have us think, he took much pains in the sifting of Authors; and indeed I think he did sift them, concerning his Ignorance in the Case of Don Sebastian (if he be not too wise to be inform'd). I will urge some Reasons on Don Sebastian's side, who was King of Portugal; and invading the Kingdom of Barbary, Anno Dom. 1584, was overthrow'n in a fierce and bloody Battle in the Fields of Alcazer, by the King of Morocco, where it was thought he was slain, but escaped and fled secretly travestise or disguised; traveling in that manner through many parts of Africa and Asia some Thirty Years; in which Time and Travel he suffer'd much, liv'd in Captivity and Misery, but at last got away into Europe, with purpose to have got into Portugal (if possible) to repossess the Kingdom.

In his Return he came to Venice, there discover'd himself, and desires aid of the Venetian States: They entertain'd him as a Prince distressed, gave him Good Words, but durst not lend him Assistance, fearing the King of Spain; yet the chief Senators and many of the wisest of the Signiory made no doubt of him. Among them Signieur Lorenzo Justiniano of the Senators Order (a Man of wise and great Abilities) was appointed by the States, a Commissioner (with others) to hear and examine this Cause of Don Sebastian, in which they took much pains. And this Signieur Lorenzo (being lieger Ambassador in England) affirm'd and protested

162.

solemnly, he and all the other Commissioners were clear and very confident he was Don Sebastian King of Portugal, notwithstanding they durst not give him Aid, but counsel'd him for France, where the King favour'd right, without fear of another's Displeasure. But taking Florence in his way, in the Habit of a Fryer, he was observ'd and discover'd by some Spies which the Grand Duke of Tuscany had set upon him from Venice, who to insinuate with the King of Spain, Philip the Second, and for some other commodious Considerations, deliver'd Sebastian to the Governour of Orbatelli (a Spanish Port in Tuscany) from thence sent him by Sea to the Count De la Mos, Vice-roy of Naples, who convey'd him into Spain: There for a while his Entertainment was no better than in the Gallies: What other Welcome he had I know not, but the fame went certainly he was secretly made away after Philip the Third was King. The said Vice-roy of Naples confess'd in secret to a Friend of his, he verily believ'd his Prisoner was the true Sebastian King of Portugal; and was induced to be of that opinion, by the strong Testimonies and many strange and peculiar Marks, which some honourable Portugueses did know him by, all found about the Body of this Sebastian. And the French King Henry IV. it should seem, was perswaded no less: For when the News was told him the Duke of Florence had sent this Sebastian to the King of Spain, he told the Queen what an Ill Deed her Uncle had done, in these words, *Nostre Uncle a fait un acte fort indigne de sa Personne.*

1485.
Hic legatus
hac de
mine Baro-
ni Darcey
reculit.

Dr. Stephen de Sampago, in a Letter to Joseph Texere, Counsellor and Almoner to the most Christian King, writes thus, "The King, Don Sebastian, is here in Venice, &c. So soon as he arriv'd here (where he hoped to find support) the Ambassador of Castile persecuted him very cruelly, perswading the Signiory that he was a Calabrois, &c. I swear to your Fatherhood, By the Passion of Jesus Christ, this Man is truly the King Don Sebastian; he hath all the Marks on his Body, without failing in any one, as he had in his Infancy, only the Wounds excepted, which he receiv'd in that Battle of Africk; he gives the reason of his Life, and account of all his Passages, &c. He is known and re-known by the Concierges, by the Judges, by the greater part of the Senate, and by his own Confessor, &c. and a great deal more of him upon Knowledge he justifies: As much witnesses John de Castro Son to Don De Alvaro de Castro, one of the Four Governours that ruled the Kingdom conjunctly with the King Don Sebastian, who in his Letter to the same Man says thus; "The King Don Sebastian (whom the Enemies call a Calabrois) is the very same which is detain'd here, as certainly as you are Fryer Joseph, and my self Don John. He departed alive from the Battle, but very sore wounded; GOD having so delivered him with some other of his Company, amongst whom was the Duke Anegro, &c. As for the Exterior Marks of his Body he wants not one of them; he is wounded on the Brow of the Right Eye, and on the Head, as many witness'd when they saw him in the Africk Battle: His Handwriting is still the same, observing the very same Method, as is very well remembered by divers. There might be much more instanced in the behalf of this Sebastian, but this may serve for better Intelligence; to whom I may add, That Men experienced in the Affairs and Policy of State, know it a rare thing to find in any History

1485. story, the Examples of a Prince, being seiz'd and possess'd of any Signiory or Principality (how unlawfully soever) who hath resign'd them, or any part to the true Heirs. Have we not Instances at Home, where the Son hath taken the Kingdom from the Father; and would not let it go again, but rather endeavour'd to haste his Father's Fate? Much after that manner, when *Edw. II.* Henry Duke of Lancaster had got the Kingdom, and *Edw.* he held it and would not resign to the Right Heir *III.* Richard the Second, nor after his Death to the Earl of March, tho' these were no Impostors; neither was Edward Earl of Warwick; yet King Henry would not let his Hold go: And the Cardinal Favourite, finding he could not compass his Aims one way, contrived it another. By the Machiavilian Advice he gave to Ferdinando K. of Castile, not to conclude the Treaty of the Marriage between Prince Arthur and his Daughter Katharine, until this Earl and Perkin were disposed of, which Ferdinando follow'd and urg'd the King; pretending it the Security of his Estate and Issue. In brief, it is not possible to perswade a private Man, tho' wrongfully possess'd to acknowledge the true Proprietary hath a better Title than he.

How unjustly have the Kings of Spain detain'd sundry Signiories and Principalities from the lawful Heirs? Yet if the Wrong done by such another disseising Lord, be put to this former Usurper, *Mala fide* (as the Imperial *Jurisconsults* will term him) his Sentence will be, Such a rapinuous Prince doth wrong.

But let us now take a more particular View of those Witnesses who stood for Perkin. And having formerly mention'd Sir Robert Clifford, a Knight of the Noble Family of the Barons Cliffords, I will proceed with that which may be the more remarkable in him, because he was of a Family that long hated the House of York, from the Battle of Wakefield, when and where they resolv'd an Enmity so deadly, as was not to be reconciled or satisfied whilst one of them remained; yet became Followers again of the White Rose Family; and this Robert Clifford serv'd King Edward very near, and in good Credit, so could not but have an assured Knowledge of the King's Sons, and was therefore the more particularly sent to certify his Knowledge; who certainly affirm'd him to be the younger Son of Edward IV. and confirm'd many with him; such as had likewise serv'd King Edward, and had been acquainted with the Prince's conveying beyond Sea, though much was done to alter Sir Robert's Opinion. The Lord Fitz-Walter was of the same Belief, and avow'd Perkin the true Duke of York most constantly unto Death: As resolute was Sir William Stanley, though he were Lord Chamberlain to Henry VII. and in great favour with Sir George Nevill, Brother to the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir William Daubeny, Father to the Lord Daubeny, Sir Thomas Thwaites, Sir Robert Ratcliffe of the House of the Baron Fitz-Walter, Sir John Taylor, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Thomas Bagnal, with many other Gentlemen of Quality, all maintaining him to be the Duke of York, Son of Edward the Fourth, and sundry of the Clergy, who had been Chaplains to the King his Father, or otherwise occasion'd to attend the Court, as Dr. Rochford, Dr. Poynes, Dr. Sutton, Dr. Worsley Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Leyborn, Dr. Lesley; with many other learned Professors of Divinity, who would not endure to hear him call'd Perkin. The Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir William Stanley, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, Sir William Daubeny (as Martyrs of State) confirm'd their Testimony with their

Bloods. So did the King's Serjeant Ferrier, who left the King's Service and apply'd himself to Perkin, for which he was executed as a Traytor: And one Edwards, who had serv'd this Duke Richard, was cut in pieces for the same Cause; also Corbet, Sir Quinton Betts, and Gage, Gentlemen of good worth, with 200 more at least, put to Death in sundry Cities and Towns, particularly in Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and about London, for their Confidence and Opinions in this Prince.

There were some Great Men (tho' they made no profession of their Knowledge of him) cou'd whisper it one to another, which in general words is confess'd by all our better Writers; who say, That as well the Noblemen, as others, held the said Perkin to be the younger Son of K. Edward the Fourth.

And Sir Thomas Moor, after Dr. Morton, thus writeth; The Man, commonly call'd Perkin Warbeck, was as well with the Prince, as with the People, held to be the younger Son of K. Edward the Fourth.

Richard Grafton affirmeth the same; In Flanders (saith he) and most of all here in England, it was receiv'd for an undoubted Truth, not only of the People, but of the Nobles, that Perkin was the Son of King Edward the Fourth: And they all swore and affirmed this to be true. The learned and famous Mr. Cambden averreth, There were many wise, grave, and Persons of good Intelligence, (who lived in that time and near it) that affirmed confidently, This Perkin was Second Son to King Edward; Then both the Brothers were not made away by King Richard; and surely it was little Reason or Policy, to cut off the One and spare the other; neither indeed was there ever any Proofs made by Testimony, Argument, or Presumption, nor by Reason, Honour, or Policy, that this Crime could be his, tho' many to the contrary; for he not only preserv'd his Nephew, the young Earl of Warwick, but in his Confidence (a special Note of his Magnanimity) gave him Liberty, Pleasure, and the Command of a stately House of his own.

Now if he had been so ambitious and bloody, he would have provided otherwise for him, knowing his Title was to take Place, if his Blood had not been attainted in his Father; in regard whereof, K. Richard, when his own Son was dead, caused his Nephew John de la Poole, eldest Son of the Duke of Suffolk, and of the Dutches his Sister, (then the next lawful Heir to the Crown) to be proclaim'd Heir apparent; an Argument of Respect to his Kindred and next Title to the Crown, in whomsoever it was; which other Men regarded not so much as the unhappy Sequel shew'd; and there was an impious Necessity in that, for whilst the Prince of York surviv'd, (especially the Males) no other Titular Lord, or Pretender, could be King by his own Right, or by colour of Right, nor by any other Means, unless he had married a Daughter, and the eldest Daughter of King Edward the Fourth.

And altho' the Deaths and Manner of taking away these Princes (the Sons of King Edward) is held, by our Writers, uncertain and obscure, it is manifest (at least for the general Manner of their Death) to be either by the Publick Sword, that is, the Sword of Justice or of Battle, as were King Richard, the Children of the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Suffolk, &c. or by the Private Sword; that is by secret and close Slights, Treachery, (which the Romans call'd *Infidiae dolus*) by Smothering, Strangling, Poison, Sorcery, &c. And that the Sword was used against the Family of York, there is more than

* He was the Noble Progenitor of the Earls of York.

Publick Sword. Private Sword. The Arts of Treachery.

1485. Conjecture, both by Testimony of Writers and Records, King Edward himself, (as credible Authors report) died of Poison.

In the Parliament, Anno 1 Richardi Tertii, there was accused and attainted of Sorcery and such other Devilish Practices, Dr. Lewis, Dr. Morton, William Knevit of Buckingham, the Countess of Richmond, Thomas Nandick of Cambridge, Conjuror, with others: There was also an Earl accused of the same Hellish Art; and an old Manuscript Book which I have seen, says, That Dr. Morton and a certain Countess, contriving the Death of King Edward and others, resolv'd it by Poison. Which are Conjectures and Proofs more positive and strong against them, than any they have against King Richard; but it was a great Neglect in their Malice, making King Richard so politick and treacherous as they did, not to charge him also with these Prince's Sisters; for it would not serve his Turn, to rid away the Brothers and not them, who were capable of the Crown, and had their Turn Royal before any Collateral Males. Then he had the Children of his elder Brother George Duke of Clarence, Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, and the Lady Margaret his Sister, after Countess of Salisbury, to make away; for they without their Father's Corruption of Blood (which might easily have been salved by Parliament, the Lords and Commons affecting them) had a Priority of Blood and Precedency of Title before the Protector.

Reasons why King Richard should not destroy his Nephews

I would ask the Reason too, Why King Richard might not endure his Nephews (being by Parliament held and adjudged Illegitimate) as well as the Kings Henry VII. and Henry VIII. endured Arthur Plantagenet, the Bastard of the same King Edward, their Nephews and Cases being alike, or why Sir Thomas Moor and Dr. Morton, should in one place say, It was held in doubt, when, or how they were made away; and in another place to aver, That Tyrrel and Dighton, being examin'd, confess'd plainly, the Murder of them and all the Manner of it.

Other Great Ones privy to the Deaths of those Princes, especially of K. Edward's Sons.

These be Contraries, which with a great Disadvantage, draws their Allegation into another Argument, Bicornes, or Crocodilites: For in revealing the Confession of these Men, it is implicatively granted, their Fault was not then to be punish'd, and so it appears no Fault, or not worth the consideration; the Confession of a Man being the greatest Evidence can be produced against him. Then, in regard the Confession of those was such as might not be open'd, nor the Crime call'd in question (as the same Authors acknowledge) it was but a feign'd Confession, and they had done better not to have mention'd such a thing, which begot but a Jealousy in the Falsity thereof, or privy of some Great Ones in it, and a just imputation of Injustice upon the Magistracy: For if Dighton, Tyrrel, Forest and Slater confess the Murder in Act and Manner, King Richard being dead (who was said to stubborn and protect 'em) necessarily, and in due course of Justice, (especially in the Act of so high a nature and notice as this was) the Punishment should have been expected with all extremity. But being for some unknown Causes deferr'd, and after a while quite omitted and pardon'd, it may be thought such strange Clemency and Impunity proceeded from a singular high Indulgence, or else, those Examinations and Confessions were but Buzzes and quaint Devices to amaze the People, and entertain them with expectation of a Justice, to be done in some more convenient time (which was never). This was after the Death of King Ri-

chard: All that was done before, was to make him the Author of that horrible Crime, and no Body else; for Dighton and the rest were in Security and Liberty, yet it stood in good stead with the Lancastrians, to draw the Peoples Hate upon King Richard, not unlike that Story of Great Alexander; and a Noble Man in his Court, who stood so high in the Favour of his Nobles and People, that the King grew jealous and fearful of his Popularity, studying how he might decline it and him to Contempt, but could find no Colour or apt Occasion, because he was so strongly fix'd in the Peoples Liking, and was a Man of so great a Desert, that no Crime could be charg'd upon him. The King unbosoming himself to the Counsel and Care of a Friend, one Medius, (of his Country, as I think) had this Advice,

"Sir, (*quoth he*) Let not this Man's Greatness trouble you, cause him to be accused of some Heinous Crime, (tho' falsely) and we will find Means to make him guilty, so formally and firmly, that the Brand of it, shall stick upon him for ever; Which he delivered in these Terms, tho' divers, yet the same in effect; *Medeatur licet vulnere, qui morsus, aut dilaniatus est, remanebit tamen Cicatrix.* And it is truly approved by an ancient Christian Poet, thus;

Paulum diffare videntur,

Suspecti vereque rei.

Ausonius.

The guilty and suspected Innocent;
In Men's Esteem are little different.

For there is no more dangerous or fatal Destiny to Greatness, than to be intangled in the Multitude's Contempt, *Odiū & Contemptus*, being the Two Evils that overthrow Kings and Kingdoms; the One, that is, Contempt, proceeding from the Vanity and Obstinacy of the Prince, the Other, from the Peoples Opinion of him and his Vices, and then he must neither reign nor live any longer. Ennius said with Cicero, *Quem Ennius & odium perisse expetunt.* And so all that was pra-
ctised upon the Fortune, Fame and Person of King Richard was by this Rule; (tho' in the Judgment and Equity of the most knowing in those Times) their cunning *Translatio Criminis* could take no Hold of him; neither appears it probable, that the Earl of Richmond himself, (when he had got all Justice and Power in his Hand) did hold King Richard guilty of the Murder and Subornation of those Fellows, nor them the Assassins: For doubtless then, being so Wise and Religious a Prince, he would have done all Right to the Laws Divine and Humane, and that, I believe, in the extreme and publick way of Punishment, to make it more satisfactory and terrible to the People and Times. But they freely enjoy'd their Liberty with Security to natural Deaths, without any Question or Apprehension, Tyrrel excepted, who suffer'd for Sir Thomas Moor, not long after committed by him against King Henry himself. Neither was John Green (named a Party in this Murder) ever call'd in question; nor do the Historians of those Times (tho' mere Temporizers) charge him with this Practice against his Nephews, until after his Coronation, (some say, they surviv'd King Richard) and giving this respite of time, there was no Cause, why after that, he should make them away, being then secure in his Throne and Title, and they long before propounded incapable; First, by the Ecclesiastical Judges, then by the Barons and Parliament. And where was the cause

propter Offa.

lib. 2.

Sir Thomas

Moor,

Edw. Hall,

Ralph Hol-

inshead,

John Stow.

1485. cause of fear? But if King Richard had been of that bloody Constitution, the Man whose Life could be most prejudicial unto him was the Earl of Warwick lawful Son of George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to King Richard: Now there was a Necessity for the Lancastrian Faction (if they must have a King of that Family) to take those Princes away, not to leave King Richard or his Son, nor yet any Legitimate Issue of Lancaster, for all those were before any of the House of Beauforts, in the true order of Succession, and stood in their way; so did the Progeny of Brotherton, of Woodstock, of both the Clarences, Gloucesters, &c. Tho' they fear'd few, or none of those Titular Lords, being modest Men, not affecting Sovereignty, but content with their own private Fate and feudal Estate, when all was one with the Lancastrians, who were so vehement in their royal Approaches, that besides King Edward IV. and his two Sons, King Richard and his Son, the Prince of Wales, there was afterward (and as occasion served) The Earl of Warwick and Duke of Suffolk, and others; both Male and Female of that Princely Family, laid in their cold Urns, and it must be so, else there could be no place for the Beauforts and Somersets, their turns being last (the Kings of Portugal, of Castile, and others being before them, if not excluded by Act of Parliament.)

In this Tragedy there was a Scene acted by The E. of John de Vere Earl of Oxford, which may be worthy of our Observation for Example sake, and makes not against the cause of Perkin.

This Earl of Oxford much affected and devoted to King Henry VII. was a great Enemy to this Richard (alias Perkin) and I think the only † Enemy he had of the great Nobility, how this dislike grew I cannot say, whether out of Ignorance or Incredulity, or out of Malice, hating King Edward, and all that had a near Relation to that Family, or else to apply himself to the Honour of the King; but he and the Cardinal are said to be the chief Urgers of Perkin's Dispatch, and he, being High Constable, pronounced the Sentence against the young Earl of Warwick, (which much distasted the Country) and near to Heveningham Castle, (that was his chiefest Seat) there lived in the Woods an old Hermit (a very Devout and Holy Man as the Fame of those Times admit him) who seem'd much troubled to hear this News, for the love he bare to the ancient and noble Family of Oxford, of much Anguish of Spirit, saying, the Earl and his House would repent, and rue that guilty and bloody Pursuit of the innocent Princes; for the Event of which Prophecy this hath been observ'd.

Not long after, the Earl was arrested for an Offence so small, that no Man (considering his Merit and Credit with the King) could have thought it worth the Question, for which he was Fined at Thirty thousand Pounds, in those days a Kingly Sum) (a) after this he liv'd many Years in great Discontent, and died without Issue, or any Child lawfully begotten by him, and in much shorter time than his Life-time; that great and (b) stately Earldom of Oxford, with the opulent and Princely Patrimony, was utterly dissipated, and como sal in agna (as the Spaniard saith in the Refran) yet this Earl was a very Wise, Magnificent, Learned and Religious Man in the Estimation of all that knew

him, and one more like to raise, and acquire a new Earldom. (c) But it thus fell and was wasted, the Castles and Mannors dilapidated, the Chappel wherein this John de Vere and all his Ancestors lay Intomb'd with their Monuments quite defaced to the Ground, their Bones culled left under the open Air in the Fields, and all this within less than Threescore Years after the Death of the said Earl John. About the same time these unhappy Gentlemen suffer'd there was a base (d) Son of King Richard III. made away, having been kept long before in Prison. The Occasion as it seemeth, was the Attempt of certain Irish-men of the West and South Parts, who would have got him into their Power and made him their Chief; being strongly affected to any of the House of York, were they Legitimate or Natural, for Richard Duke of York's Sake, sometimes their Viceroy: And thus much in brief of that.

(e) Now to resolve a Question, why the King deferred so long the Death and Execution of the Earl of Warwick and Perkin, and took so much deliberation after he had resolved it; one Reason and the chiefest brought by some, is, That in regard Perkin was an Alien, and in the Allegiance of a foreign Prince, therefore he could not be Condemned, nor executed for Felony; nor Treason by our Laws; which is a ridiculous Evasion, for we have frequent Examples in our Stories, That the natural Subjects of France, of Scotland, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Italy, have had Judgment and Execution by our Laws, for Felony and Treason, as Peter de Gaveston a Frenchman, Sir Andrew Hareley a Scot, and lately Dr. Lopez a Portugal; therefore apparently that was not the Cause the King so doubtfully, and (as it were) timorously deferred their Arraignments and Executions. The Heathens perhaps would have defined it some inward Awe or conceal'd Scruple, such as they call'd Eumenides and Erynies, and believ'd haunted those Men that had purpos'd or acted a Wick- edness: Upon which the Poet said well:

—Patiturque unus mens saucia Manes.

And assign'd to every Man his protecting Spirit, whom the Greeks call'd Dæmones, the Latines Genios; concluding, that when the Genius of him against whom the Mischief aims, is Stronger and more Active than his who is to act it, there the Plot hardly taketh Effect.

For example, Produce the mortal Enmity between Octavianus Caesar and M. Antonius, in which Anthony could never prevail by any Attempt; who consulting with his Soothsayers, they give the reason to be the power of Octavianus's Genius above his. It is reported the great Philosopher Apollonius had such a secret Protection and so strong, that the Emperor Domitian had no power over his Life, tho' he studied means to take it; Suidas adding that this Philosopher in confidence of his Genius when he left the Emperor, added this Verse,

Οὐ γὰρ με Νέμεω, ἐπεὶ ἐστὶ μοῖρα μου.

Me non occides quia fataliter protectus sum: which is that Flamius Vopiscus calleth Majeſtatem Vopiscus in Apollonius (as I guess) and with it the Professors of Christian Religion agree in the Effects, not in the Causes; for those whom the Hea-

† What were the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Essex, the Lord Daulbrey, the Earl of Rich, the Lord Abergavenny, the Lord Cobham, who all were in Arms to oppose him.

1485. then call *Æluoyes* *Dæmones*, &c. *Genios*, the Christian Theologues call *Angels* or *Spirits*, whereof they hold good and bad.

But to return to the Matters further Allegate and Probate. The industrious Antiquary Master *John Stow*, being requir'd to deliver his Opinion concerning the Proofs of this Murther, affirmed it was never prov'd by any credible Evidence, no not by probable Susptions, or so much as by the Knights of the Post, that King *Richard* was guilty of it. And Sir *Thomas Moore* (being puzzled with his Equivocations) says, that it could never come to light what became of the Bodies of these two Princes. *Grafton*, *Hall*, and *Holinshead* * agreeing in the same report, that the Truth hereof was utterly unknown. Then where is their far seeing Knowledge, that will have them transported into foreign Countries or Drowned, or their Gigantick Proofs, that say peremptorily, they were both Murthered and Buried in the *Tower* by those Four nam'd before: If so, we need go no further for the Truth. But these are Splenerick Reaches, and the *Parachronism* is too gross as the *Comædian* said,

Terentius
in Phormio.

*Quod dictum, indictum est,
Quod modo ratum, irritum est,*

What was said, is unsaid again;
What was prov'd, revers'd.

Besides, if *Perkin* were not the second Son of King *Edward*, he must be nothing; for the *Flemish*, *French*, and *Walloon*s acknowledged no such Noble young Man to be Born in *Warbecke*, or in *Tourney* ||; but make honourable mention of a young Son of the King of *England*, who was brought to the *Dutchess* of *Burgundy* his Aunt,

being then in *Flanders*, and how he was in *France* and in other Kingdoms. And surely so many Noble and Discreet *English*, if they had not known him to be the same by most certain Tokens, and Evidence, would not so confidently have laid down their Lives to confirm their Knowledge of him, or hazarded their Judgments and Honours upon an Imposture, or Vanity, especially those who had Places of Quality and Eminency near the King then living, and were in favour at Court. Therefore I would be resolv'd from our *Anti-Richards*, what Aim those Noblemen could have, in averring him the Son of *Edward IV.* by the hazard of their Lives and Estates (if the King pleased) and how could they expect less; for, tho' they were enough to justify it a Truth, they were too few to maintain it against him, there could be no Aim or Hope to super-induce young *Richard* to be King: but merely I am perswaded in point of Truth and Honour, as they thought themselves bound to do, they freely tendred their Lives to make good what their Conscience and Knowledge witnessed, for it would be an Imposture of a miraculous Deception, so many worthy and wise Persons both of the Nobility and Clergy, some of them having served the King his Father and himself, that they all in their particular and general Intelligence and Understandings, should be Mistaken and Cheated. I say, it was a strange Delusion, if it could be so; but indeed those that would have it so, leave it in Question, and know not well what to make of their own Relations, or how to resolve his History; and if we mark Sir *Francis Bacon* in the Life of *Henry VII.* (tho' his Speculation be tender, and as favourable as he can that way) touching the History of this young Duke, he gently slides from it.

* *Holinshead*, as well as Sir *Thomas Moor*, says, Sir *James Tyrrel*, order'd them to be Buried under the Stairs, and when he brought word to King *Richard* what he had done with them, the King disslik'd the place of their Burial, because they were King's Sons, upon which Sir *Robert Brackenbury*'s Chaplain removed their Bones to another place that was not then found out.

|| The Lord *Verulam* in his reign of King *Henry VII.* gives a full Account of his Pedigree from *John Orbeck*, a Convert Jew of *Tourney*, which *Perkin* in his Confession acknowledges. *Hol.* p. 786.

BOOK IV.

The ARGUMENT of the Fourth Book of the LIFE and REIGN of RICHARD III.

Upon what Occasion the Sentence of Bastardy was given upon the Children of King *Edward the Fourth*, and why. The sundry Loves, Wooings, Contracts and Marriages of King *Edward IV.* His divers Concubines. His Devise of the Fetterlock, and the Faulcon. His Wooing the Lady *Elianor Talbot* alias *Butler*, the Lady *Bona of Savoy*, and the Lady *Elizabeth Gray* Widow, and his Marriage with her. His former Marriage or Contract with the said *Elianor*, her Wrongs and her Death. Kings must not marry the Daughters of their Vassals, nor other without the consent of their Barons. Dr. *Stillington* Bishop of Bath Imprison'd for speaking of King *Edward's* Marriage with the Lady *Elianor Talbot*, *Spuria vitulamina*. How King *Edward* might have salved those Errors and prevented all the Mischiefs following them. The Children of King *Edward IV.* declared and adjudged Illegitimate. King *Edward's* Death suspected by Poison; the Mortality of the *Plantagenets*. The Authority of Parliament; Parliaments how so called and derived; Parliaments against Parliaments. The first Parliament of

1485. King Henry VII. What Treason is; Whether Sovereign Princes may be said to commit Treason against their Subjects; The Treaty of Marriage between King Richard III. and the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, and chiefly sought by her self and the Queen her Mother; The Entertainment of the Lady Elizabeth at the Court; the first Libel of Divorce; The Scruples of the Lady Elizabeth; King Richard never meant to marry her. The Marriages of Nieces allowed by the Pope, and usual; The true Cause of Sir Thomas Moore's Condemnation and Execution.

THE Title King Richard III. had to the Crown, accrued to him by the Illegitimacy of the Children of King Edward IV. and the Attainder of the Duke of Clarence, with the Corruption of his Blood, and Forfeiture of the Title in him and in his Heirs, of which there was no Question; But of the Forfeiture and Disinheritance of the Sons of Edward IV. there hath been much. The true Cause hath not nor cannot be well known, without the Narration of King Edward's sundry Loves and Wooings, specially his Contracts and Marriages.

How extreme his Desires were, you may see in whereof the most famous was Katharine de Claret, the Speech of the Duke of Buckingham, set down by Sir Thomas Moore

I shall not need to intimate how Amorous and Wanton this King was, his many Mistresses or Amasias he kept, in several private Places; whereof the most famous was Katharine de Claret, the Speech of the Duke of Buckingham, set down by Sir Thomas Moore

The King afterward was so affected with this Device, that he would have it carry'd and painted, in many of his Royal Works yet to be seen at Fotheringhay and elsewhere.

Yet altho' the King's Jealousie was thus particular to her, his Affection was as general to others; being a frank Gamester, and he that would cast at all, fairly set. Above all, for a time he was much speld with Elianor Talbot, Daughter of John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (called in the Act of Parliament 1 Rich 3. The old Earl of Shrewsbury) her Mother was the Lady Katharine Stafford, Daughter of Humphrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and she the Widow of Thomas Lord Butler Baron of Sudesley. Her Beauty and sweetness of Disposition drew his Desire so vehemently, and with such respect, that he was suddenly Contracted, and after Married by Dr. Thomas Stillington Bishop of Bath, Councillor of State (one much favour'd by the King, and often employ'd by him, in great Af-

fairs.) This is witnessed by our English Writers, and veritable Philip de Comines, in these words: Le Evêque de Bath (lequel avoit esté Conseiller du Roy Edward) disoit que le dit Roy avoit promis foy de Mariage a une Dame de Angleterre, & qu'il avoit nommé, & que le Roy avoit fait la promesse entre les mains dudit Evêque, & dit aussi c'est Evêque, qu'il avoit apres espouse, & n'y avoit que luy & ceux deux †.

In English thus:

The Bishop of Bath, a Privy Councillor of King Edward said, That the King had plighted his Faith to marry a Lady of England, whom the Bishop named the Lady Elianor Talbot; and that this Contract was made in the hands of the Bishop, who said that afterwards he married them, no Persons being present but they twain and he, the King charging him strictly not to reveal it.

Which Contract and Marriage are related in the Act of Parliament aforesaid, where it is differently called a former Marriage, and the King had a Child by her. But where Desires are unlawful, they will be unlimited. We are ever young enough to sin; never old enough to repent: never constant, never satisfied in our neatest Desires. Though to Morrow shew us the String of to Day, the third shall betray us again; and we are taken (like Children in a Shop of Trinkets) by the Eye, liking all things, from one to another, until Pleasure dull Pleasure, and we grow weary of them. As in the Dotages of this King, who had now received others into the bosom of his Fancy; especially the Fame (which was then in every Courtier's Ear and Mouth) of an excellent Lady in the Court of France, with the Queen Charlotts, Wife of King Lewis XI. and Sister to this Lady whose Name was Bona the Daughter of Lewis Duke of Savoy. And so suddenly and strongly had he taken fire and apprehension of her Report (the bent of his affection being merely wanton to every new Object, thinking Love a cold Composition, without the Privilege of Variety) that he straight falls into terms of engagement and capitulation of Marriage; to which purpose the great and renowned Richard Nevil Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and Captain of Calais (then in the Esteem of his best and most trusty Friend) had a Commission of Treaty, and with all speed was sent Ambassador into France; who, with all Honour and Magnificence to his Wish effects it;

† This is a patch'd Quotation out of the 5th Book of Phil. de Comines; Let the Reader see a true one out of the 6th Book of the same Author.

Le duc de Glocester avoit fait Hommage a son neveu comme a son Roi & Souverain Seigneur & incontinent apres commit ce cas & en pleine Parlement d'Angleterre se fit degrader deux Filles du Roi Edward & declarer bastardes, sous couleur de quelque cas qu'il prouva par un Evêque de Bas en Angleterre, qui autre fois avoit eu grand credit avec le Roi Edward, & puis le despoigna & tint en Prison, & de ranconner d'une Somme d'Argent; Lequel Evêque disoit, que Ledit Edward avoit promis foy de Mariage a une Dame d'Angleterre, qu'il nommoit (pour ce qu'il estoit amoureux), par en avoir son plaisir & en avoit fait la promesse entre les mains du dit Evêque, & sur cette promesse coucha avec elle & ne le faisoit que pour le tromper. — The Duke of Gloucester had done Hommage to his Nephew, as his King and Sovereign, and a little after did this thing by him and his Brother. (avolt fait mourir, kill'd them) and had King Edward's two Daughters bastardi'd in full Parliament, pretending the Bishop of Bath prov'd that when he was in favour with King Edward, who afterwards imprison'd him, The said King Edward had promis'd Marriage to a certain English Lady, whom he nam'd, on purpose to have his Will of her; That he gave her this Promise before him the said Bishop, upon which he lay with her and deceiv'd her. Cet Mauvais Evêque, continues he, garda cette vengeance en son cœur, &c. This wicked Bishop kept Revenge in his Mind

with

1485. with the more noble and easy dispatch, the Earl of Warwick being a Man eminent through all the Parts of Europe, for his Valour, Wisdom, and Heroical Vertues. Expecting a Welcome at his Return answerable to the period of his Employment, but finds an Alteration not only of the King's Affection, but of his Countenance: for in the interim he had (in an instant or particle of time as it were) wooed and wedded the Lady Elizabeth Gray, Relict of Sir John Gray, Daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, and of Jaquetta, sometime Dutches of Bedford, and the Daughter of the Earl of St. Poole. Her Husband was one Gray a Knight of Grooby, who became a very vehement Lancastrian, revolting from the House of York, and therefore the more hateful to those of that Family, and the Well-wishers thereof (so to the Earl of Warwick.) He was Slain at the Battle of St. Alban's: Of whom, and of this Lady his Wife, as of this Marriage, Philip de Comines relates something, which I shall leave to the Interpretation of the better knowing, and desire not to understand it in the words: Or de puis le dict Roy Eduart espousa la fille d'un Chevalier de Angleterre femme veufue, qui avoit deux filz & aussi per Amorettes.

But neither the despised state of Widowhood, nor the meanness of her Quality and Condition, the earnest Dissuasion of the Dutches his Mother and best Friends, could make him withdraw his Affection, so deeply and obstinately he was surprized with her Beauty: yet if he could have enjoy'd his Longings otherwise, he had not married her. But she was of so pregnant and reserv'd a Wit, (seconded by the Caution and Counsels of the Dutches her Mother) that his highest Temptations and sweetest Batteries could not win upon her; protesting never to yield to any dishonourable Parley or unchaste Motion, altho' it might warrant the safety of her Life; and humbly implored his Grace not to think her so exorbitantly and vainly Ambitious to wish her self a Queen, or to have the Hope and Presumption to be any thing higher than what she was, His poor and humble Vassal: Nor was she of so low and lost a Mind, as to violate her Chastity, or be a Concubine to the greatest King.

When the King perceiv'd there was no other Remedy but that he must shift his Sail to that scantling of Wind, he complies with her, and Protests it was his Desire and Suit to marry her, notwithstanding her Inequality: for in his esteem, her Love, her Beauty, and her Vertue, made her Fortunes and Dowry great, and high enough for any King. Nor did he defer it any longer than there was Necessity; but marry her he did, and with such dispatch, that he stay'd not for the Advice of any, either Councillor, Kinsman, or other whatsoever.

Nay, his speed admitted not the approved Ceremony of the Banns asking. And such was the want of Reverend Bishops then, that he was fain to take an ordinary Priest to marry them, in a Chamber too, instead of a Church, and that

This Marriage was in the Forest of Whickwood, present but the Dutches, and some few of her Company. So where he first saw her (and by chance) there at the next Interview he married her; an Act of as high Exception as Improvidence. For his Barony thought it a most unworthy and unequal Match, distasting it the more as done without their Consent, which they assever'd the King ought to have by their ancient Privileges: and were the more exasperated, considering the great Inequality between her Condition and the Imperial Majesty of England, be-

ing the Relict but of a poor Knight, his mortal Enemy too. Above all, the Earl of Warwick took it for an high Indignity and Scandal to his Honour, which stood so far engaged in France to the Lady Bona and her Princely Friends; knowing the French would be as sensible of the Scorn, besides the great Charge he had been at to manage the Employment. In the heat of these Disgraces (for transcendent Spirits have their answerable Passions; and it is as dangerous to stand in their way, as in the Reaches of an angry Tide) he forsook the King, and soon after takes up Arms against him; an Induction to those succeeding Evils which pursu'd that inconsiderate Marriage: of which the Judicious Polidor (lib. 24) maketh this Censure.

Rex Edwardus mutato Concilio de ducenda in uxorem Bone, filia Ducis Sabaudie, Elizabetham viduam Johannis Gray Militis, in Matrimonium duxit; & de eo Matrimonio ob Mulieris humilitatem non modo necessarios Principes, verum etiam Richardum Woodvillum Patrem mulieris celat: qua causa cognita cuncti protinus mirari, Principes fremere, Passimque voces emittere indignationis, Regem non ex sua dignitate fecisse, easque nuptias se crimini dare & dedecori assignare, quod caeco amore non ratione ductus esset; sed inde initium profectum paux est simultatis ortæ inter Regem Edwardum & Richardum Comitem Warwici, &c.

In English thus:

" King Edward, having changed his Purpose of taking to Wife the Lady Bona Daughter to the Duke of Savoy, married Elizabeth the Widow of John Gray Knight; concealing, upon the Account of the Meanness of her Birth, what he had done, not only from his Princely Relations, but even from Richard Woodville her Father: Which thing when it came to be known, was matter of Admiration to every one; The Nobles murmured thereat, and by their Words every where bewray'd the Indignation of their Heart, that the King had not acted suitably to his Dignity, and that they accounted this Marriage blame-worthy and dishonourable, because he was led thereto by blind Love, not by Reason. It was this which gave a Beginning to that Hatred and Enmity betwixt King Edward, and Richard the renowned Earl of Warwick, &c.

But if you will not give credit to him, you shall hear an English Prelate living in those Times.

Edwardus Rex fretus propria electione cujusdam Militis relictam nomine Elizabeth, inconsultis Regni proceribus clandestino sibi destinavit Matrimonio; postea ipsam in reginam Coronari fecit: quod quidem Regni optimates ægrè tulerunt, quia de tam mediocri stirpe feminam procreatam ad Regni Consortium secum præpropere sublimaret. That is,

" King Edward, without consulting with the Nobles of his Realm, and relying solely upon his one Choice, secretly married the Widow of a certain Knight, by Name Elizabeth; causing her afterwards to be crowned Queen; By which the Peers of the Kingdom were highly disgusted, because he had so unadvisedly exalted a Woman so meanly descended to a Partnership in Sovereignty.

Thus this amorous King lost his Honour, with many of his Best and great Friends: yet escap'd well, that he had no more real and present feeling of the Errour; being the first King of England that ever mingled his Royal Blood and Majesty in the Alliance of so private and mean a Family.

1485.

The Story of *Arragon* mentions a King depos'd for marrying the Daughter of his Subject; and King *Edward* was something near it; for soon after, he was expuls'd his Kingdom: But being a Man that kept an industrious and invincible Courage above his Troubles, he happily recover'd that Loss, never his Honour and Friends, which he might have preserv'd, and prevented all those Calamities that overtook him in his Issue, by the Advice of the Dutcheſs his Mother, who upon the secret Advertiſement of his Love to this Lady *Gray*, used all the Perſwaſions and Authority of a Mother, to return him to the Lady *Elianoꝝ Talbot* his former Love and Wife (at least his contracted) to finish and consummate what he was bound to by publick Solemnity of Marriage; and press'd it with such ingenious Engagements, that for the Arguments sake, I have transcrib'd the Passage out of Sir *Thomas Moor* and the rest of our *English* Writers. Thus she dissuades him.

The
Speech of
the Dutcheſs
of York
to K. *Edw.*
IV.

“MY Liege Lord, and my Dear Son; it is very commonly reported you are purposed to marry the Lady *Gray*, a Widow and a mean Gentlewoman, which you cannot but conceive will redound to your Disparagement and Dishonour: All the Wise, Great and Nobleſt Persons of your Kingdom, thinking it far more to the Advantage of your Honour, Profit and Safety, to seek the Alliance of a Noble Progeny, and rather in a Foreign Country than your own; as well in regard, thereupon may depend great Strength to your Estate, and great possibility to enlarge your Possessions by such Affinity. Also (if well consider'd) you may not safely marry any other than the Lady *Bona*, the Earl of *Warwick* having proceeded so far in the Current of that Match already, that 'tis likely he will not sit down contented, if his troublesome and costly Negotiation should be so slightly blown off and frustrated.

“Besides, Sir, consider it is not Princely for a King to Marry his own Subject, (at least no great and important Occasion leading him thereunto, nor Possessions or other Commodity depending thereupon) but will be less tolerable to all Opinion, than if a Rich Man should marry his Maid, only for a little wanton Dotage upon her Person; in which kind of Marriages, many Men commend more the Maid's Fortune than the Master's Discretion. Yet there must needs be more Honesty in such a Marriage, than can be Honour in this which you affect: For the difference is not so great betwixt a rich Merchant and his Servant, as you must think between the King and the Widow *Gray*; in whose Person (albeit there be nothing to be disliked) there is nothing so excellent, but it may be found in divers other Women, much more Noble and many ways Exceeding her, and more comparatively to your Estate (those also Virgins, who must be thought of a much more honourable Estimation than Widows) wherefore the Widowhood only of *Elizabeth Gray* (tho' in all other things she were convenient for you) were not enough to restrain you, being a King, and so great a King.

“And it must stick as a foul Disparagement to the sacred Majesty of a Prince (who ought as nearly to approach the Priesthood in Purity and Cleanness, as he doth in Dignity) to be defiled with Bigamy in his first Marriage.

Thus far the King could with Attention hear the Dutcheſs; but being extremely far gone in Love, or rather in the hot Passion of Love, he was resolute to marry her; and partly in earnest, and partly in play (as one that well wist he was out of the Check of a Mother) yet reverently thus replied;

M A D A M,

“Altho' Marriage, being a spiritual thing, I thought rather to be made according to the Will and Ordinance of Almighty God, where he by his Grace inclineth, either Parties to love mutually and virtuously (as I hope and trust he doth work in ours) and not for the regard of any temporal Advantage; yet, nevertheless, this Marriage (as it seemeth to me, being consider'd, even after the World's account) is not unprofitable nor without fruits: For I reckon not the Alliance and Amity of any earthly Nation or foreign Prince so necessary for me, as the Friendship and Love of mine own Subjects; who, as I hope, will be the more induced to love me, and acknowledge mine to them, seeing I disdain not to marry one of my own Land; when (if a foreign Alliance were thought so requisite) I could find the Means of that much better by other of my Kin (where all those Parties would be content) but to marry my self to one whom I should, peradventure, never love; and for the possibility of more Possessions, lose the Fruit and Pleasure of this I have already: For small Pleasure taketh a Man of all he hath, or can have, if he be Wived against his Appetite.

“And I doubt not but there be (as you say, Madam) other Women in every point comparable to the Lady *Gray*; therefore I lett not other Men to Wed them, no more than have they reason to dislike where it liketh me.

“Nor doubt I my Cousin of *Warwick's* Love can be so slightly settled to me, as to grudge at that which I affect; nor so unreasonable, to look, that in my Choice of a Wife I shou'd rather be ruled by his Eye than mine own; that were to make me a Ward, and bind me to marry by the Appointment of a Guardian; with such servile and hard Conditions I would not be a King.

“As for the possibility you urge of more Inheritance by new Affinity in strange Lands, that is not always certain; but contrariwise, it is oftentimes the occasion of more Trouble than Profit. Besides, we have already a Title and Seifine so good and great, as may suffice to be gotten, and so to be kept by one Man, and in one Man's Days.

“For your Objection, That the Lady *Gray* hath been a Wife, and is now a Widow, and hath already Children; Why, (by God's blessed Lady) I that am a Batchelor have some Children too; and so, for our better comfort, there is proof that neither of us is like to be barren. And I trust in God, Madam, you shall live to see her bring forth a young Prince, and your pretty Son, that shall be a Joy and Pleasure to you.

“For the Bigamy objected, let the Bishop lay it hardly in my way, when I come to take Orders of Priesthood; for I confess I understand Bigamy is forbidden to a Priest, but I never wist it yet forbidden to a Prince; therefore I pray you, Good Madam, trouble your self and me no further in this Matter.

Then

1485. Then she urged his Contract (a) with the Lady Elizabeth Lucy, and his having had a Child by her, (as she said) and thought her self bound in Conscience to charge him with. Mr. Moor, Grafton, Stow and the rest, say, The King utterly denied that Contract, and protested it a Slander: which well and justly he might do, and these Authors may retract what they have written. For the truth is, he was never contracted to her, tho' he loved her well, being of an affable and witty Temper; nor did she ever alledge the King was betrothed to her, but that he had entangled her by sweet and tempting Language: And who knoweth not *Credula res Amor est*? But true it is, he had a Child by her, which was the Bastard Arthur, called commonly (but unduly) Arthur Plantagenet, afterward made Viscount Lisle by H. VIII.

Elizabeth Lucy.

In this Relation, the Historians have much and foully err'd; not only corrupting the Story, but have injured the Dutcheſs of York in her Judgment and Knowledge of these Matters; and the tenor of her former Speech, making her to charge the King as contracted to this Elizabeth Lucy (of Birth and Quality much meaner than the Lady Grey whom she conceived so basely of: for Elizabeth Lucy was the Daughter of one Wyat of Southampton, a mean Gentleman, (if he were one) and the Wife of one Lucy, as mean a Man as Wyat. True it is, the King kept her as his Concubine, and she was One of those most famous Three who had particular Epithets, (being call'd his Witty Leman). For that they would have her say the King was never betrothed to her, it importeth nothing, and therefore, I conceive, it was never extracted from her. But truly to salve the Story and Error of these Writers, we must know, that Lady to whom the King was first betrothed and married, was Elianor Talbot, Daughter of a Great Peer of this Realm, of a most noble and illustrious Family, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who is also called in authentick Writings the Lady Butler, because she was then the Widow of the Lord Butler, (a Lady of a very eminent Beauty and answerable Virtue) to whom the King was contracted, married, and had a Child by her. This is that Lady (not Elizabeth Lucy) the Queen spake of to her Son; and (to note Obit) the King's Breach with this Lady, was a Cause the subtil Widow would not listen unto him before Marriage, having learned *Credulitas damno solet esse puellæ*. This Marriage cast the Lady Elianor Butler into so perplexed a Melancholy, that she spent her self in a solitary Life ever after: And how she died is not certainly known; but out of doubt, Kindness was not the cause, he having a Kindness for every new Face, and was so become exceedingly fancied to his new Wife the Lady Grey, no Court or Pleasure now, but where she is. In this continuance of his amorous Indulgence, which was many Years, and rendred a fruitful Issue to him) no question, that Party of her Kindred made their best Advantage from it: Yet the Remembrance of that Pre-contract after a time, moved him by such sensible Apprehensions, he could not brook to have it mention'd; which was the cause of his Displeasure against his ancient Chaplain Dr. Stillington of Bath, because he did what his Conscience urg'd, to God and the Kingdom, in discovering the Marriage, occasion'd by the Lady's sudden Indisposition and pressing

Sorrow; who not able to contain her self, had open'd it to a Lady her Sister; or, as some say, to her Mother the Countess of Shrewsbury; she, to the Earl her Husband; he consults it with his noblest Kinsfolks and Friends, as it was a general Scandal to them all: They to inform themselves the better, had Conference with Dr. Stillington, who affirmed the Contract and Marriage, with whom they advise; that as he was a Bishop and a Privy Counsellor, it behoved him to prepare it to the King's Consideration, for some Redress and Satisfaction. But the Bishop (tho' willing) durst not deal with the King in that manner; rather wish'd they would apply it to the Duke of Gloucester, as the Man most inward with the King; whereof Philip de Comines thus writeth; *Cestuy Evesque d'Barth, mis Philip de en avant a ce Dux Gloucester, que le dit Roy E-* *Comines.* *douart estoit fort amoureux, d'un Dame, d'Angleterre, & luy promise de l'espouser pour veu qu'il couchat avec illa, elle s'y consentit: & dit ceste Evesque, qu'il les avoit Espouses, & n'y avoit que luy & eux deux.*

The Duke of Gloucester, as they desir'd, press'd it to the King, who became more incens'd against the Bishop, saying, He had not only betray'd his Trust, but his Children; and upon that Heat puts him from the Council-Table under a strict Imprisonment for a long time, which at length he redeem'd himself from by a heavy Fine, as is testified by Dr. Goodwin Bishop of Hereford, in his *Catalogus Episcoporum*, who writeth thus; *Philip de Comines, le Roy Edw. de suppose l'Evesque, & le tient in prison, & le Ransom de un bon somme d'Argent.* Which was taken for a peice of more Passion than Justice; the Bishop not deserving so to suffer in this case, where his Conscience might very well excuse what he did.

Not long after, King Edward died; of what How K. Disease it is doubtfully suggested: Some thought Edward died. of an Apoplexy or Dead Palsie. *Polidor Virgil* saith, of a Disease utterly unknown to all the Physicians, which leaves it to a further Construction.

The Author of the History of Brittain, delivers plainly, that King Edward was kill'd by Poison (as the common Report in France went). *Lib. 4. in Hist. Brit.*

Aucuns disoient que le Roy de Angleterre Edward, avoit esté Empoisonné au mois d' avril en l' an.

1461. And Euguerrant de Monstrolet writeth, That some said he died of an Apoplexy; others, He was Poison'd in Wine of Creu, which King Lewis the Eleventh sent to him. *Monstrolet;*

Philip de Comines, to that purpose, says, *Aucuns disent que le Roy Edward, mourut d'un Catarrhe;* that is, Some say *Part 3. de ce Chron.*

that King Edward died of a Catarrhe; for that is their Phrase in France when a Great Man is made away by Poison. Of such a venomous Catarrhe died the young King Edward VI. But by whose Hand King Edward IV. had his Death, it is not said; certain it is, he was generally belov'd of all his Subjects, except those of the Lancastrian Faction. As soon as he was dead, the Silence brake into a general Muttering against his Marriage, then into loud and publick inveighing against it: All Tongues were at liberty, and Pardons were hoped for all Offences; the general and common Opinion being quite against it and the Children. And Dr. Morton affirmed, The Duke of Buckingham, with other Noble Sir Thomas Lords, saw and read certain authentick Instruments made and sign'd by learned Doctors, Moor, Grafton, Proctors and Notaries, with the Depositions *Hollinhead, Stow*

(a) Hollinshead says she only caused a Pre-contract to be alledg'd made by him with the Lady Elizabeth Lucy; "But all Doubts removed, all Things made clear, and all Cavillations avoided, he privily in the Morning married her. Pag. 668.

1485. of sundry credible Persons, importing and testifying the Children of Edward IV. were Bastards: with which opinion the City of London was also possessed; and Dr. Shaw, Frier Pinke and other Preachers in the Pulpits declar'd them *Spuria vitulina*. To this consented all the People of the North Parts in their Supplicatory Scroll before-mention'd; which the Court of Parliament adjudged and decreed to be so. A fault of Improvidence in their Father, who might have prevented all Quarrells and Questions about that and future Claims, repair'd all Flaws and Defects of Titles; also have taken away the Error and Inconveniency of the Post-contract, or later Marriage, that gave the imputation of Bastards to his Children; and so have avoided all the ensuing Mischiefs and Calamities. If first he had procured a Divorce of the former Contract with the Lady *Elianor* from the Pope, who was then held to have all Power both of Heaven and Earth.

How King Edward might have prevented all after-questions.

Or if after the second Marriage (and while he flourished, which was by the space of Fourteen Years) he had either by a due Consideration, or Counsel of his best Friends, wrought the Pope's Pardon for breach of the Pre-contract with the Lady *Elianor*; then, his Apostolical Bull of Dispensation, for his Post-contract, or Matrimony superinducted (as they call it) which might easily have been obtain'd at Rome, for Money. And after that, to have summon'd a Parliament, requiring the three Estates to have ratify'd and confirm'd these Bulls, for the Approbation of the said Marriage with the Lady *Gray*, and the Legitimation of his Children, and made them lawful by Act of Parliament according to the Pope's Indulgence (which was then a Sacred and most Inviolable thing.) Lastly, to have declared, pronounced and decreed in Parliament, That the said Children of the King, being so made Legitimate, were also capable of all Honours, Dignities, Estates, publick and private, of which the King stood seized, or which were any ways appertaining and proper to the Kingdom of England, and of France. I say, If he had done this, he had compos'd all Defects, and prevented all succeeding Dangers of Claims and Practices, which might have been done with small or no trouble. A Course by another after-ward opportunely thought on.

The authority of Parliament.

Parliament, how so called and derived.

And surely (it may be conjectur'd) if this King had not been too Secure, and lost in his Sensualities, he would by the like Parliamentary Power have rectified those Errors, these great, high and difficult Works, being (indeed) proper to Parliaments, and pregnant and strong Proofs of their great and transcendent Power, holding in themselves a just Desert and Claim of such Power and Authority, (if assembled and held as they ought) being a General Assembly and Convocation of the most Wise, Honourable, Just, and Religious Persons of the Kingdom. Therefore the word Parliament (saith one) is compounded of *Parium* and *lamentum*, because (as he thinketh) the Peers of the Country did at these Meetings complain each to other of the Enormities of their Country. But the better opinion is, That Parliament is simply from the French word *parler* (and that from the Greek *παρκελεμ*, both signifying to speak) and so by adding the termination, *ment* (which is common in the French Tongue, as well to many Nouns as Adverbs) do make up *Parliament*; meaning thereby an Assembly of Men called together to speak or confer, &c.

Laurence Valla.

And it may not unfitly be call'd Parliament, for that each Man should *parler*, *lament*, speak

his Mind. But *Laurence Valla* misliketh that Etymology.

1485.

It may be guess'd the word *Parliament* (being transported out of France) began shortly after the Norman Conquest. One of the first authentic Reports of that Name, is found in the Statute 3 E. 1. commonly call'd *Westminster Parliament*; that Assembly being said to be *Primier generall apres Coronament le Roy*. But that is not the first word: for in the Statutes call'd *Articuli Cleri*, publish'd 9 E. 2, these words are read: *Temporibus progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Angliae Parliamentis suis, &c.* Which words *Progenitorum & quondam*, must needs reach higher than E. 1: that was but Father to him that spake it.

But at what time soever after the Conquest this Court began to be call'd a Parliament, the same was before known to the Saxons or Englishmen, by the word *Sinoth*, and *Micell Sinoth*, of the Greek *συνοδος*, now appropriated to Ecclesiastical Meetings only; and sometimes by these terms, *Micell*, *Gemote*, *Witengemott*, and *Calca Witengemott*; that is, the meeting of Wisemen, or of all the Wisemen for *witena* signifieth Wise men, *Calca*, all, and *Gemott*, a Meeting: Of which last words the Names *Shire-motts*, *Eolmotts*, and *Halymotts*; that is, the meeting or assembling of the Men of a Shire, of a Town, and of the Tenants of a Hall or Manor, had their beginning also.

Now as *Sinoth* is more used in the Parliaments themselves; so *Gemott* is more familiar to the Historians.

And this Parliament of Anno 1 Rich. 3. could be of no less Power and Vertue; witness the many and good Laws made in it, (albeit the second Marriage of King Edward was adjudged unlawful, and the Acts of that Parliament for the most part repeal'd and abrogated after-ward) yet the Evidence is clear enough, that the Judges and Law-makers of that Parliament, were wise and religious Men, and their Laws upright and just.

Therefore whatsoever was adjudged by them, was to be received and held as authentick and inviolable (how roughly soever it was after-ward handled.) And in this case of the disabling of King Edward's Sons there is least reason to suspect them, the Cause being so new, so plain, and notoriously known, that no Man could be ignorant therein: Therefore to have given any other Judgment, but according to the truth of Evidence, and certainty of Knowledge, it might justly have been censur'd an act of Error and Ignorance, or Partiality and Injustice.

For it was not the Opinion of a few, nor raised out of a weak Judgment and perverted Knowledge; but a strong and general Evidence, by the ablest and best knowing.

If it be objected, The Case was obscure and doubtful: that cannot be; for the Estates had all Substantial and ready Means to inform themselves of the Truth, and every Circumstance whereby they might be fully satisfy'd and clear'd in all the Niceties and doubts: for all the Witnesses and Dealers in that Cause, and such Persons as were acquainted with it, were then living; and they must and would have truly and certainly inform'd the Court of Parliament: For the special and reverend Care of this Court is, The advancing of Justice and Right. Therefore all Subjects (by Nature or Grace) are bound in their Allegiance, to give Pious and Religious credit to Parliaments, and to believe in their Authority and Power, as the former Times did in

1485. in Oracles. We must also confidently hold the high and transcendent Quality and Vertue of that Court, to have all Power and Authority: And no question to repeal a good and just Law made in Parliament, is a Wrong and Scandal to that General Council, and to the universal Wisdom, Providence, Justice and Piety of the Kingdom.

In the Parliament 1 H. 7. there is an Act, attainting the King R. III. of High Treason, for bearing Arms against the Earl of Richmond, Intituled, *The Sovereign Lord* (this was at his proceeding from *Milford-Haven* into *Leicester* :) But when he came to fight the Battle, he was then no King, nor Sovereign, but a Chief of such as made Head against their Sovereign. In which Paragraph there appears three gross Faults.

First, Certain it is, *Richard* during his Reign was a Sovereign, therefore no Subject.

Next, There was no Enemy in the Field who was then a Sovereign, but all Liege Subjects to the Crown.

And *Richard* being the King and Sovereign, could not be adjudged a Traytor, nor lawfully attainted of High Treason. Then let it be consider'd whether a Person of Sacred Majesty (that is, an anointed Sovereign) may commit the Crime of Treason. Also in this Parliament, all the Barons, Knights and Gentlemen that bore Arms in the Field for the King, were attainted of Treason, their Goods and Lands confiscate: And one *Thomas Nandick* (a Necromancer and Sorcerer, who with others had been condemned to die, for using that hellish Art) was in this Parliament pardon'd the horrible Things he had committed. And it seem'd he had not then left his Black Trade: for he hath in that Act of Parliament still the Stile of Conjurer: *Viz.*

Thomas Nandick of Cambridge, Conjurer: which had been a fitter Stile for his Gibbet than his Pardon; although he had not by his Sorcery or Inchantment hurt or destroy'd any Human, yet for his Renouncing and Abjuration of Almighty God: for it is the Opinion of a Learned and Religious Doctor.

Magos & Incantores (said he) *hominum genus indignum, quod vel ob solam Dei, O. M. abjurati- nem capitali supplicio afficiatur; i. e.* Magicians and Inchanters, a wretched sort of Men, that even upon the Account of their Abjuring of Almighty God, deserve to undergo a Capital Punishment.

Other such things there be in that Parliament, which detract it in the opinion of some: those of the best and Wifest repute.

The Treaty of Marriage between K. R. 3. and his Niece the Lady Elizabeth. Plantagenet. Now let us come to examine that Treaty the King had about marrying the Lady *Plantagenet*; which is censured to be a thing not only Detestable, but much more Cruel and Abominable to be put in Agitation.

Item, That all Men, and the Maid her self most of all, detested this unlawful Copulation.

Item That he made away the Queen his Wife, to make way for this Marriage; and that he pronounced not the Treaty of Marriage, until the Queen his Wife was Dead.

That there was such a Motion for the Marriage of this Lady to the King, is true; and (which is more, and most certain) it was entertain'd, and well-lik'd by the King and his Friends, a good while; also by the Lady *Elizabeth*, and by the Queen her Mother; who

received it with so much content and liking 1485. that presently she sent into France for her Son the Marquess of Dorset, that was there with the Earl of Richmond, earnestly soliciting him to renounce the Faction, and return home to the King's Favour and Advancement, which she assured him: and sends † the Lady *Elizabeth* to Attend the Queen at Court, or to place her more in the eye, so in the Heart of the King. The Christmas following (which was kept in *Westminster-Hall*) for the better colour of sending her eldest Daughter, she sends her other four thither, who were received with all honourable courtesie by the King and Queen Regent; especially the Lady *Elizabeth* was ranked most familiarly in the Queen's Favour, and with as little distinction as Sisters. But Society, nor all the Pomp and Festivity of those Times, could cure that sad Wound and Languor in the Queen's Breast, which the Death of her only Son had left. The Address of those Ladies to Court (albeit the feign'd wooing of the King was in a politick and close way) gave cause of Suspicion to the Earl of Richmond's intelligencing Friends, that the King had a Purpose to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*; which must prevent the Earl both of his Hope to her, and to the Crown by her Title: a Clause that made them mutter very broadly against it (for indeed, what more concern'd them) therefore the King treats it more privately and coldly; but the Queen-Widow and the Lady stood constant in their Desires and Expectation; only the Objection was, The King had a Wife; as tho' he could not marry another whilst she liv'd; not remembering how usual it was, not only for Kings, but private Men, to put away one Wife and marry another, for venial Crimes, as well as Adultery and Treason.

The Romans might repudiate their Wives, for conversing with Men that were not of their Kindred, and for going to see Plays and Cirque Spectacles, (their Husbands not being with them) or if the Wife were unquiet or crust of her Tongue, &c. *Henry VIII.* put away Queen *Katharine* of Castile, and Queen *Anne* of Cleve; the one, because she was too old and cold for Pleasure; the other, because she was not fruitful or wanton enough. Sometimes men have put away their Wives for being Sluts, for having unfavourable Breaths, or some Infectious Disease, without a Necessity of taking away their Lives; and it was lawful for either of them to marry when they would.

Pope *Clement VII.* so ratify'd the Divorce of King *Henry VIII.* against *Katharine* of Castile, as he defy'd all Laws (Divine and Human) that should contradict and impugn his Power and Dispensation, in these words:

Non obstante Jure Divino nec Humano, nec quibuscunque Constitutionibus repugnantibus, et contrarium Edictis. That is, "Any Law of God or Man, or whatsoever Constitutions inconsistent, and to the contrary notwithstanding."

There was a formal Bill or Libel of Separation prescribed by *Mosses*, with the manner of Divorces and Repudiations, in this renour, as *Andreas Osiander* who translated it out of Hebrew into Latine) affirmeth: which for the Rarity I have here transcribed.

† The King sent the Queen, says *Hollinshead*, divers and often Messengers, and also to her Son the Marquis of Dorset to bring her into a Fool's Paradise. 750.

1485. Die tertia Hebdomadis, 29 die mensis Octobris, Anno ab orbe condito, 4349.

*E*go Joachim cognominatus N. filius Nathanis, qui consisto hodie in urbe N. in Regno N. Te N. uxorem meam, cognominatam N. filiam N. qua fuisti uxor mea ante hac nunc demisi, & liberavi, & repudiavi te tibi, ut sis tui juris & domina animæ tuæ, & ad abeundum, ut ducaris abs quolibet viro, quem volueris, & ne vir quisquam prohibeat, quo minus sis in manu tua, ito hoc die & in æternum. Et ecce, permissa es unicuique viro, & hic esto tibi à me datus Libellus repudii, & Epistola dimissoria, & Instrumentum libertatis juxta Legem Mosis & Israelis.

Which Verbal Latin Translation is thus Word for Word rendred into English.

“ Upon the third Day of the Week and 29th of the Month of October, in the Year of the World, 4349.

“ *I* Joachim surnamed N. the Son of Nathan, who at this Day sojourn in the Town of N. in the Kingdom of N. have, thee N. my Wife, surnamed N. the Daughter of N. who hast hitherto been my Wife, now discharged, and liberated, and repudiated thee to thy self, that thou may’st be in thy own Power and Mistress of thy own Life, and to depart and to be married by any other Man, as shall seem good in thine Eyes, and that no Man may hinder thee, from being at thy own Disposall, Go thou for this Day and for ever. And behold, thou art permitted to any Man, and be this a Bill of Divorce, and Epistle dimissory, and Instrument of Liberty given unto thee, by me according to the Law of Moses and of Israel.

But the Answer which was wade in the Name of the King to the Lady Elizabeth concerning his Queen, was, That she could be no Impediment of long continuance, being a very weak Woman in a Consumption, and past hopes of Recovery; her Physicians giving their Opinions, she could not live past the middle of February next following: nor guessed they much amiss; for she died in the next Month, March. When the midst and last of February was past, the Lady Elizabeth being more impatient and jealous of the Success than every one knew or conceived, writes a Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, intimating first, that he was the Man in whom she affied, in respect of that love her Father had ever bore him, &c. Then she congratulates his many Courtesies, in continuance of which, she desires him to be a Mediator for her to the King, in the behalf of the Marriage propounded between them; who, as she wrote, was her only Joy and Maker in this World, and that she was his in Heart and Thought: withal insinuating, that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the Queen would never Die.

All these be her own Words, written with her own Hand; and this is the sum of her Letter, which remains in the Autograph, or Original Draft, under her own Hand, in the magnificent Cabinet of Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey: By which it may be observed, that

that this young Lady was ignorant that a Man having a Wife living might marry another, and suffer her to live. But the truth is, the King had no real intent to make her his Wife, from the beginning; only in Policy entertain’d this Treaty, as it appear’d afterward, when his Queen was Dead, and he had all fit Accesses without any Impediment to marry her, yet did not; professing he wooed her not to that end, but for some other Causes; and made Protestation (in the great Hall at Saint Jones near Smithfield, before all the Knights of Malta, and a great Assembly of Noble men; the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and many Citizens being present) that he had no purpose nor intent to marry the Lady Elizabeth: avowing, *Quod ea res (viz.) Voluntas contrahendi Matrimonium cum Consanguinea Germana sua, nunquam ei venerat in mentem*: that is, ‘That this Matter, viz. a Design of contracting Matrimony with his Kinswoman Elizabeth, had never entred into his Mind. For so it is testify’d by the Prior of Croyland. Yet it may not be denied, he pretended love to her, and a proffer of Marriage; which he projected in Policy, to divert her Affection from Richmond (whose Party the King apprehended privately wrought that way; of which the said Author thus saith, *Non aliter videbat Richardus Rex regnum sibi confirmari, neque spem competitoris sui auferri posse, nisi in Matrimonio, cum dicta Elizabeth, contrahendo vel simulando.* In English thus: ‘King Richard did not see how otherways the Kingdom could be confirmed to himself, and his Competitor be deprived of all Hope, than by contracting a Marriage with the said Elizabeth, or pretending it. And it is most likely the King had no other Aim but merely of Prevention: neither was there any Cause (had he been so wicked) to do it by Blood, nor any just Reason to frame so hard an Argument against him, being always so affectionately inclined to his Wife, that he was rather thought uxorious than otherwise; † which appeared unfeignedly at her Death, in the expression of Sorrow and magnificent Exequies for her. *Non cum immorte honore quam Reginam dicunt*, as the Prior of Croyland testifieth. Let us look therefore with clearer Consideration upon the Motion or Pretence of this Marriage: to call it Detestable and Cruel, is Ignorant and Malicious (tho’ she were so near a kin to him) for Marriages between Uncles and Nieces, have been very frequent and allowed in other Countries by the Church. In our time, the Daughter and Heir of Duke Infantasgo in Spain, was married to his Brother Don Alde Mendoza: and more lately, the Earl of Miranda married his Brother’s Daughter.

In the House of Austria, Marriages in this kind have been very usual, and thought lawful, the Pope dispensing with them; for they say in Spain, *Que el padre santo quiere Dios loquiere*: Therefore how could it be so highly unlawful in King Richard? Or if his Intents had been so forward, where was the Bar when his Wife was dead and he absolute, unless the Lady’s Averseness? But that Suggestion is answer’d by her own Letter and other Testimonies. So the Account will be (if rightly sum’d by what hath been produced) that he had never any serious Determination of Marriage; only took the advantage of his Gain, by looking into her Hand; then no cause to make away his Queen; which his Ac-

† This is Another notorious Falshood; he abandon’d her Bed, and sent her word ’twas out of aversion to her Barrenness; if he did not poison her, he certainly was not Sorry for her Death.

1485. cusers themselves directly and peremptorily charge him not with, but doubtfully say, The *Sir Thom.* Queen (however it fortun'd) departed out of *Moor, Hol.* this Life the 16th of March, in the Lent-Season. *linghead.* But altho' he had the Commendations of a loving and indulgent Husband, I say not he lived always continently; for I find he had some Bastards, two of them I have mention'd; yet peradventure he might have them before his Marriage, and then the fault was less. So then, let them that affect not blind and traditory Opinion, more than Justice and Reason, but equally examine his Slanders, they shall find Malice and Ignorance have been the King's greatest Accusers, which can only lay Suspicion to his

Suspicio est opinio mali ex levibus signis. B. Th. A. holding him to be guilty whom Men suspect to be so, tho' injuriously; yet the Law holds it not a Crime, because Suspicion, many times, supposeth those to be culpable which are not: For an Instrument may as easily be condemn'd as a Malefactor, being an Evil grown from the Error of Men. Wherefore Suspicion of it self bringeth no Sentence by Law, Natural or Moral, Civil, or Divine, according to that of the old *Mino graphus*, *Suspicio grave est hominibus malum.* And the Divine *Chrysostom* saith, *A good Man hardly suspecteth another to be Evil; but an Evil Man scarcely supposeth any to be Good; far from the Counsel of this Epigram:*

Culpare in quoquam quæ non sunt nota, malignum est; Præsertim si quum cognita sint bona sunt. *Non pateant faciles duris rumoribus aures, Quæ nescire juvat, credere non libeat.* *Linquantur secreta Deo, qui quicquid opertum est Inspicit, & nullis indiget indicibus.*

Accuse no Man of Faults to thee unknown,
And much less him from whom good Fruits
have grown:
Lend not thine Ears to scandalous Reports;
Believe not that, which known, nought thee
imports.
Leave secret Things to God, who knows all
Hearts;
And hath no need of the Promoter's Arts.

But as *Julius Cæsar* who had many excellent *Meos tam* Observations) was wont to say, *Vir bonus tam suspicione quam crimine judicari oportet:* That a good Man must be as well without Suspicion as Crime: Yet none so innocent but may fall under the *co carere* Lash of the Malicious: For such, like the *Suer. in* *Poly-*pus, will take any Colour, or make any tincture *vitâ Jul.* of a Crime to serve their Ends. Of such a Virtue is the never-understanding Vulgar, that like Kites and Daws can digest nought but Stench and Filth; their Ignorance being their Faith, and that drawn from loose Pamphlets, and the Vomit of mercenary and mimic Pens; to which, and their uncurable Fits, I leave them.

BOOK V.

The ARGUMENT of the Fifth BOOK of the LIFE and REIGN of RICHARD III.

What a Tyrant is, and how a Tyrant and King Richard differ. The Destruction of the Plantagenets. The Daughters of King Edward how bestow'd. The Death of the Queen their Mother. The Virtues of King Richard the Third. The Elogy of the Three Brothers, King Edward the Fourth, George and Richard. The Magnificent, Publick and Charitable Building of King Richard the Third: His good Laws, and other good Works. That to die in the Wars is no Dishonour, but an Honour: *Artes Regiæ Crimen Regale:* His Comparison with other Kings accounted Good. King James's gracious Demeanour to his Cousins. A Character and Elogy of King Richard the Third. The Title of the Norman Race and of York defended. The sundry Titles of King James. The Wedding Ring of England. *Lapis Regno fatalis.* King Richard's Sepulchre and Epitaph. The Author's Scope; Peroratio & Votum.

What a Tyrant is.

WE will next endeavour to understand that Vocable or Term *Tyrannus* (that is, a Tyrant, or an Evil King) cast upon King Richard; which indeed, comprehendeth all Scandals and Impieties whatsoever.

Aristot.
in Ethic.
idem,

Tyrannus est qui suis propriis Commodis studet, & publicis adversatur. And *Tyrannus est qui dominatu crudeliter abutitur.* That is,

"A Tyrant is one who endeavoureth only
"his own Advantage, and is an Enemy to that
"of the Publick. And again, A Tyrant is one
"that abuseth his Authority to Cruelty.

A Tyrant is, by another Wise Man, compar'd to a Dragon, who becometh not a Dragon un-

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til he hath devoured many Serpents; Of which Conceit this Epigram was wittily framed.

*Post plures Coluber Serpentes Draco fit eses,
Gustatâ humanâ carne fit Homo Lupus.*

The Dragon which doth many Serpents eat,
Becomes a Dragon of huge Shape and strength;
And so the Man which makes his Flesh Man's
Meat,
Transformed is into a Wolf at length.

Another Philosopher differeth not much from *Bias apud* these, who saith, That of all Tame Beasts the *Plut. Lib.* Flatterer is most pernicious; and of all Wild the *de adulat.* Tyrant, who forbeareth not for any respect of *37.* Good, or Ill, but studies Oppressions, Wrongs, *G g g* Exactions,

1485. Exactions, Robberies, Sacriledges, Bloodshed, Murder, Adultery, Incest, Rape, Riot, Gluttony, Luxuriousness, Prodigality, and all manner of Excesses: These be his Arts of Reigning, and these be his Virtues,

Lucan. *Invident Tyranni claris, fortesque trucidant.*

Tyrants with envious Eyes the Brave behold,
And murder in cool Blood the Valiant and the Bold.

Another faith,

Sonnet. *Tyrannus miserum vetat perire, felicem jubet.*

Hercules. They force the Wretch to live, the happy
Eurens. Man to die.

So it was truly said by the famous Orator of Athens,

Demoisth. *Liberalitas Tyranni nihil aliud est quam translatio pecuniarum à justis Dominis ad alienos, idque indignos.* That is,

“The Liberality of a Tyrant is nothing else
“but the Taking away from the rightful Owners
“that which belongs to ‘em, and giving it unto
“others, and those unworthy thereof.

His Thirst and Covetousness, for his largitious Riots and Lusts, are so inordinate, that nothing can quench it.

Claudian. *Non Tartessus illum satiet arenis*
in Ruff. *Tempestas pretiosa Tagi, non stagna rubentis*
Aurea Pactoli, totumque exhausit Hermum,
Ardebit majore siti, &c.

Not Tagus golden Tide can e’re assuage,
Nor red Pactolus quench his avaricious Rage.
Give him whole Hermus at a Draught; his
Thirst
Inflam’d demands yet more—

Quicquid conspicuum pulchrumque ex Equore toto,
Res fisci est, &c.

These may serve for the Notions of a Tyrant: to any of which Impieties our King Richard was very little, or not at all obnoxious.

Parliam. For First, Whereas a Tyrant imposeth many
Ann 1. grievous Taxes and Oppressions upon his Sub-
Rich. III. jects, he took away such Grievances, and parti-
cularly, by Act of Parliament, a hateful Tax

The D. of (tho’ disguised with the name of a Benevolence) Buckingham forbearing to impose any upon the People.

Then, a Tyrant doth not only rapine his Subjects, but spoils and robs Churches and Church-men; but King Richard did many good Things both for the Publick Good, advancing God’s Service, and Maintenance of his Ministers and Church-men.

Tyrannum pium esse non est facile, (as Sophocles signified well observ’d.) And the Oracle pronounc’d, that every *Porta felicitatis ad Tyrannidem clausa.* Tyrants be Man cruel and bloody; but this King, by the Testi- should mony of his Enemies, was very Merciful and pay, not Mild; who confess he was of himself Gentle and what he affably disposed. These be their own Words. of his own

Therefore, where tyrannical Acts be objected against him, they must be conceiv’d done by o- King of ther Men, or by their Practice, or else before he his good Will list could be properly call’d Tyranny. Will list to take.

Amongst those they impute to him when he D Buck. a. was King, which are call’d Tyrannies, the Be- pud Thom. As our.

heading Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham was 1485. the chiefest; yet that Act, the cause and just Motives of it being well perused, cannot be censured Tyranny; rather due and necessary Justice: For if the King had not put down the Duke, the Duke would have put down the King.

Then it is objected, he bare a tyrannical Hand over his Nephew Edward Earl of Warwick. True it is, he sent him to Shery Hutton, a goodly and pleasant House of his own in Yorkshire, where he had Liberty, large Diet, all Pleasure and Safety; and if that were Imprisonment, it was a Prison Curtoise (as John Froisard saith) yet this must not be lets than Tyranny, according to the Stile of Sir Thomas Moor. When King Henry VII. as soon as he had got the Crown, sent this young Prince to the Tower, and afterwards cut off his Head; yet that was no Tyranny, after Sir Thomas Moor. But our King James (of ever hap- Comes a. py Memory) hath thought it an Act of so much rund. vna. detestation, that particularly he protested a- voce. gainst it, and shewed another temper of Justice and Power in his Royal Clemency to certain Noble Persons in one of his Kingdoms, who being Regal Titulars, and pretending Title to the Crown there (as descended from some King of that Country) his gracious and pious Inclination was so far from seeking their Ruin (or so much as the restraining them) that he suffer’d their Liberty, with Possession of what they had.

Then they call the Punishment of Jane Shore a Tyranny: A common and notorious Adulteress (as the Duke of Buckingham, who knew her very well, censured her) which she deserv’d so justly, that it was rather favourable, than severe or tyrannous.

Next, the Death of William Collingborn is made one of his Tyrannies; who (as some trivial Ro- Jurispe- mancers say) was hanged for making a Satyrical ritus in A. Rhime; when the Truth is, he had committed polozia. K. RIII. Treason, and was arraign’d and condemn’d of High Treason, as may be yet seen in the Record; and then it was Justice and not Tyranny.

Another Proof against their gross Paralogism, take from this Observation made by Demosthenes: *Tyrannus res est inimica Civibus, legibus contraria.* But King Richard was ever indulgent to his People, careful to have the Laws duly observed; his making so many good ones, being an evident Argument of his Love to Law and Justice. It is further observ’d, that Tyrants condemn good Counsel, are opinionated of their own Wisdoms, and obstinate to determine all Matters by themselves.

The Plaintiffs being call’d by the Greeks *Isotela*, that is, Self-counsellors, who say they are *Natura plerumque occulti & insidiosi. & Arte, & Astu, ea tegere, & dissimulare conantur, quæ agunt, non communicantes quicquid de suis Conciliis, aut rebus cum aliis, nec ab aliis Concilium petentes, neque admittentes, sed tantum sua Concilia sequuntur.* Axiom po- lit. cap. 219. Sententia Arabica;

That is,

“By Nature for the most part secret and
“close, and also treacherous; and by Deceit
“and Artifice endeavour to cover and dissemble
“what they do, not communicating any of
“their Designs or Affairs to others, nor asking
“or admitting of any Advice, but are only
“manag’d by their own Counsels.

Also Erasmus hath this Axiom; *Nullo Concilio quicquam magnæ rei aggredi, tyrannicum est.*

But King Richard neither did, nor would do any thing of importance, without Consultation with the wisest and noblest. And if in any Matters he had deliver’d his Judgment, yet his manner (as

1485. (as his Detractors confess) was, to say in the End and Conclusion; *My Lords, this is my mind; if any of you know what may else be better, I shall be ready to change it: for I am not wedded to my own Will.* Thus Sir Thomas Moor.

Caligula Lastly, Largition and excessive Expences are thought Vices proper to Tyrants; the rather, Millions because the Roman Tyrants, for their extreme Excesses, were call'd *Monstra & prodigia, & lues Imperii, pestes reipublicæ, &c.* As *Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, Heliogabalus, Calpurnia*, &c.

King Richard was ever held to be frugal, with the Preservation of his Honour; nor can they tax him with Palliardise, Luxury, Epicurism, nor Gluttony, Vices following many Tyrants; but moderate and temperate in all his Actions and Appetites; which is confess'd, and therefore needeth no further Proof. Indeed, it had been Advantage and Safety to him in the Event, if he had been a Tyrant a while; for then he might have preserv'd his Life and Kingdom, and

given a timely Check to the Practice of Bishop Morton, the Marquess Dorset, Earl of Devon, and his Brother the Bishop, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Stanley, and his Brother Sir William Stanley, with the Countess of Richmond his Wife, and the rest. But his Remifness and Patience bred his Ruin, not his Tyranny; that had been his Protection.

And now the black Curtain of Malice and Detraction is drawn, let us see this King in his proper Royalty and Virtues, casting up the general and particular Notions of a good King and happy Government; then peruse what was wanting in him.

First then, There is necessarily required proper to Empire, Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, Beauty, Magnificence, Temperance, and Piety.

That he had Wisdom and Prudence, need no other Witness, than his wise and provident managing, both of his own private Affairs and Government of the Publick. Also in the military Actions, in which he was try'd, both as a Subj. & a King; his Adversaries can allow him to be a wise, prudent, politick, and heroical Prince; his Wisdom appearing with his Justice, very

clearly in the good Laws he made, acknowledg'd and honourably predicated by our Reverend and most Learned Professors of the Laws.

For his further knowledge and love of Justice, there can be no fairer Argument than his Desire and Custom to sit in the Courts of Justice, hearing and distributing Justice indifferently to all Men.

And when he made his Progress into Yorkshire, being inform'd there of some Extortioners and foul Offenders, who were apprehended; notwithstanding, he caused the Law to take the just current, giving strict Charge and Commandment to all Officers of Justice, for just Administration to all Men, without Partiality or private Respects.

The Fortitude and Magnanimity of this Prince (tho' low of Stature) were so great and famous, as they need no Trumpet or Præconomy, being bred from his Youth in martial Actions: And the Battles of *Barnet, Exham, Doncaster*; the second of *St. Albans* and of *Tewksbury*, will give him the Reputation of a Soldier and Captain.

Being made General of the King's Armies into Scotland, he prevail'd happily in his Expedition, and particularly recover'd that famous and strong

Hold of *Berwick*, which King Henry VI. had so weakly let go.

And in this you shall hear the Elogy of One *Sir Thomas* that was loth to speak much in his Favour, yet Occasion forc'd him to speak his Knowledge, tho' coldly and sparingly; "King Richard was no ill Captain in the War; he had sundry Victories, and sometimes Overthrows, but never by his own Default, for want of Hardiness or Politick Order. Whereunto he addeth, concerning his Bounty; "Free, was he call'd, of Dispence, and Liberal somewhat above his Power. To which I will add one Elogy more, above all for Credit and Authority, recorded in an Act of Parliament, and address'd to him in the Name of the whole High Court of Parliament, in these Words; "We consider your great Wit, Prudence, Justice and Courage; "and we know by Experience, the memorable and laudable Acts done by you in several Battles for the salvation and Defence of this Realm.

Here followeth another general and memorable Testimony of him, and of more regard and honour, because it is averr'd by One that knew him from his Youth, the Duke of *Buckingham* who (after Richard was made King, and this Duke became ill-affected) acknowledg'd to Bishop Morton, in private Speeches between them, (a) "That he thought King Richard, from his first Knowledge even to that time, a Man clean without Dissimulation, tractable, and without Injury; and that for these Respects he was very desirous to advance him, and labour'd earnestly to make him Protector. Therefore, whatsoever the Duke said after in reproach of the King, it may justly be thought to proceed from Spleen and Malice.

There is this Commendation of his Eloquence and pleasing Speech; which tho' no Regal Virtue, yet it is an Ornament to the greatest Princes and commendable. The Prior of *Croyland* repeating the Dispute of a Controvercie between the two Brothers, George Duke of Clarence and this Richard of Gloucester, at the Council-Table before the King their Brother, sitting in his Chair of State, relates it thus:

Post suscitatas, inter Duces Fratres, discordias, tot utrinque rationes acutissime allegatæ sunt in presentia Regis (sedentis pro Tribunali in Camera Concilii) quod omnes circumstantes, etiam periti Legum, earum orationis abundantiam ipsis principibus in suis propriis causis adesse mirabantur, &c.

That is,

"A Dispute arising betwixt the two Dukes, being Brothers, so many pregnant Reasons were adduc'd by them on either Side, in the Presence of the King, sitting in his Chair of State in the Council Chamber, that all who were there, even such as were well skill'd in the Laws, did admire that fluency of Speech which the Princes had in readiness in their own Cause, &c.

Then speaking of the excellent Wits, extraordinary Knowledge and Gifts of these three Brothers, maketh this honourable Præcony: *tres Germani, Rex, & duo Duces, tam excellenti ingenio valebant, ut si discordare non voluissent, funiculus ille triplex difficillime rumpetur. i. e.*

(a) His kissing the two young Princes when they were deliver'd up to him by their Mother, and his shewing his wither'd Arm as he wish'd, are no great Proofs of his Sincerity.

1485. "These three Brothers, the King, and the two Dukes, were of a Wit so excell'g, that if they had not disagreed amongst themselves, such a threefold Cord cou'd not, without the greatest difficulty, have been broken asunder."

The good Let us look upon his charitable, religious and Works of magnificent Works.

King Rich- He founded a Collegiate Church of Priests in ard. Middleham in Yorkshire; another College of Priests in London in Tower-street, near to the Church call'd our Lady Berking. He built a Church or Chappel in Towton in Gloucestershire, a Monument of his Thankfulness to Almighty God, for the happy and great Victory his Brother had upon the Partisans of the Family of Lancaster, and the Sons of Henry VI. who before slew Richard Duke of York, King designate, and Father of these two Kings.

Polid. lib. He founded a College in York, convenient for 25. the Entertainment of an hundred Priests.

Richard He disforested a great part of the Forrest of lov'd not Wichford, and other vast Woods between Wood- Wichford stock and Bristow, for the Good and Benefit of for his the People of Oxfordshire and the Places ad- Brothers jacent.

unhappy Marriage- He built the high Stone Tower at Westminster, (which at this Day is a Work of good Use.) And when he had repair'd and fortify'd the Castle of Carlisle, he founded and built the Castle of Penrith in Cumberland.

He manumised many Bond men.

In Rot. in For the better encouragement of the Easter- domo Con- ling Hansas (their Trade being beneficial and versorum, profitable to this Kingdom) he granted them Ann. 1 R. some good Privileges, as Polidor writeth.

Charles He also founded the College and Society of the Great Heralds, and made them a Corporation; and instituted (as the Words in the Charter are) he ordain'd the Col- it, *Ut sint in perpetuum Corpus Corporatum in re & lege and nomine, habeant Successionem perpetuam, &c.* (a Society of Armors, taste of his Love to Honour, and his noble Gate calling for the Conservation of Nobility, Chevalry and them He- Gentry.) Which Corporation this King e- ralds of stablish'd by his Royal Charter, and plac'd the Ehr and Heralds in an ancient fair House, which was Halten, (Dutch or call'd Yorkime sometimes, after commonly Cole- Franchish barbour, situate upon the Thames; ordaining four words) Kings at Arms, by the Names and Titles of and not of Hero's, John Writ, Garter; Thomas Holme, Clarenceux; John Moor Norway; and Richard Champney, Gloucester.

For Wales, I have seen the Charter wherewith the King created first Richard Champney, Esq; King at Arms, by the Title and Name of Gloucester, dated Anno 1. R. III. at Westminster, in the Month of March, when the Charter of the Foundation was granted.

He further establish'd, that these four Kings at Arms and the rest of the Heralds, who are in the Charter call'd *Heraldi & Prosecutores sive Pursuivandi*, should lodge, and common together, in that House, where the Rolls Monuments and Writings (appertaining to the Office and Art of Heraldry and Armory) should be kept; giving also Lands and Tenements for the perpetual maintaining of a Chaplain or Chantry Priest, to say and sing Service every Day, and to pray for the King, Queen and Prince, and for their Souls when they were dead.

Lastly, He gave sundry good Privileges and Immunities to the said Corporation: Which Charter was kept continually in the Office until within these few Years, but now is in another place: The want of it importeth nothing, being the Duplicate is upon Record in the Archives,

kept in the Convert-house, now call'd the Rolls. 1485. It was confirm'd by the Parliament, and dated 2^o. die Martii, anno Regni primo, apud Westmonasterium, Baron: And underneath was written, *Per breve de privato Sigillo, de datu predicto, autoritate Parliamenti.*

He also built or repair'd some part of the Tower of London towards the Thames; in memory whereof, there be yet his Arms impaled with those of the Queen his Wife, standing upon the Arch adjoyning to the Sluce-gate.

He began many other good Works, which his sudden Fate prevented; as Polidor thus witnesseth.

Richardus Tertius multa opera publica & privata inchoavit, quæ immatura morte præreptus non perfecit. Which Works and Monuments of Piety shew not the Acts of a Tyrant. Polidor Virgil, being neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian, speaks much in Commendation of his pious and charitable Disposition; to which I refer the Readers, and put it to their indifferent Judgments, How many of those call'd Good Kings, have exceeded him in their longer and prosperous Time, being in quiet Possession too of their Crown and Kingdoms? Let me add for a Corollary, what that of the worthy Prelate Archibald Quiblaw (Chief Secretary, and a Privy Counsellor of Scotland) in his Oration, when he was One of the Commissioners for a conclusion of a Peace and Marriage between Prince James, eldest Son to the King of Scotland, and the Lady Anne, Daughter to John de la Poole; from whence I have collected these.

Serenissime Princeps,

UNA me res consolatur, & juvat, tua (scil.) in omni virtutis genere celeberrima fama per omnem Orbis terrarum ambitum disseminata, tuæ etiam innata benignitatis, clarissima præstantque humanitas, tua mansuetudo, liberalitas, fides, summa justitia, incredibilis animi magnitudo, tuâ non humana, sed pene divina sapientia, te non modo singulis facilem, verum vulgo & popularibus affabilem præbes, & quibus virtutibus aliâque prudentiâ cuncta & pronuntiata & dicta in meliora commutat. Serenissimus Princeps Rex Scotorum, Dominus meus, qui te alto amore prosequitur, te desiderat, tuam amicitiam & affinitatem affectat, supra captum cogitationis meæ; si quid à me erratum erit, tuis & divinis virtutibus, quibus commercium cum Cælestibus numinibus & Societatem contraxeris, tribuendum putato.

Faciem tuam summo Imperio & Principatu dignam inspicit, quam moralis & Heroica virtus illustrat, de te dici prædicarique potest quod Thebanorum Principi inclitissimo Poeta his Verbis attribuit.

— Nunquam tantum animum natura minori Corpore, nec tantas visa est includere vires. Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus. In te enim sunt rei militaris, virtus, peritia, felicitas, & auctoritas, quæ omnia in optimo exercitus principe Cicero requirit.

In te (Serenissime Princeps). præclari Regis & Imperatoris præcepta ita concurrunt, ut nihil ad tuam bellicam, aut domesticam virtutem cujusquam oratoris verbis apponi possit.

Tu igitur (Serenissime Domine & Princeps) de ineunda inter te & nostrum Principem charitate & amicitia, sic age; & Angli & Scoti dilectionis respectu nullum penitus discrimen habeatur, sed in unum amoris & benevolentiae vinculum videantur esse connexi, sic numerabiles commoditates ex tui, & nostri populi dilectione, dulci consubio, unione, Matrimonio, & affinitate consurgent.

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ Lustrabunt, convexa polus dum sidera pascet, Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit, Dumque Thyryo pascuntur apes, dum rore cicadæ, Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

In

In English thus ;

Most Serene Prince,

“ ONE thing is to me at this time favourable and encouraging, which is your Majesty's most high Renown in every Kind of excellling Qualities, extended even into the remotest Corners of the World ; also the most illustrious and surpassing Excellency of your innate Goodness and Generosity, your Clemency, Liberality, Truth, great Justice, Magnanimity surpassing Belief, your not human, but almost Divine Wisdom ; you shew your self gentle to all, and affable even to the meanest of your People ; by which Virtues, and by your great Prudence, whatever is spoken and pronounc'd is by your Majesty favourably construed and accepted. The most Serene Prince the King of the *Scots*, my Master, out of the high Love and Esteem he has for your Majesty, is desirous of your Friendship and Alliance, even beyond what I am able to express ; the Faults that I may chance to commit, they find a Cause as well as an Excuse in your Divine Virtues whereby you are become like unto, and are, as it were, entered into the Society of, the celestial Inhabitants.

“ He beholds in your Face a Princely Majesty and Authority Royal, sparkling with the illustrious Beams of all Moral and Heroical Virtues. To you may not unfitly be apply'd, what was said by the Poet of a most renowned Prince of the *Thebans* ;

—So great a Soul, such Strength of Mind
Sage Nature ne'r to a less Body joyn'd.

“ For in your Majesty are Military Prowess, Skill, Success, and Authority ; all which are by *Cicero* requir'd in an able General of an Army.

“ In you (most Serene Prince) all the Excellent Qualifications of a Good King and Great Commander, are happily united ; inasmuch, that to the Perfection of your Military and Civil Accomplishments, nothing could be added, even by the highest Rhetorical Flights of a most consummate Orator.

“ You therefore (most Serene Prince) will be pleas'd in your Royal Wisdom, to take such Measures, upon your Part, for establishing a Love and Friendship betwixt you and our Prince, that with respect to mutual Love, the Difference betwixt an *English* and a *Scottish* Man may not henceforth be remembred, but both Nations may be united by the Bond of Love and Benevolence. So, from the Love, sweet Agreement, Union, Alliance, and as it were Marriage of your People and these of ours, unto both innumerable Advantages shall accrue.

“ While Flouds to th' Sea do roul, and Mountains high
Cast sable Shades, Stars sparkle in the Sky,
Wild Boars on Hills, Fish wanton in the Streams,
Bees feed on Thyme, at Titan's later Beams
Locusts on Dew, your high renowned Name
Shall ever live, and fly on Wings of Fame.

But what is this, or more, to Malice and Detraction, that haunt him to his Death ? and after that, making the Catastrophe, or last tragical Act of his Life at *Bosworth-field*, an immediate Stroke of the Divine Vengeance, for such Offences as they please to particular from Women or superstitious Clerks, whose Names startle at the noise of War and Martial Trial, to whose Fears and Weakness such Reasons would sound tolerable. But if Bishop *Morton* and Sir *Thomas Moor* (altho' they were Men of the long Robe) had consider'd with whom they conversed, and where they most liv'd ; how could they forget, that to Die valiantly in the Field, for Country, Life and Friends, was always held a glorious Farewell to the World ; or what infinite numbers of virtuous and most noble Captains have fallen so by the Sword and Fate of War ?

Lampridius affirmeth, That all the best Men have died violent Deaths : And what higher Quarrel could call any heroical Spirit, than King *Richard's* fighting for a Crown, Kingdom, and all his happy Fortunes here ? God hath many times taken away Princes, and changed the Government of Kingdoms for the Iniquities of the People ; why, then should not King *Richard's* Fate be held in a modest Scale until we can better know or judge it ? Nor can it be safe to enquire, or peremptorily to determine further after God's Proceedings in such Cases. He that owes him no Malice (things look'd upon thro' judgment and charity) may with more justice say, He died valiantly and in a just Quarrel, when many of his Enemies fell by Death's more vile, and shameful Executions.

But he that hath but a reasonable pittance of Humanity, will censure no Man's Life by the manner of his Death ; for many good and holy Men have suffer'd by violent Deaths ; tho' it be this Prince's fortune to fall under the ill Affections of envious Pens, more than many that committed more publick and prov'd Crimes than he, which wanted much of his Virtues and Desert. Examine him with *Henry I.* the good Clerk and learned Prince, but so covetous and ambitious, that he could not be content to usurp in this Kingdom the Right and Primogeniture of his elder Brother *Robert Courthouse*, but by force took the Dukedom of *Normandy* from him : And to make his Injuries more exact and monstrous, cast him into the Castle of *Gloucester*, there kept him in cruel Durance, and caused his Eyes to be put out ; so wearied him to most miserable Death.

King *John*, by the general voice, is charg'd with the Murder of *Arthur Plantagenet*, the Son of his eldest Brother, and so the next Prince in right of Blood to King *Richard I.* And it is written by good Authors, That King *Edward III.* was not only privy and consenting to the deposing the King his Father (a King anointed) but also to his Massacre. And because *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Kent*, Protector, and his Uncle, moved him to restore the Crown to his Father *Edward II.* he call'd him Traytor, and cut off his Head at *Westminster*.

How King *Henry IV.* caused King *Richard II.* (the true and anointed King) to be cruelly butcher'd at *Pomfret*, is too notorious ; and this was *Scelera sceleribus tueri*.

King *Edward IV.* is accused of the Murder and Death of the King Saint *Henry*, and of *Edward Prince of Wales* his Son. (*Et supra.*)

King *Henry VII.* (altho' amongst the best of Kings in his general Character) is not thought guiltless of that *Crimen sacrum vel regale*, in cutting off *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, an Innocent.

Edwardum Filium Ducis Clarencie, Puerum & Gul. Camb. Infantem, in suam, & suorum securitatem capite den in Brit. & Corn. plexit.

And

1485. And to secure his Estate, had more than learnt other smart Rules of Policy. That reach of State upon Philip of Aufrich, Duke of Burgundy, King of Castile and Arragon, is not the least memorable.

Grafton.
Hollins-
head.

This Prince Philip was by cross Fortune put into the King's Hands: Purposing out of Flanders to go into Spain, with the Queen his Wife, took Shipping at Sluce, and passing by the Coasts of England, was by a Tempest forced for his Safety to put into the Port of Weymouth in Dorsetshire: The Queen being ill, and distemper'd much with the Storm, was compell'd to make some stay there.

Sir John Carew, and Sir Thomas Trenchard (principal Men in those Parts) gave speedy Intelligence of this to the King, who was glad of the Accident, and purpos'd to make good use of it, as speedily returning his Command to give them all honourable Entertainment; but not suffer them to depart, until he had seen and saluted them.

The Duke ignorant of this, as soon as the Queen and the rest had recover'd and refresh'd themselves, thought he was only to give those Knights Thanks, and take his Leave; which they by way of courtesie and request interpose, in behalf of the Kings vehement desire to salute him and the Queen: A Motion the Duke much prest to be excused from, as the Necessity of his Journey stood; but the Intreaty was so imperious, he must stay, and alter his Journey for Windsor, to meet the King, who received him there in a Magnificent manner; and at the height of a Feast, propounds a Suit to the Duke for Edmund de la Pool (then in his Dominions) a Pretender to the Crown of England, and not so soundly affected to him: A Suit of a harsh Exposition, as the Duke apprehended it, and to the blemish of his Honour and Piety, as he nobly urged; but no Argument had Vertue, nor no Vertue Argument enough to excuse it; the King must have him, or the Duke must stay. Cast upon this Extreem (and foreseeing what Disadvantages were upon him, some honourable Conditions granted, that he should neither lay Punishment nor Death upon him) he gave his Promise to send him, and the King strictly and religiously bound himself to the Exceptions.

The Duke accordingly sent this de la Pool into England; who upon his Arrival was deliver'd to the Tower; but his Life not touch'd until the King lay a Dying; then he equivocated his Vow by a Mental Reservation, enjoyning his Son after his Death to cut off his Head; which was done when he came to be King, and was held some raint to them both; tho' the Son held himself acquit and warranted by the Example of King Solomon, who was made the Instrument of such another subtil Slaughter by his Father David, that thought he kept himself by Equivocation: Examples not to be imitated by any Christian Prince, being a Sin; and Sins are to be avoided, not imitated.

Grafton.

The eldest Brother of these de la Pools, John de la Pool, Heir to the Duke of Suffolk, and Head of this Family, was slain casually at the Battel of Stoke; and is he who, as nearest Kinsman to King Richard III. was proclaimed Heir apparent. The Sister of these Princely de la Pools, the Lady Katharine, was kept close Prisoner in the Tower, until Grief and Sorrow bowed her to the Grave.

Nor is it much from our Purpose to note, that the chief Plantagenets, namely, the Children of King Edward IV. had but cold Influences then; for the Lady Bridget was thrust into a Nunnery at Dartford, chiefly, (as it was

thought) that she should live Sterile, and die without Issue. The Lady Cecily was married to a base fellow, that so her Issue might be ignoble and contemptible; the Wrong being the greater, in regard she was offer'd Marches to her Quality; the King of Scotland propounding Prince James unto her; and the French King Lewis demanded her for the Dauphin Charles of France.

It was observed too, That this King was but an unkind and severe Husband to his Queen (indeed:) they had all but short Lives; and our Stories report he pick'd a Quarrel with the Queen Dowager-Mother, for an old and venial Errour, because she deliver'd her Son Richard to the Protector; for which there was a Confiscation upon all her Goods, Chattels and Revenues, and she confin'd to Bermondsey-Abbey, where she liv'd not long, Care and Grief untwisting the Thread of her sad Fate. And when Death had seized him from all the Glories and Policies of this World, his Son succeeds; and then Residuum Locustæ Bruchus comedit; & residuum Bruchi comedit Rubigo: for what remain'd of the House of York, he gave the last blow to: and after the dispatch of the aforesaid Edmund de la Pool, caus'd the Lady Margaret Plantagenet Countess of Salisbury, then Daughter and Heir of George Duke of Clarence, to be attainted of Treason by Act of Parliament, and condemn'd unheard, being dragged to the Block barbarously by the Hair of her Head, tho' above Threescore Years in Age, Anno 33 Hen. 8. Not long after, Sir Henry Pool her eldest Son was put to Death, and her Son Reynold Pool was attainted of Treason with her (no Man knowing what the Treason was) but got suddenly out of the Kingdom into Italy, where he became much favoured by the Princes there, and by the Popes afterward made Cardinal, and highly renowned (in those Times) for his Learning, Piety and other noble Merits. Richard Pool; another Son of the Countess of Salisbury's fled, and liv'd a banish'd Man in foreign Countries; yet at the height of a good Reputation, until he was slain at the Battel of Pavia.

These be sad Pauses, which my Pen but touches at, to note the Partiality of some on one side, and the Malignity of some on the other side, who have made King Richard the worst of all Princes; when other of our own have had as great an Appetite of Empire, whose Names and laured Names we congratulate with Honour.

Nor let my just and plain Meaning be mistaken, which urges nothing in Dislike or Exprobation that King Henry the Seventh had the Crown, whom our Age must acknowledge a Wise, provident and Religious Prince, The Restorer of the ancient Line of the British Kings to their Reign and Kingdom, Nephew of King Henry the Sixth by his Grand-mother Queen Katharine, Widow of King Henry the Fifth, and Mother of King Henry the Sixth, and of his Brother Uterine Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond, the Father of this King Henry the Seventh; and so he was Nephew also to Charles the Seventh King of France. I conceive he took it by too violent a hand, not staying tempus bene placiti.

And here I may fitly take occasion to make up a Defect or Brack covertly imputed to the Titles of the Normans, and Princes of York, by our vulgar Historians and Chroniclers.

And first, we are to suppose, If there be, it grew by the Error of King Edward's Marriage, by which they hold that Title was weakned (at the least blemish'd) but that could have no continuance, England.

1485.
Polid.
lib. 4
Altho' he
Lady Anne
and the
Lady Ka-
tharine
were well
married,
that may
not be al-
ledged
here; for
they were
bestowed
in the
Time
of Rich. 3.
the one to
the Lord
Howard,
after D.
of Norfolk,
the other
to the Earl
of Devon.
Robert Glo-
ver.
Joel. c. 1.
Dominus
Joh. Bar-
Lumley,
viva viva

1485. continuance, being made sound again as soon as King Richard came to reign, and after cured and confirmed by the mighty Power of sundry Parliaments, by which it was made as strong and firm as ever; besides the aid of the Dispensations Apostolical (in those times Sacred and Authentick.) And without that (if need were) our King now reigning hath other Royal Rights, more than *funiculus Triplex*; some more ancient, authentick and just, therefore more secured, and of more prosperous Hopes than that Norman Title, which was a violent acquiescence of the Sword, and a Purchase made by Blood, so consequently none of the best; which was well conceived by the great Macedon, when he said, *Non est diuturna possessio in quam gladio inducimur*. Neither would it avail in this behalf to cite or avouch the Donation of this Kingdom, which the Confessor is said to have made to William the Conqueror, being to no Purpose, because that Gift or Legacy was disclaimed and disallow'd by the Barons of this Land, and found to be void.

Alex: apud
Curtium,
lib. 8.

Yet Time now, and Prescription, have also made that Title good: for Prescription hath power to ratify and confirm the Titles both of Princes and of Private Men.

But our King is the immediate and sole Lawful Heir of King Egbert, (who first gave the Name of England to this Land, and was absolute Lord of it) from him, by the glorious Kings, Edgar, Edmund, Athelstan, Alfred, and many others, as well Saxons and Angles, as Anglo-Saxons, the Right and Title of this Kingdom is duly descended and devolved to Edmund Ironside King of England, who was Father to the most noble Clyto, Edward surnam'd Exul, whose fair Daughter and Heir (a religious Lady) the Princess Margaret of England, was married to Malcom Cammoire King of Scotland; from which Ancient and happy Alliance, the King our Sovereign Lord is directly and certainly descended, and is the true and only Heir to the Rights and Titles which were without flaw; so the most ancient and famous Title, and Right of the first Kings of Britain are in him, being the next Heir of our last British King Henry Tudor, whose Genealogy I have seen derived from the Antick Kings of Britain, and from divers other British Princes. And this Henry Tudor (or the Seventh) to confirm all the Titles of this Kingdom unto his Claim, by the strongest and greatest Authority, procur'd them Decreed to him and to his Issue (so established in himself and his Posterity for ever) by Act of Parliament, in this manner and words.

Anno 1 H.
7. in Par-
liament in
Novemb.

TO the Pleasure of Almighty God, and for the Wealth and Prosperity and Surety of this Realm of England, to the singular Comfort of all the Subjects of the same, and for avoiding all Ambiguities and Questions:

We it ordained, Established and Enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realm of England, and also of France, with all the Pre-eminencies and Dignities Royal to the same appertaining, and all Liegancies to the King belonging beyond the Seas with the Appurtenances thereunto in any wise due or appertaining, To be, rest, remain and abide in the most Royal Person of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the Seventh, and in the Heirs of his Body lawfully coming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and so to endure, and in no other.

Which is also another Title to our King, Heir to Henry the Seventh.

And this Act was renew'd and firmly established, for our Sovereign Lord King James, Anno regni primo.

Yet King Henry the Seventh obtain'd of the Pope another Title, *Jure soli*.

All which Titles and Rights (which ever were appertaining to this Kingdom, and to the Empire of Britain) are coalesced and met in our Sovereign King; for he hath not only the Claims of the ancient Kings of Britain, of the Saxons, and Anglo-Saxon Kings, and of the Norman Race; but also the Titles and Rights of the Royal Families of York, of Lancaster, and of Wales, &c.

And (not as the least, in reference with these) he hath in possession also those singular and particular Monuments of Empire and Reign, by some call'd *Fata Regni*, and *Instrumenta & Monumenta Regno, & imperio destinata*.

One being the Ring of the accounted Holy King Edward, the Son of King Etheldred, which was consecrated and extraordinarily blessed by St. John Baptist in Palestine, and sent back by the King (as old Writers tell) which hath been religiously kept in the Abbey of Westminster, and is (as Tradition goes) the Ring which the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Inauguration and Consecration of the Kings, puts upon their Finger; call'd in our Stories, *The Wedding Ring of England*.

The other Monument of the British Empire, is the Marble Stone whereupon Jacob laid his Head, when he had those Celestial and Mystical Visions mention'd in Holy Writ; which Stone was brought out of Palestine into Ireland, and from thence carried into Scotland by King Kenneth; after translated to the City of Scone and used for the Chair wherein the Kings sat at their Coronation; brought out of Scotland by Edward the First into England, as the best Historians of Scotland and England relate.

Cathedram Marmoream Regibus Scotorum fatalem (in qua insidentes Scotorum Reges Coronari consueverant.) Rex Edwardus primus à Scona Londinum transtulit, & in Westmonasterio (ubi hodie visitur) deposuit.

That is, "The Marble Chair fatal to the Scottish Kings, and in which they used to sit when they were crown'd, was by King Edward I. removed from Scone to London, and placed in Westminster Abbey, where it yet remains."

It is set or born in a Chair of Wood, and for a perpetual Honour (upon a Table hanging in the Chappel at Westminster) this is writ:

—Si quid habent veri vel Chronica cana, fidesve,
Clauditur hac Cathedra, Nobilis ille lapis,
—Ad caput, eximius Jacob quondam Patriarcha,
Quem posuit cernens numina mirifica;
Quem tulit à Scotis Edwardus primus, &c.

—If old Records say true, this Chair

That noble Stone inclos'd does bear,
On which the Patriarch did his Head recline
When he view'd Scenes all wondrous and divine;

This the first Edward did from Scotland bring;

George Buchananus saith, The People are seriously perswaded that in this Stone (which he calleth *Lapidem Marmoreum rudem*) the Fate of the Kingdom is contained, and that *fatum Regni* is thus understood; viz. What King of Scotland soever is Lord of that Stone, and Sovereignly possessed thereof, shall be King, and reign

1485. in the Country where he findeth that Stone :
Thus told in a Prophetical Distich.

*Ni fallat fatum, Scotus quocunque locatum
Inveniet lapidem, regnare tenetur ibidem.*

Unless old Saws do fail, and Wizzards Wits
go blind,
The Scots shall have the Rule where e'er this
Stone they find.

Which Prophecy was accomplish'd in King
James, when he came first into England: for
his Titles were not only *funiculus triplex qui dif-*
ficile rumpitur; but also *funiculus multiplex qui*
nunquam rumpitur. And may those Titles for
ever be establish'd in his Loins, according to
that of the Heavenly Messenger, *Regnum perpe-*
tuum, & cujus non est finis. Amen.

Could this King be brought off from the horrid Imputation that lies upon his Memory, of much Bloodshed, Op-
pression and gross Hypocrisy, to gain and keep the Crown, one might judge him a good King. For in several Pas-
sages of his Reign, and Publick Declarations by him made, he express'd a Care of the good Estate of his People,
and a Concern to have Sin and Wickedness checked, and carried himself with a Regard to Learning and Religion.

Here follow a few Instances.

Upon the hurting of a Constable of Gloucester in the Execution of his Office, the King taking particular Notice
thereof, and of the Occasion, sent a special Letter to the chief Officer there, viz.

RICHARD, &c. To the Major, Sheriffs and Aldermen of our Town of Gloucester, that now be, or that
hereafter for the time shal be, Greeting. Forasmuch as we well understand, that by means of Retaindors, and re-
ceyving and wearyng of Liveries, of clothing Baienx, and other Signes, contrary to the Effects of the Statutes by
our Noble Progenitors heretofore ordeyned and establiſhed in that behalf, grete and manie Devyſions and Incon-
venyences have ryſen and grown in dyvers places within this our Realme, to the grete Troubles and annoyance of
oure Subjects of the ſame: And especiaſſie now of late among you within our ſaid Towne by evyl dyſpoſed Gen-
tlemen, *Jamys Gyſe, John Burdet, Edward Brigge*, and others in making Assault upon our Officers, a Constable of
oure ſaid Towne, not onely beaten and grevoully maimed, but also partly in dyspair of his Lyfe, as it is to us
shewed, to oure full grete dyspleaſur. Wherefor We woll and charge you, that if ye have commytted them or
any of them to Priſon, yee do ſurely kepe them there without Bayle or Mainprize, to ſoche tyme as ye ſhal undre-
ſtonde oure further pleaſur in that behaulf. And if No, to indeavour you thereunto. And over thys, that yee in
nowyſe from henceforth ſuffre any Perſon dwellyng among you in oure ſaid Towne or Franchiſes, for to uſe or wear
Lyvery of Clothynge bagien, ſigne, or other Connizance, of the Gyft of any Maner of Perſon of whate State, De-
gree or Condition ſoever he be, but only Oures. And that upon the Peine of Forfeiture of their Lyberties, and
Franchiſes. And if ye ſhal know any preſuming, or attempting ſo to do, that yee forthwith without delay com-
myt him in lykewiſe to ſure Priſon, and ſo remayne as above. Faile yee not to accompliſh this at your uttermoſt
peryl. Yeven at London the 6th of December.

For the checking of Vice and promoting of Sobriety and Vertue, both in Temporal and Spiritual Men, the King
wrote this Circular Letter to the Biſhops.

Reverend Fadre in God, Right Truſtie and Welbeloved, We grete you wele; Aſcertayning you that amonges
othre oure ſeculer belynesseſſes and Cares, oure principal Entent and fervent deſire is to ſee vertue and clenneſſe of
Lyving to be advanced, encreſed and multiplied, and vices and all othre thyngs repugnant to vertue, provoking
the high Indignation and fereful Diſpleaſure of God, to be repreſſed and adnulled. And this perſectly followed
and put in execution by Perſones of high Eſtate, Pre-eminence and Dignitie not oonly enduceth Perſones of lower
degree to take thereof example, and to enſue the ſame, but also thereby the great and infinite Goodneſſe of God is
made placable, and gracionſſie enclyned to the exaudition of our Petitions and Prayers. And forasmoche as it is nota-
rily knowen, that in every Jurisdiction, as wele in their Paſtoral Cure, as othre, there be many, as wele of the Spi-
rituell Partie, as of the Temporall, delyring from the true weye of vertue and good lyving to the pernicious ex-
ample of othre, and lotheſomneſſe of every weledyſpoſed Perſonne; WEE therefore woll and deſire you, and on
Goddeſſe behalf inwardly exhort and require you, that according to the Charge of your Profeſſion, ye woll ſee,
within th' Auctoritie of your Jurisdiction, al ſuche Perſones as ſet a parte Vertue and promote the dampnable
execution of Sinne and Vices, to be reſourmed, repreſſed and punyſhed condignely after their demerits: not
ſparing for any love, favour, drede or affection; whether th'offendour be Spirituell or Temporell. Wherein ye
may be aſſured we ſhall yee unto you oure favour, aide and aſſiſtence, if the Caas ſhall ſo require, and ſee; to the
ſharp Punyſhment of the Repugnatoours and Interruptours, if any ſuche be.

And if ye woll diligently applie you to th'execution and perſourmyng of this Matere, ye ſhall not oonly doo
unto God right acceptable pleaſure, but over that we ſhall ſee ſuch Perſones Spirituell as ben undre your Paſto-
rell Cure, noon otherwiſe to be entreated or punyſhed for their Offences, but according to the Ordenaunces and
Lawes of holy Church. And if for the due execution of the Premiſes any Complaint or Suggeſtion be made unto
us of you, We ſhall remytte the determynation thereof unto the Courts of our Couſin th'archebiſhop of Canterbury
Cardinal. And thus proceeding to th'execution hereof, ye ſhall doo unto your Self grete honour, and unto us right
ſinglier pleaſure. Yeven, &c. at Weſtmiſter the X day of Marche.

And his Care of the good Government and Eaſe of his Subjects, part of his Proclamation againſt his Rebels in
Kent wil ſhew. Viz.

And over this, the Kinges Highneſſe is fully determyned to ſee due Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout this
his Realme to be had: And to reſourme, puniſhe, and to ſubdue al Extortion and Oppreſſions in the ſame. And
for that Cauſe woll, that at his comyng now into the ſaid County of Kent, that every Perſone dwellyng within the
ſame that fyndeth hym grieved, oppreſſed, or unlawfullie wronged, doo make a Byll of hys Complaynt, and put
it to hys Highneſſe, and he ſhall be heard, and without delay have ſuche conveyent remedie as ſhall accord with
hys Lawes. For his Grace is utterlie determyned, that al hys true Subjects ſhall lyve in reſt and quiet, and peace-
ably enjoy their Landes, Livelodes and Goodes according to the Lawes of this hys Lande, which they be naturally
born to enherytt. And therefore the King chargeth and commaundeth, that no maner Man of whatſoever Condi-
tion or Degree he bee, trouble, hurt or ſpoyle any of hys ſaid Subjects, in their Bodies, or Goodes, upon paine of
Death. And also, that no maner Man make ryke, or contrive any Quarrels to either for any old or new ran-
cour, hate, malyce or cauſe, or offere make, upon paine of Death. Nor also take Man's meat, Horſe meat, or any
Vitall or Stuff, without he pay truly therefore to the Owner thereof, upon paine of leiſing of his Horſe harnelle,
Goods, and his Body to Priſon at the Kinges Wyll. And overthys, that no maner Man trouble or vex any Farmour,
or Occupier of any of the Lands that apperteyned to the abovenamed Rebels and Traitors, otherwiſe than by the
Kinges Commaundement or Authoritie. And that al ſuch Fermours and Occupiers reteyne and kepe ſtil in their
own hand the Revenews and Mony grown, and to grow of the ſaid Lands, unto the tyme they know the Kynges
pleaſure in that behalf. And the King our ſaid Sovereign Lord chargeth ſtrait all his Myniſters, Officers and Sub-
jects within the ſame County, to reſiſt and withſtand al Perſons that woll attempt any thing contrary to thys Pro-
clamation, and them take and ſure kepe in Priſon, unto they have from the Kinges Highneſſe otherwiſe in command-
ment for their Delivery. J. S.

Thus I have led you through the various 1485.
Relations, and Tragical Interchanges of this
Prince's Life, to his laſt Act and Place, where,
(after Revenge and Rage had ſatiated their bar-
barous Cruelties upon his dead Body) they gave
his Royal Earth a Bed of Earth, honourably,
appointed by the Order of King Henry the Se-
venth, in the chief Church of Leiceſter, call'd
St. Maries, belonging to the Order and Society
of the Grey Friars; the King in ſhort time after
cauſing a fair Tomb of mingled colour'd Marble,
adorn'd with his Statue to be erected thereupon,
to which ſome grateful Pen had also deſtined
an Epitaph, the Copy whereof (never fixt to
his Stone) I have ſeen in a recorded Manu-
ſcript-Book chain'd to a Table in a Chamber
in the Guild-hall of London: which (the Faults
and Corruptions being amended) is thus repre-
ſented together with the Title thereunto prefix'd
as I found it.

1485. To give you him in his equal Draught and Composition : He was of a mean or low Compact, but without Disproportion and Unevenness either in Lineaments or Parts (as his several Pictures present him) His Aspect had most of the Soldier in it ; So his Natural Inclination (Complexions not uncertainly expounding our Dispositions) but what wants of the Court-Planner, Effeminate Censures think must needs be harsh and crabbed (and Envy will pick Quarrels with an Hair, rather than want Subject.) The Judgment and Courage of his Sword-Actions, rendred him of a full Honour and Experience, which Fortune gratify'd with many Victories; never any Overthrows through his own Default, for lack of Valour or Policy. At Court, and in his general Deportment, of an affable Respect and tractable Clearness. In his Dispense, of a magnificent liberal Hand, some-
 what above his Power (as Sir Thomas Moor sets down.) And surely the many Churches, with other good Works he Founded, (more than any one former King did in so short a time) must commend him Charitable and Religious, as the excellent Laws he made, do his Wisdom and Strain of Government, which all Men confess of the best. So having (even from those his bitterest times) the esteem of a Valiant, Wise, Noble, Charitable and Religious Prince, why should ours deprave him so much upon Trust, and deny Works their Character and Place ?

Epitaphium Regis RICHARDI Tertii,
 Sepulti ad Leicestriam, jussu, & sumptibus
 Sui Regis Henrici Septimi.

HIC ego, quem vario Tellus sub Marmore claudit,
 Tertius à justa voce Richardus eram;
 Tutor eram Patriæ, Patrius pro jure Nepotis;
 Dirupta, tenui regna Britannia, fide.
 Sexaginta dies binis duntaxat adeptis
 Etatesque, tuli tunc mea Sceptra, duas.
 Fortiter in Bello certans desertus ab Anglis,
 Rex Henrice, tibi, septime, succubui.
 At sumptu, pius ipse, tuo, sic ossa dicaras,
 Regem olimque facis Regis honore coli.
 Quatuor exceptis jam tantum, quinque his annis
 Acta trecenta quidem, lustra salutis erant,
 Anteque Septembris undena luce Kalendas,
 Reddideram rubræ jura petita Rosæ.
 At mea, quisquis eris, propter commissâ precare,
 Sit Minor ut precibus pœna levata tuis.

Deo O. M. Trino & Uno, sit laus,
 & Gloria æterna. Amen.

Epitaph of Richard III. bury'd at Leicester
 by the Order, and at the Expence of King
 Henry the Seventh.

I Who am laid beneath this Marble Stone,
 Richard the Third, possess'd the British Throne;
 My Country's Guardian in my Nephew's Claim,
 By Trust betray'd I to the Kingdom came.
 Two Years and sixty Days, save two, I reign'd,
 And bravely strove in Fight, but unsustain'd
 My English left me in the luckless Field,
 Where I to Henry's Arms was forc'd to yield.
 Yet at his Charge, my Coarse this Tomb obtains,
 Who piously interr'd me, and ordains
 That Regal Honours wait a King's Remains.
 Th' Year fourteen hundred 'twas and eighty four
 The twenty first of August, when its Pow'r
 And all its Rights I did to the Red Rose restore.
 Reader, whoe'er thou art, thy Pray'rs bestow
 T' atone my Crimes, and ease my Pain below.

Epigramma in RICHARDOS Angliæ
 Reges, ex vet. lib. MS. transcriptum.

Tres sunt Richardi quorum fortuna erat æqua,
 In tribus æscariis sua cujus propria fors est,
 Nam concors horum finis sine posteritate
 Corporis, atque rapax vitæ modus, & violentus
 Interitus fuerat; sed major gloria primi,
 Prælia terrarum qui gesserat & redeuntem
 Tela Balistarum feriunt apud extera regna.
 Alter depositus regno, qui carcere clausus,
 Mensibus extiterat certis, fame velle perire
 Elegit potius, quam famæ probra videre.
 Tertius exhausto statim amplo divitiarum
 Edwardi cumulo, proscribens auxiliares
 Henrici partes, post annos denique binos
 Suscepti regni, Bello confectus eisdem
 Mundanam vitam tum perdidit atque coronam
 Anno milleno; centum quater octuageno,
 Adjunctis quinque, & cum lux Sextilis adest,
 Undena duplex, dentes apri stupuerunt,
 Et vindex albæ Rosæ Rubra refloret in orbe:

Epigram on the Three Richards, Kings of
 England; the Latin transcrib'd from an
 Old Manuscript.

Three Richards did in England wear the Crown,
 An equal Fortune in the three was shown;
 All Childless dy'd, and left no Race behind,
 Rapacious were their Lives, to Force alike inclin'd;
 Their Deaths were violent. The first excell'd
 The rest in Fame, and * Triumphs of the Field:
 Returning home, he on a foreign Plain
 Was by the fatal Darts of Archers slain.
 The Second was from Sov'reign Sway depos'd,
 For several Months in strict Confinement clos'd,
 He chose to starve, rather than see his Shame,
 And bear the Insults of reproaching Fame.
 The Third profusely spent the treasur'd Store
 That Edward rais'd, but when with warlike Pow'r
 To crush brave Henry's Partisans he try'd,
 Wounded in Fight, he fell himself and dy'd.
 Thus the Red Roses, their Opposers slain,
 Reviv'd and flourish'd in the World again.

* His Expedition
 into the
 Holy Lands

*

THE LIFE and REIGN OF K. HENRY VII.

By the Right Honourable *FRANCIS*
Lord *Verulam*, Viscount *St Albans*.

1485.
Richard
the Third
a Tyrant.

Bosworth
Battel.

K. Henry's
Piety.

The Ob-
sequies
due to Ty-
rants.
King Ri-
chard's
Ignomini-
ous Burial.

He mur-
der'd his
two Ne-
phews,
King Ed-
ward's
Sons.

His Vices
overbal-
lanc'd his
Virtues.

AFTER that *Richard* the Third of that Name, King in Fact only, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all Times since, was by the Divine Revenge, favouring the Design of an exil'd Man, Overthrown and Slain at *Bosworth* Field: There succeeded in the Kingdom the Earl of *Richmond*, thenceforth styl'd *Henry* the Seventh. The King immediately after the Victory, as one that had been bred under a devout Mother, and was in his Nature a great Observer of Religious Forms, caused *Te Deum Laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole Army upon the place, and was himself with general Applause and great Cries of Joy, in a kind of Militar Election or Recognition, saluted King. Mean while the Body of *Richard* after many Indignities and Reproaches (the *Dirgies* and *Obsequies* of the common People towards Tyrants) was obscurely buried. For tho' the King of his Nobleness gave Charge unto the Fryars of *Leicester* to see an honourable Interrment to be given to it, yet the Religious People themselves (being not free from the Humours of the Vulgar) neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any Man's Blame or Censure. No Man thinking any Ignominy or Contumely unworthy of him, that had been the Executioner of King *Henry* VI. (that Innocent Prince) with his own Hands; the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two Nephews (one of them his Lawful King in the Present, and the other in the Future, failing of him) and vehemently suspected to have been the Impoisoner of his Wife, thereby to make Vacant his Bed, for a Marriage within the Degrees forbidden. And altho' he were a Prince in Militar Vertue approv'd, Jealous of the Honour of the *English* Nation, and likewise a good Law maker, for the Ease and Solace of the common People: Yet his Cruelties and Parricides in the Opinion of all Men, weigh'd down his Vertues and Merits; and in the Opinion of wise men, even those Vertues themselves were conceived to be rather feign'd, and affected things

to serve his Ambition, than true Qualities in- generate in his Judgment or Nature. And there- fore it was noted by Men of great Understanding (who seeing his After-Acts, look'd back upon his former Proceedings) that even in the Time of King *Edward* his Brother, he was not without secret Trains and Mines to turn Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Government; as having an Expectation and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reason of his many Disorders, could not be of long Life, but was like to leave his Sons of tender Years; and then he knew well how easie a Step it was from the Place of a Protector, and first Prince of the Blood, to the Crown. And that out of this deep Root of Ambition it sprang, that as well at the Treaty of Peace that passed between *Edward* IV. and *Lewis* XI. of *France*, concluded by Interview of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as upon all other Occasions, *Richard* then Duke of *Gloucester*, stood ever upon the Side of Honour, raising his own Reputation to the Disadvantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the Eyes of all, (especially of the Nobles and Soldiers) upon himself; as if the King by his Voluptuous Life and mean Marriage, were become Effeminate and less sensible of Honour and Reason of State, than was fit for a King. And as for the Politick and wholesome Laws which were enacted in his Time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocade of an Usurper, thereby to woo and win the Hearts of the People, as being conscious to himself, that the true Obligations of Sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King *Henry* in the very Entrance of his Reign, and the instant of time, when the Kingdom was cast into his Arms, met with a Point of great Difficulty and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest King in the newness of his Estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a Deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent to his Person, three several Titles to the Imperial Crown; the first, the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with

1485.

K. Richard
jealous of
his Honour.

Made
good
Laws to
win the
Peoples
Love.

K. Henry's
Three Ti-
tles to the
Crown.

the



1485. the Party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed Title (both by Plea and Arms) of the House of Lancaster, to which he was Inheritor in his own Person. The third, the Title of the *Sword*, or *Conquest*, for that he came in by Victory of Battel, and that the King in possession was slain in the Field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give Contentment to the People, who by Two and Twenty Years Reign of King *Edward IV.* had been fully made capable of the Clearness of the Title of the White Rose, or House of *York*; and by the mild and plausible Reign of the same King toward his later Time, were become affectionate to that Line. But then it lay plain before his Eyes, that if he relied upon that Title, he could be but a King at courtesy; and have rather a matrimonial than a regular Power; the Right remaining in his Queen; upon whose Decease, either with Issue, or without Issue, he was to give place and be removed. And tho' he should obtain by Parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a King that holdeth his Crown by a Civil Act of Estates, and One that holdeth it originally by the Law of Nature and Descent of Blood. Neither wanted there even at that time, secret Rumours and Whisperings (which afterwards gather'd strength, and turn'd to great Troubles) that the two young Sons of King *Edward IV.* or one of them (which were said to be destroy'd in the *Tower*) were not indeed murder'd, but convey'd secretly away, and were yet living: Which if it had been true, had prevented the Title of the Lady *Elizabeth*. On the other side, if he stood upon his own Title of the House of *Lancaster*, inherent in his Person, he knew it was a Title condemn'd by Parliament, and generally prejudg'd in the common Opinion of the Realm, and that it tended directly to the Disinheritance of the Line of *York*, held then the indubiate Heirs of the Crown. So that if he should have no Issue by the Lady *Elizabeth*, which should be Descendants of the Double Line, then the ancient Flames of Discord and intestine Wars upon the Competition of both Houses, would again return and revive.

As for *Conquest*, notwithstanding Sir *William Stanley*, after some Acclamations of the Soldiers in the Field, had put a Crown of Ornament (which *Richard* wore in the Battel, and was found among the Spoils) upon King *Henry's* Head, as if there were his chief Title; yet he remembr'd well upon what Conditions and Agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as Conqueror, was to put as well his own Party, as the rest, into Terror and Fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of Laws, and disposing of Men's Fortunes and Estates, and the like Points of absolute Power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that *William* himself, commonly call'd the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the Power of a Conqueror to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbore to use that Claim in the beginning, but mixt it with a titulary Pretence, grounded upon the Will and Designation of *Edward* the Confessor. But the King, out of the Greatness of his own Mind, presently cast the Die, and the Inconveniencies appearing unto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any Inter-reign, or Suspension of Title; and preferring his Affection to his own Line and Blood; and liking that Title best that made him independent; and being in his Nature and Constitution of Mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future Events afar off, but an Enter-tainer of Fortune by the Day, resolv'd to rest upon the Title of *Lancaster* as the main, and to use the other two, that of Marriage and that of Battel, but as Supporters; the one to appease secret Discontents, and the other to beat down open Murmur and Dispute; not forgetting that the same Title of *Lancaster* had formerly maintain'd a possession of Thrice Descents in the Crown, and might have proved a Perpetuity, had it not ended in the Weakness and Inability of the last Prince. Whereupon the King presently, that very Day, being the 22th of *August*, assumed the Stile of King in his own Name, without mention of the Lady *Elizabeth* at all, or any relation thereunto; in which Course he ever after persisted, which did spin him a Thread of many Seditious and Troubles. The King full of these Thoughts, before his Departure from *Leicester*, dispatch'd Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Castle of *Sheriff Hutton* in *Yorkshire*, where were kept in safe Custody, by King *Richard's* Commandment, both the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *Edward*, and *Edward Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*. This *Edward* was, by the King's War-rant deliver'd from the Constable of the Castle to the Hand of Sir *Robert Willoughby*, and by him, with all safety and diligence, convey'd to the *Tower of London*; where he was shut up close Prisoner: Which Act of the King's (being an Act merely of Policy and Power) proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of *Doctor Shaw's* Tale at *Paul's Cross*, for the bastarding of *Edward* the Fourth's Issues, in which case this young Gentleman was to succeed (for that Failure was ever exploded) but upon a settled Disposition to depress all Eminent Persons of the Line of *York*; wherein, still the King out of strength or Will, or Weakness of Judgment, did use to shew a little more of the Party than of the King.

For the Lady *Elizabeth* she received also a Direction to repair with all convenient speed to *London*, and there to remain with the Queen Dowager her Mother; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many Noblemen and Ladies of Honour. In the mean Season the King set forwards by easy Journeys to the City of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauses of the People as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very Demonstrations and Fulness of the Cry: For they thought generally, that he was a Prince as ordain'd and sent down from Heaven, to unite and put an end to the long Dis-sension of the two Houses; which altho' they had in the Times of *Henry IV.* *Henry V.* and part of *Henry VI.* on the one side, and the Times of *Edward IV.* on the other, lucid Intervals and happy Pauses; yet they did ever hang over the Kingdom, ready to break forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his Victory gave him the Knee, so his Purpose of Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth* gave him the Heart; so that both Knee and Heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great Wisdom (not ignorant of the Affections and Fears of the People) to disperse the Conceit and Terror of a Conquest, had given order that there should be nothing in his Journey like unto a warlike March or Manner, but rather like unto the Progress of a King in full Peace and Assurance.

He entred into the City upon a *Saturday*, as he had also obtain'd the Victory upon a *Saturday*, which Day of the Week, first upon an Observation,

The Title
of the
White
Rose.

The Lan-
caster Ti-
tle con-
demn'd
by Parlia-
ment.

Sir Will.
Stanley
Crowns
K. Henry
in the
Field.

Edward
Plantage-
net Earl of
Warwick,
Son and
Heir of
George
D. of Cla-
rence im-
prison'd.

K. Henry
resolves
to depress
all the
Chief Per-
sons of
the Line
of York.

The Ti-
tle of
Conquest
unplea-
sing to
the Peo-
ple.

1485. vation, and after upon Memory and Fancy, he accounted and chose as a Day prosperous unto him.

Why K. Hen. entered London in a close Chariot. The Mayor and Companies of the City receiv'd him at *Shore-ditch*; whence, with great and honourable Attendance and Troops of Noblemen, and Persons of Quality he entred the City; himself not being on Horseback, or in any open Chair, or Throne, but in a close Chariot, as One that having been sometimes an Enemy to the whole State, and a proscrib'd Person, chose rather to keep State, and strike a Reverence into the People than to fawn upon them.

He went first into *St. Paul's Church*, where not meaning that the People should forget too soon that he came in by Battel, he made Offertory of his Standards, and had *Orizons* and *Te Deum* again sung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the Bishop of *London's Palace*, where he stay'd for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his Council and other principal Persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his Promise to marry with the Lady *Elizabeth*. This he did the rather, because, having at his coming out of *Brittaine* given artificially, for serving of his own Turn, some Hopes, in case he obtain'd the Kingdom, to marry *Anne* Inheretress to the Dutchy of *Brittaine*; whom *Charles* the Eighth of *France* soon after married; it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fix'd in going on with the Match of *England* so much desir'd: Which Conceit also, tho' it were but Talk and Discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady *Elizabeth* her self. But, howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it shou'd be so believ'd, (the better to extinguish Envy and Contradiction to his other Purposes) yet was he so resolv'd in himself not to proceed to the Consummation thereof till his Coronation and a Parliament were past; the one, least a joynt Coronation of himself and his Queen might give any Countenance of participation of Title; the other, least in the intailing of the Crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by Parliament, the Votes of the Parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

Sweating Sickness. Its Cure. About this time, in Autumn, towards the end of *September*, there began and reign'd in the City and other Parts of the Kingdom, a Disease then new; which of the Accidents and Manner thereof, they call'd the Sweating Sickness. This Disease had a swift Course both in the Sick Body, and in the Time and Period of the lasting thereof: For they that were taken with it, upon Four and Twenty Hours escaping, were thought almost assured: And as to the Time of the Malice and Reign of the Disease e're it ceased; it began about the 21. of *September*, and clear'd up before the end of *October*; inso-much as it was no hindrance to the King's Coronation, which was the last of *October*; nor (which was more) to the holding of the Parliament, which began but seven Days after. It was a pestilent Fever, but as it seemed not seated in the Veins or Humours, for that there follow'd no Carbuncle, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Mass of the Body being not tainted, only a malign Vapour flew to the Heart, and seized the vital Spirits; which stirr'd Nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme Sweat. And it appear'd by experience that this Disease was rather a Surprise of Nature than obstinate to Remedies, if it were in time look'd unto: For if the Patient were kept in an equal Temper, both for Cloaths, Fire, and

1485. Drink moderately warm, with temperate Cordials, whereby Nature's Work were neither irritated by Heat, nor turn'd back by Cold, he commonly recover'd. But infinite Persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the Cure and Attendance was known. It was conceiv'd not to be an Epidemick Disease, but to proceed from a Malignity in the Constitution of the Air, gathered by the Pre-dispositions of Seasons; and the speedy Cessation declared as much.

On *Simon* and *Jude's* Even the King dined with *Thomas Bourchier*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* and Cardinal; and from *Lambeth* went by Land over the Bridge to the Tower, where the Morrow after he made Twelve Knight Bannerets. But for Creations he dispensed them with a sparing Hand: For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a Coronation so near at hand, he only created three: *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke* (the King's Uncle) was created Duke of *Bedford*; *Thomas* the Lord *Stanley* (the King's Father in Law) Earl of *Darby*; and *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devon*; tho' the King had then nevertheless a Purpose in himself to make more in time of Parliament, bearing a wife and decent respect to distribute his Creations, some to honour his Coronation, and some his Parliament. Creations of Noblemen.

The Coronation follow'd two Days after, K. Henry upon the 30th Day of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 1485; at which time *Innocent* the Eighth was Pope of *Rome*; *Frederick* the Third, Emperor of *Almaine*; and *Maximilian* his Son, newly chosen King of the *Romans*; *Charles* the Eighth King of *France*; *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* Kings of *Spain*; and *James* the Third, King of *Scotland*; with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time at good Peace and Amity. At which Day also (as if the Crown upon his Head had put Perils into his Thoughts) he did institute, for the better security of his Person, a Band of fifty Archers under a Captain to attend him, by the Name of Yeomen of his Guard; and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of Dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of Diffidence appropriate to his own Case, he made it to be understood for an Ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after. Yeomen of the Guard first instituted.

The Seventh of *November* the King held his Parliament at *Westminster*, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to *London*. A Parliament called. His Ends in calling a Parliament (and that so speedily) were chiefly three; First, to procure the Crown to be intail'd upon himself: Next, To have the Attainders of all his Party (which were in no small number) reversed, and all Acts of Hostility by them done in his Quarrel, remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attain by Parliament the Heads and Principals of his Enemies. The Third, To calm and quiet the Fears of the rest of that Party by a general Pardon: Not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his Subjects, when most of his Subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his Danger. Unto these three special Motives of a Parliament, was added, That he, as a prudent and moderate Prince made this Judgment; That it was fit for him to hasten to let his People see that he meant to govern by Law, howsoever he came in by the Sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their King, whom they had so lately talk'd of as an Enemy or Banish'd Man. For that which concern'd the Entailing of the Crown, (more than that he was true to his own Will, that he wou'd not endure any mention of the

1485. the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of Special Entail) he carried it otherwise with great Wisdom and Measure: For he did not prett to have the Act penn'd by way of Declaration or Recognition of Right; as on the other side he avoided to have it by New Law or Ordinance; but chose rather a kind of middle-way, by way of Establishment, and that under Covert and indifferent Words; *That the Inheritance of the Crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King, &c.* which Words might equally be apply'd; That the Crown should continue to him; but whether as having former Right to it, (which was doubtful) or having it then in Fact and Possession (which no Man denied) was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the Limitation of the Entail, he did not press it to go further than to himself and to the Heirs of his Body, not speaking of his Right Heirs; but leaving that to the Law to decide: So as the Entail might seem rather a personal Favour to him and his Children, than a total Disinheritance to the House of York. And in this Form was the Law drawn and pass'd; which Statute he apocured to be confirm'd by the Pope's Bull the Year following, with mention, nevertheless, (by way of Recital) of his other Titles, both of Descent and Conquest: So as now the Wreath of Three was made a Wreath of Five; for to the three first Titles of the Two Houses, or Lines, and Conquest were added Two more, the Authorities Parliamentary and Papal.

Persons attainted excepted against as Members of Parliament. The King likewise in the Reversal of the Attainders of his Partakers, and discharging them of all Offences incident to his Service and Successour, had his Will, and Acts did pass accordingly: In the Passage whereof, Exception was taken to divers Persons in the House of Commons for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in Parliament, being disabled in the highest degree: and that it should be a great Incongruity to have them to make Laws, who themselves were not inlaw'd. The Truth was, that divers of those which had in the Time of King Richard been strongest and most declared for the King's Party, were return'd Knights and Burgeses for the Parliament, whether by Care or Recommendation from the State, or the voluntary Inclination of the People; many of them which had been by Richard III. attainted by Outlawries, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this: For tho' it had a grave and specious Shew, yet it reflected upon his Party. But wisely not shewing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a Case in Law, and wish'd the Judges to be advised thereupon; who, for that purpose, were forthwith assembled in the Exchequer-Chamber (which is the Council-Chamber of the Judges) and upon deliberation, they gave a grave and safe Opinion and Advice, mix'd with Law and Convenience; which was, That the Knights and Burgeses attainted by the Course of Law, should forbear to come into the House till a Law were made for the Reversal of their Attainders.

Attainder of the Blood reaches not the Crown. It was at that time incidently moved among the Judges in their Consultation, what should be done for the King himself, who likewise was attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolv'd, *That the Crown takes away all Defects and*

Stops in Blood; and that from the time the King did assure the Crown, the Fountain was clear'd, and all Attainders and Corruption of Blood discharged. But nevertheless, for Honour's sake, it was ordain'd by Parliament, that all Records wherein there was any memory or mention of the King's Attainder, should be defaced, cancel'd, and taken off the File.

But on the Part of the King's Enemies, there were by Parliament attainted the late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third; the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovel, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of Degree and (a) Quality. In which Bills of Attainders, nevertheless there were contain'd many just and temperate Clauses, Savings, and Proviso's, well shewing and fore-tokening the Wisdom, Stay, and Moderation of the King's Spirit of Government. And for the Pardon of the rest, that had stood against the King; the King, upon a second Advice, thought it not fit it should pass by Parliament, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the Thanks to himself, using only the Opportunity of a Parliament time, the better to disperse it into the Veins of the Kingdom: Therefore during the Parliament, he publish'd his Royal Proclamation, offering Pardon and Grace of Restitution to all such as had taken Arms, or been Participant of any Attempts against him; so as they submitted themselves to his Mercy by a Day, and took the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to him: Whereupon many came out of Sanctuary, and many more came out of Fear, no less guilty than those that had taken Sanctuary.

As for Money or Treasure, the King thought it not seasonable, or fit to demand any of his Subjects at this Parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in Matters of so great Importance: And because he could not remunerate them with any General Pardon, being prevented therein by the Coronation Pardon, pass'd immediately before; but chiefly, for that it was in every Man's Eye, what great Forfeitures and Confiscations he had at that present to help himself; whereby those Casualties of the Crown, might in reason spare the Purse of the Subject, especially in a time when he was in Peace with all his Neighbours. Some few Laws pass'd at that Parliament, almost for form sake; amongst which, there was One to reduce Aliens, being made Denizens, to pay Strangers Customs; and another, To draw to himself the Seisures and Compositions of Italian Goods, for not Employment, being Points of Profit to his Coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful, and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early Providence (which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his People) could likewise have attempt'd his Nature therein. He added, during Parliament, to his former Creations, the Innoblement or Advancement in Nobility of a few others: The Chandos of Brittain was made Earl of Bath; and Sir Giles Daubeny was made Lord Dawbenny; and Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke.

The King did also with great Nobleness and Bounty (which Virtues at that time had their turns in his Nature) restore Edward Stafford, eldest Son to Henry Duke of Buckingham, attainted

restored to the Honours and Estate of his Father the late Duke of Buckingham.

(a) Amongst whom was John Buck, a Relation of George Buck the Author of the Life of King Richard III. which perhaps was the reason why that Historian, in opposition to other Writers on the same Subject, endeavour to have it believed, That King Richard was both a Great and a Good Man. This John Buck was a Creature of the Duke of Norfolk, a fast Friend to King Richard III. Buck lost his Head at Bosworth.

1485. in the Time of King *Richard*) not only to his Dignities, but to his Fortunes and Possessions, which were great; to which he was moved also by a kind of Gratitude, for that the Duke was the Man that mov'd the first Stone against the Tyranny of King *Richard*, and indeed made the King a Bridge to the Crown upon his own Ruins. Thus the Parliament brake up.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, the King sent forthwith Money to redeem the Marquess *Dorset*, and Sir *John Bouchier*, whom he had left as his Pledges at *Paris*, for Money which he had borrow'd when he made his Expedition for *England*. And thereupon he took a fit Occasion to lend the Lord Treasurer and Mr. *Bray* (whom he used as Counsellor) to the Lord Mayor of *London*, requiring of the City a Prest of six thousand Marks: But after many Parleys, he could obtain but Two thousand Pounds. Which nevertheless the King took in good part; as Men use to do that practise to borrow Money when they have no need. About this time, the King called unto his Privy-Council *John Morton* and *Richard Fox*, the one Bishop of *Ely*, the other Bishop of *Exeter*, vigilant Men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all Men else. They had been both vers'd in his Affairs, before he came to the Crown, and were Partakers of his adverse Fortune. This *Morton* soon after upon the Death of *Bouchier*, he made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And for *Fox*, he made him Lord Keeper of his Privy-Seal, and afterwards advanc'd him by degrees, from *Exeter* to *Bathe* and *Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and last to *Winchester*. For altho' the King lov'd to employ and advance Bishops, because having rich Bishopricks, they carried their Reward upon themselves: Yet he did use to raise them by Steps, that he might not lose the Profit of the First-fruits, which by that course of Gradation was multiplied.

1486. At last upon the 18th of *January*, was solemnized the so long expected and so much desir'd, Marriage, between the King and the Lady *Elizabeth*: † Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph and Demonstrations (especially on the Peoples part) of Joy and Gladness, than the Days either of his Entry or Coronation; which the King rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his Lifetime, whilst the Lady *Elizabeth* liv'd with him, (for she died before him) he shew'd himself no very indulgent Husband towards her, tho' she was Beautiful, Gentle, and Fruitful. But his Aversion towards the House of *York* was so predominant in him, as it found place, not only in his Wars and Counsels, but in his Chamber and Bed.

Towards the Middle of the Spring, the King full of Confidence and Assurance, as a Prince that had been Victorious in Battel, and had prevail'd with his Parliament in all that he desir'd, and had the Ring of Acclamations fresh in his Ears, thought the rest of his Reign should be but Play, and the enjoying of a Kingdom. Yet as a wife and watchful King, he would not neglect any thing for his Safety; thinking nevertheless to perform all things now, rather as an Exercise, than as a Labour. So he being truly inform'd that the Northern Parts were not only Affectionate to the House of *York*, but particularly had been devoted to King *Richard* the Third; thought it would be a Summer well

spent to Visit those Parts, and by his Presence and Application of himself) to reclaim and rectifie those Humours. But the King in his Account of Peace and Calms, did much Overcast his Fortunes; which proved for many Years together full of Broken Seas, Tides and Tempests. For he was no sooner come to *Lincoln*, where he kept his *Easter*, but he receiv'd News, That the Lord *Lovel*, *Humphrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* (who had formerly taken Sanctuary at *Colchester*) were departed out of Sanctuary; but to what place, no Man could tell. Which Advertisement the King despised, and continued his Journey to *York*. At *York* there came fresh and more certain Advertisement, That the Lord *Lovel* was at hand with a great Power of Men, and that the *Staffords* were in Arms in *Worcestershire*, and had made their Approaches to the City of *Worcester* to Assail it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound Judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a Rag or Remnant of *Bosworth-Field*, and had Nothing in it of the main Party of the House of *York*. But he was more doubtful of the raising of Forces to resist the Rebels, than of the Resistance it self; for that he was in a Core of People whose Affections he suspected. But the Action enduring no Delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord *Lovel* to the Number of Three thousand Men, ill arm'd, but well assur'd (being taken some few out of his own Train, and the rest out of the Tenants and Followers of such as were safe to be trusted) under the Conduct of the Duke of *Bedford*. And as his manner was to send his Pardons rather before the Sword than after, he gave Commission to the Duke to proclaim Pardon to all that would come in: Which the Duke, upon his Approach to the Lord *Lovel's* Camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King expected; the Heralds were the great Ordinance. For the Lord *Lovel* upon Proclamation of Pardon, mistrusting his Men, fled into *Lancashire*, and lurking for a time with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, after sail'd over into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret*: And his Men, forsaken of their Captain, did presently submit themselves to the Duke. The *Staffords* likewise, and their Forces, hearing what had happen'd to the Lord *Lovel* (in whose Success their chief Trust was) despair'd and dispers'd. The two Brothers taking Sanctuary at *Colnham*, a Village near *Abingdon*; which place upon View of their Privilege in the *King's-Bench*, being judged no sufficient Sanctuary for Traitors, *Humphrey* was executed at *Tyburn*; and *Thomas*, as being led by his Elder Brother, was pardon'd. So this Rebellion prov'd but a Blast, and the King having by his Journey purg'd a little the Dregs and Leaven of the Northern People, that were before in no good Affection towards him, return'd to *London*.

In *September* following; * the Queen was deliver'd of her Son, whom the King (in Honour of the *British* Race, of which himself was) nam'd *Arthur*, according to the Name of that Ancient worthy King of the *Britains*; in whose Acts there is Truth enough to make him Famous, besides that which is Fabulous. The Child was Strong and Able, tho' he was Born in the Eighth Month, which the Physicians do prejudge.

* *Holmshead* writes, The Queen was deliver'd at *Winchester*, in *Sept.* 1488. which is more probable than that she should be deliver'd now; for she was married but on the 18 of *January* in this Year.

1486. There follow'd this Year, being the Second of the King's Reign, a strange Accident of State, whereof the Relations which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the Nature of it (for it hath faln out oft) but for the Manner and Circumstance of it, especially in the Beginnings. Therefore we shall make our Judgment upon the things themselves, as they give Light one to another, and (as we can) dig Truth out of the Mine. The King was green in his Estate; and, contrary to his own Opinion and Desert both, was not without much Hatred throughout the Realm. The Root of all, was the discountenancing of the House of York, which the general Body of the Realm still affected. This did alienate the Hearts of the Subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that after his Marriage, and after a Son born, the King did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the Coronation of the Queen, not vouchsafing her the Honour of a Matrimonial Crown; for the Coronation of her was not till almost two Years after, when Danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread abroad (whether by Errour, or the Cunning of Malecontents) that the King had a purpose to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* closely in the Tower; whose Case was so nearly parallel'd with that of *Edward* the Fourth's Children, in respect of the Blood, like Age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the King a most odious resemblance, as if he would be another King *Richard*. And all this time it was still whisper'd every where, that at least one of the Children of *Edward IV.* was living. Which Bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desir'd Innovation. Neither was the King's Nature and Customs greatly fit to disperse these Mists; but contrariwise he had a fashion rather to create Doubts than Assurance. Thus was Fuel prepar'd for the Spark; the Spark that afterwards kindled with such a Fire and Combustion was at the first contemptible.

Simon an Oxford Priest, sets up the Impostor Lambert Simnell.

There was a subtil Priest call'd *Richard Simon*, that liv'd in Oxford, and had to his Pupil a Bachelor's Son nam'd *Lambert Simnell*, of the Age of some Fifteen Years; a comely Youth, and well favour'd, not without some extraordinary Dignity and Grace of Aspect. It came into this Priest's Fancy (hearing what Men talk'd, and in hope to raise himself to some great Bishoprick) to cause this Lad to counterfeit and personate the second Son of *Edward IV.* suppos'd to be murder'd; and afterward (for he chang'd his Intention in the Menage) the Lord *Edward Plantagenet*, then Prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the Part he was to play. This is that which (as was touch'd before) seemeth scarce credible; Not that a False Person should be assum'd to gain a Kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late Times; nor that it should come into the Mind of such an abject Fellow, to enterprize so great a Matter; for high Conceits do sometimes come streaming into the Imaginations of base Persons, especially when they are drunk with News and Talk of the People. But here is that which hath no Appearance; That this Priest being utterly unacquainted with the true Person, according to whose pattern he should shape his Counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his Player, either in Gesture and Fashions, or in recounting past Matters of his Life and Education; or in fit Answers to Questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to re-

present. For this Lad was not to personate one that had been long before taken out of his Cradle, or convey'd away in his Infancy, known to few; but a Youth that till the Age almost of Ten Years had been brought up in a Court, where infinite Eyes had been upon him. For King *Edward* touch'd with Remorse of his Brother the Duke of *Clarence's* Death would not indeed restore his Son, (of whom we speak) to be Duke of *Clarence*; but yet created him Earl of *Warwick*, reviving his Honour on the Mother's side, and used him honourably during his Time, tho' *Richard III.* afterwards confin'd him. So that it cannot be, but that some great Person; that knew particularly and familiarly *Edward Plantagenet*, had a hand in the Business, from whom the Priest might take his Aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent Acts, is, that it was the Queen Dowager, from whom this Action had the principal Source and Motion: For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating Woman, and in her Withdrawing Chamber had the fortunate Conspiracy for the King against K. *Richard* the Third been hatch'd; which the King knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the King, thinking her Daughter (as the King handled the Matter) not advanced but depressed: And none could hold the Book so well to Prompt and Instruct this Stage-Play, as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager Sort that favour'd this Enterprize, and knew the Secret, that this disguised Idol should possess the Crown; but at his Peril to make way to the Overthrow of the King: And that done, they had their several Hopes and Ways. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Conjecture is, that as soon as the Matter brake forth in any Strength, it was one of the King's first Acts to cloister the Queen Dowager in the Nunnery of *Bermondsey*, and to take away all her Lands and Estate; and this by close Council without any legal Proceeding, upon far-fetch'd Pretences; That she had deliver'd her two Daughters out of Sanctuary to King *Richard* contrary to Promise. Which Proceeding being even at that time taxed for Rigorous and Undue, both in Matter and Manner, makes it very probable there was some greater Matter against her, which the King upon reason of Policy, and to avoid Envy would not publish. It is likewise no small Argument that there was some Secret in it, and some suppressing of Examinations; for that the Priest *Simon* himself, after he was taken, was never brought to Execution; no not so much as to publick Trial (as many Clergymen were upon less Treasons) but was only shut up close in a Dungeon. Add to this, that after the Earl of *Lincoln* (a principal Person of the House of York) was slain in *Stoke field*, the King open'd himself to some of his Council, that he was sorry for the Earl's Death, because by him (he said) he might have known the bottom of his Danger.

But to return to the Narration it self; *Simon* did first instruct his Scholar for the part of *Richard* Duke of York, second Son to King *Edward IV.* and this was at such time as it was voiced that the King purposed to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* Prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great Murmur. But hearing soon after a general Bruit that *Plantagenet* had escap'd out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the People, and such rejoicing at his Escape, the cunning Priest chang'd his Copy, and chose now *Plantagenet* to be the Subject

1486. Subject his Pupil should personate, because he was more in the present Speech and Vores of the People; and it pieced better, and follow'd more close and handsomly upon the Bruit of *Plantagenet's* Escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much perspective into his Disguise, if he should shew it here in *England*; he thought good (after the manner of Scenes in Stage-Plays and Masks) to shew it afar off; and therefore sail'd with his Scholar into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the House of *York* was most in height: The King had been a little improvident in the Matters of *Ireland*, and had not remov'd Officers and Counsellors, and put in their Places, or at least intermingled Persons, of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong Bent of that Country towards the House of *York*; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled State, more easy to receive Distempers and Mutations than *England* was. But trusting to the Reputation of his Victories and Successes in *England*, he thought he should have time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that second Kingdom.

Wherefore through this Neglect, upon the coming of *Simon* with his pretended *Plantagenet* into *Ireland*, all things were prepar'd for Revolt and Sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. *Simon's* first Address was to the Lord (a) *Thomas Fitzgerard*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*: Before whose Eyes he did cast such a Mist (by his own Insinuation, and by the Carriage of his Youth, that express'd a Natural Princely Behaviour) as joyn'd perhaps with some inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the Earl's own Mind, left him fully possess'd that it was the true *Plantagenet*. The Earl presently communicated the Matter with some of the Nobles (b) and others there, at the first Secretly. But finding them of like Affection to himself, he suffer'd it of purpose to vent and pass Abroad; because they thought it not safe to Resolve, till they had a taste of the Peoples Inclination. But if the Great ones were in Forwardness, the People were in Fury, entertaining this Airy Body or Phantasm with incredible Affection; partly, out of their great Devotion to the House of *York*; partly out of a Proud Humour in the Nation, to give a King to the Realm of *England*. Neither did the Party in this Heat of Affection much trouble themselves with the Attainder of *George Duke of Clarence*; having newly learn'd by the King's Example, that Attainders do not interrupt the conveying of Title to the Crown. And as for the Daughters of *K. Edward IV.* they thought *King Richard* had said enough for them; and took them to be but as of the King's Party, because they were in his Power and at his Disposing. So that with marvellous Consent and Applause, this Counterfeit *Plantagenet* was brought with great Solemnity to the Castle of *Dublin*, and there saluted, serv'd and honour'd as King; the Boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the Baseness of his Condition. And within a few days after he was proclaim'd King in *Dublin*, by the Name of *K. Edward the Sixth*; there being not a Sword drawn in *King Henry's* Quarrel.

Lambert Simnell, the Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick* Proclaim'd at *Dublin*.

1486. The King was much moved with this unexpected Accident when it came to his Ears; both because it struck upon that String which ever he most fear'd, as also because it was stirred in such a place, where he could not with Safety transfer his own Person to suppress it. For partly thro' Natural Valour, and partly thro' an Universal Suspicion (not knowing whom to trust) he was ever ready to wait upon all his Atchievements in Person. The King therefore first called his Council together at the *Charterhouse* at *Shine*; which Council was held with great Secrecy; but the open Decrees thereof which presently came abroad were Three.

The First was, That the Queen Dowager, for that she, contrary to her Pact and Agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the Marriage of her Daughter *Elizabeth* with *King Henry*, had nevertheless deliver'd her Daughters out of Sanctuary into *King Richard's* Hands; should be cloister'd in the Nunnery of *Bermondsey*, and forfeit all her Lands and Goods.

The next was, That *Edward Plantagenet* then Close Prisoner in the *Tower*, should be in the most Publick and Notorious manner, that could be devised, shew'd unto the People: In part to discharge the King of the Envy of that Opinion and Bruit, how he had been put to Death privily in the *Tower*; but chiefly to make the People see the Levity and Imposture of the Proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their *Plantagenet* (c) was indeed but a Puppit, or a Counterfeit.

The Third was, That there should be again A general Pardon publish'd. reveal their Offences, and submit themselves by a Day. And that this Pardon should be conceiv'd in so ample and liberal a manner, as no High Treason (no not against the King's own Person) should be excepted. Which tho' it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a Wise King, that knew his greatest Dangers were not from the least Treasons, but from the greatest. These Resolutions of the King and his Council were immediately put in Execution. And first, the Queen Dowager was put into the Monastery of *Bermondsey*, and all her Estate seiz'd into the King's Hands, whereat there was much wondering; That a weak Woman, for the yielding to the Menaces and Promises of a Tyrant, after such a distance of time (wherein the King had shew'd no Displeasure nor Alteration) but much more after so happy a Marriage, between the King and her Daughter, blessed with Issue-Male, should upon so sudden mutability or disclosure of the King's Mind be so severely handled.

This Lady was amongst the Examples of great variety of Fortune. She had first from a distressed Suitor and desolate Widow, been taken to the Marriage-Bed of a Batchelor-King, the goodliest Personage of his Time; and even by the King's Flight, and temporary depriving from the Crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him a fair Issue, and continu'd his Nuptial Love (helping her self by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his Pleasures) to the very end. She was much Affectionate to her own Kindred, even unto Faction; which

Q. Elizabeth Gray's various Fortune.

(a) The Lord *Thomas Fitzgerald* was Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and Brother to *Gerald Earl of Kildare*, Deputy to *Jasper Duke of Bedford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. *Sir James Ware, Annals of Hen. 7. Cap. 1.*

(b) His Brother the Lord Chancellor and the Lord *Portlester* Lord Treasurer, who were devoted to the House of *York*, the King had written to the Lord Deputy to come over to *England* some time before, suspecting his Fidelity; but he excus'd himself till some Matters of great Consequence then depending were finish'd, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal sign'd a Letter to the King to desire he might stay. The Lord *Heath* advis'd him of it. *Sir J. Ware Cap. 11.*

(c) In *Ireland* the Impostor was retorted on the King, as if he had impos'd a Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick* on the People. *Ibid.*

1486. did stir great Envy in the Lords of the King's Side, who counted her Blood a Disparagement to be mingled with the King's. With which Lords of the King's Blood, joynd also the King's Favourite the Lord *Beaufort*; who, notwithstanding the King's great Affection to him, was thought at times, through her Malice and Spleen, not to be out of Danger of Falling. After her Husband's Death, she was matter of Tragedy, having liv'd to see her Brother Beheaded, and her two Sons deposed from the Crown, Bastarded in their Blood, and cruelly Murthered. All this while nevertheless she enjoy'd her Liberty, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards again, upon the Rise of the Wheel, when she had a King to her Son in Law, and was made Grandmother to a Grandchild of the best Sex; yet was she (upon dark and unknown Reasons, and no less strange Pretences) precipitated and banish'd the World into a Nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her Life: But was by the King's Commandment buried with the King her Husband at *Windsor*. She was Foundress of *Queens-College* in *Cambridge*. For this Act the King sustain'd great Obloquy, which nevertheless (besides the reason of State) was somewhat sweetned to him by a great Confiscation.

Queens-College in *Cambridge* Founded.

The E. of *Warwick* shewn to the People. About this time also *Edward Plantagenet* was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal Streets of *London*, to be seen of the People. And having pass'd the View of the Streets, was conducted to *Paul's Church* in solemn Procession, where great store of People were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the Nobility, and others of Quality (especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the Person of *Plantagenet* best) had Communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertain'd him with Speech and Discourse; which did in effect mar the Pageant in *Ireland* with the Subjects here, at least with so many as out of Error, and not out of Malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, it wrought little or no Effect. But contrariwise, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to go back) they turn'd the Imposture upon the King, and gave out, That the King, to defeat the true Inheritor, and to mock the World and blind the Eyes of simple Men, had trick'd up a Boy in the likeness of *Edward Plantagenet*, and shewed him to the People, not sparing to prophane the Ceremony of a Procession, the more to countenance the Fable.

The General Pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence, in giving straight order for the keeping of the Ports; that Fugitives, Malecontents, or suspected Persons might not pass over into *Ireland* and *Flanders*.

Mean while the Rebels in *Ireland* had sent privy Messengers both into *England* and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought Effects of no small Importance. For in *England* they won to their Party *John Earl of Lincoln*, Son of *John de la Pole*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Elizabeth*, King *Edward IV.*'s eldest Sister. This Earl was a Man of great Wit and Courage, and had his Thoughts highly rais'd by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For *Richard III.* had a Resolution, out of his Hatred to both his Brethren, King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (having had his Hand in

both their Bloods) to dislodge their Names from the false and incomplete Pretence of the Crown of *England*, the order of *Beaufort* and to design this Gentleman (in case that of *Beaufort* dye without Children) for inheritor of the Crown. Neither was this unknown to the King, who had secretly an Eye upon him. But the King having tasted of the Bitter of the Lesson, for his Imprisonment of *Edward IV.* and *Clarence*, was doubtful to keep up any more Fables of this Kind, by the Imprisonment of *Beaufort* also; the rather thinking it Policy to conceive him as a Corral unto the other. The Earl of *Lincoln* was induced to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly upon the strength of the Proceedings there, which was but a Bubble but upon Letters from the Lady *Margaret of Burgundy*, in whose Succours and Declaration for the Enterprize, there seemed to be a more solid Foundation, both for Reputation and Forces. Neither did the Earl refrain the Business, for that he knew the pretended *Plantagenet* to be but an Idol: But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false *Plantagenet* than the true; because the False being sure to fall away of himself, and the True to be made sure of by the King; it might open and pave a fair and prepar'd way to his own Title. With this Resolution he sail'd secretly into *Flanders*, where was a little before arriv'd the Lord *Lovel* (d) leaving a Correspondence here in *England* with *Sir Thomas Broughton*, a Man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancashire*. For before this time, when the pretended *Plantagenet* was first receiv'd in *Ireland*, secret Messengers had been also sent to the Lady *Margaret*, advertising her what was pass'd in *Ireland*, imploring Succours in an Enterprize (as they said) so Pious and Just, and that God had so miraculously prosper'd the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things should be guided by her Will and Direction, as the Sovereign Patroness and Protector of the Enterprize. *Margaret* was second Sister to King *Edward IV.* and had been second Wife to *Charles*, surnam'd the Hardy, Duke of *Burgundy*; by whom having no Children of her own, she did with singular Care and Tenderness intend the Education of *Philip* and *Margaret* Grandchildren to her former Husband; which won her great Love and Authority among the Dutch. This Princess (having the spirit of a Man, and Malice of a Woman) abounding in Treasure, by the greatness of her Dower, and her provident Government, and being Childless, and without any nearer Care, made it her Design and Enterprize to see the Majesty Royal of *England* once again re placed in her House, and had set up King *Henry* as a Mark, at whose Overthrow all her Actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the Counsels of his succeeding Troubles came chiefly out of that Quiver. And she bare such a mortal Hatred to the House of *Lancaster*, and personally to the King, as she was no ways mollify'd by the Conjunction of the Houses in her Niece's Marriage, but rather hated her Niece, as the means of the King's Ascent to the Crown, and Assurance therein. Wherefore with great Violence of Affection she embraced this Overture. And upon Counsel taken with the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lord *Lovel*, and some other of the Party, it was resolv'd with all speed, the two Lords assisted with a Regiment of two thousand *Almains*, bearing Choice and Veteran Bands, under the Com-

Margaret Dutchess of *Burgundy*, *K. Henry's* great Enemy.

1487. mand of *Martin Swart* (a Valiant and Experienced Captain) should pass over into *Ireland* to the new King. Hoping, that when the Action should have the face of a received and settled Regality (with such a second Person, as the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Conjunction and Reputation of Foreign Succours) the Fame of it would embolden and prepare all the Party of the Confederates and Malecontents within the Realm of *England*, to give them Assistance, when they should come over there. And for the Person of the Counterfeit, it was agreed, That if all things succeeded well, he should be put down, and the true *Plantagenet* received: Wherein nevertheless the Earl of *Lincoln* had his particular Hopes. After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the Party took Courage, by seeing themselves together in a Body, they grew very confident of Success, conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better Cards to overthrow King *Henry*, than King *Henry* had to overthrow King *Richard*. And that if there were not a Sword drawn against them in *Ireland*, it was a sign the Sword in *England* would be soon sheath'd, or beaten down. And first, for a Bravery upon this Accession of Power, they crown'd their new King in the Cathedral Church of *Dublin*; (e) who formerly had been but proclaim'd only; and then sat in Council what should further be done. At which Council, tho' it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to Establish themselves first in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the War, and to draw King *Henry* thither in Person, by whose Absence they thought there would be great Alterations and Commotions in *England*; yet because the Kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their Army together, nor pay their *German* Soldiers, and for that also the Sway of the *Irishmen*, and generally of the Men of War, which (as in such cases of Popular Tumults is usual) did in Effect govern their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their Fortunes upon *England*: It was concluded with all possible speed to Transport their Forces into *England*. The King in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, tho' it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the *Irish* as a Flight of Birds, and rattle away this Swarm of Bees, with their King; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of *Lincoln* was Embark'd in the Action, and that the Lady *Margaret* was declared for it, he apprehended the Danger in a true Degree as it was, and saw plainly that his Kingdom must again be put to the Stake, and that he must fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of *Lincoln's* sailing into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he should be assail'd both upon the East-parts of the Kingdom of *England* by some Impression from *Flanders*, and upon the North-west out of *Ireland*: And therefore having order'd Musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally design'd two Generals, *Jasper* Earl of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, (meaning himself also to go in Person where the Affairs should most require it) and nevertheless not expecting any actual Invasion at that time (the Winter being far on) he took his Journey himself towards *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, for the confirming of those Parts. And being come to *St. Edmundsbury*, he understood that *Thomas* Marquess of *Dorset* (who had been one of the Pledges in *France*) was hastning towards him, to purge himself of some Accusations which had been made against him. But the King, tho' he kept an Ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the Earl of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower; with a fair Message nevertheless, that he should bear that Disgrace with Patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt, either to the King's Service, or to himself; and that the King should always be able (when he had cleared himself) to make him Reparation.

From *St. Edmundsbury* he went to *Norwich*, where he kept his Christmas. And from thence he went (in a manner of Pilgrimage) to *Walsingham*, where he visited our Ladies Church, famous for Miracles, and made his Prayers and Vows for Help and Deliverance. And from thence he return'd by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the Rebels, with their King, (under the Leading of the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Earl of *Kildare*, the Lord *Lovel*, and Collonel *Swart*) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancashire*, whither there repair'd to them Sir *Thomas Broughton* with some small Company of *English*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storm would not divide, but fall in one place) had levied Forces in good number: And in Person (taking with him his two designed Generals, the Duke of *Bedford* and the Earl of *Oxford*.) was come on his way towards them as far as *Coventry*, whence he sent forth a Troop of Light Horsemen for Discovery, and to intercept some Straglers of the Enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their Progress and Purposes, which was accordingly done; tho' the King otherwise was not without Intelligence from Espials in the Camp.

The Rebels took their way towards *York*, without spoiling the Country, or any Act of Hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the People, and to personate their King: Who (no doubt of a Princely feeling) was Sparing and Compassionate towards his Subjects. But their Snow-ball did not gather as it went: For the People came not in to them; neither did any Rise or Declare themselves in other parts of the Kingdom for them, which was caused partly by the good taste that the King had given his People of his Government, joyned with the Reputation of his Felicity; and partly for that it was an odious thing to the People of *England*, to have a King brought into them upon the Shoulders of *Irish* and *Dutch*, of which their Army was in substance compounded: Neither was it a thing done with any great Judgment on the Party of the Rebels, for them to take way towards *York*: Considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a Nursery of their Friends; yet it was there where the Lord *Lovel* had so lately Disbanded, and where the King's presence had a little before qualify'd Discontents. The Earl of *Lincoln* deceived of his Hopes of the Countries Concurrence unto him (in which case he

Lambert
Simnell
crown'd
King at
Dublin.

In June
Sir Thomas
Broughton
joins the
Rebels.

The King
has spies
in the
Rebels
Camp.

(e) He was crown'd with a Crown taken from a Statue of the Virgin *Mary* in our Lady's Church near *Damegate*. Dr. *Payu* Bishop of *Meath* preach'd his Coronation Sermon; and the Deputy, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Earl of *Lincoln*, Lord *Lovel*, and many more Persons of Quality assisted at the Ceremony: The Archbishop of *Armagh* refus'd to attend at it. Sir *J. Ware*, Cap. I. l.

1487. would have temporized) and seeing the Bu-
 nefs past Retract resolv'd to make on where the
 King was, and to give him Battel; and there-
 upon march'd towards *Newark*, thinking to have
 surprized the Town. But the King was some-
 what before this time come to *Nottingham*, where
 he call'd a Council of War, at which was con-
 sulted, whether it were best to protract time,
 or speedily to set upon the Rebels. In which
 Council the King himself (whose continual
 Vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless Suspi-
 cions which few else knew) inclined to the ac-
 celerating a Battel. But this was presently put
 out of doubt by the great Aids that came in to
 him in the instant of this Consultation; partly
 upon Missives, and partly Voluntaries from
 many Parts of the Kingdom.

The Principal Persons that came then to the
 King's Aid, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the
 Lord *Strange*, of the Nobility; and of Knights
 and Gentlemen to the Number of at least Three-
 score and ten Persons, with their Companies,
 making in the whole at the least Six thousand
 fighting Men, besides the Forces that were with
 the King before. Whereupon the King, find-
 ing his Army so bravely re-enforced, and a great
 Alacrity in all his Men to fight, was confirm'd
 in his former Resolution, and march'd speedily,
 so as he put himself between the Enemies Camp
 and *Newark*; being loth their Army should get
 the Commodity of that Town. The Earl no-
 thing dismay'd, came forwards that Day unto a
 little Village call'd *Stoke*, and there encamp'd
 that Night upon the Brow or hanging of a Hill.
 The King the next Day (f) presented him Bat-
 tel upon the Plain, the Fields there being open
 and Champion. The Earl courageously came
 down and joyned Battel with him. Concerning
 which Battel, the Relations that are left unto
 us are so naked and negligent (though it be an
 Action of so recent Memory) as they rather
 declare the Success of the Day, than the Man-
 ner of the Fight. They say, that the King di-
 vided his Army into three Battels; whereof the
 Van-Guard only, well strengthen'd with Wings,
 came to fight. That the Fight was fierce and
 obstinate, and lasted three Hours, before the
 Victory inclined either way; save that Judgment
 might be made, by that the King's Van Guard
 of it self maintain'd Fight against the whole
 Power of the Enemies, (the other two Battels
 remaining out of Action) what the Success was
 like to be in the end. That *Martin Swart* with
 his *Germans* perform'd bravely; and so did those
 few *English* that were on that side; neither did
 the *Irish* fail in Courage or Fierceness, but being
 almost naked Men, only arm'd with Darts and
 Skeins, it was rather an Execution, than a Fight
 upon them; insomuch as the furious Slaughter
 of them was a great discouragement and ap-
 palement to the rest; That there died upon the
 place all the Chieftains; That is, the Earl of
Lincoln, the Earl of *Kildare*, (g) *Francis Lord Lo-
 wel*, *Martin Swart*, and *Sir Thomas Broughton*;
 all making good the Fight without any Ground
 given. Only of the Lord *Lovel* there went a
 Report, that he fled and swam over *Trent* on

Horseback, but could not recover the further
 Side, by reason of the steepness of the Bank,
 and so was drown'd in the River. But another
 Report leaves him not there, but that he liv'd
 long after in a Cave or Vault. The Number
 that was slain in the Field, was of the Enemies
 part Four thousand at the least; and of the
 King's part, one half of his Van-guard, be-
 sides many hurt, but none of Name. There
 were taken Prisoners amongst others, the Coun-
 terfeit *Plantagenet* (now *Lambert Simnell* again)
 and the crafty Priest his Tutor. For *Lambert*,
 the King would not take his Life, both out
 of Magnanimity, taking him but as an Image
 of Wax that others had temper'd and moulded;
 and likewise out of Wisdom, thinking that if
 he suffer'd Death, he would be forgotten too
 soon; but being kept alive, he would be a con-
 tinual Spectacle, and a kind of Remedy against
 the like Inchantments of People in time to come.
 For which cause he was taken into Service in
 his Court to a base Office in his Kitchen; so
 that (in a kind of *Mattacina* of Human Fortune)
 he turn'd a Broach that had worn a Crown.
 Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in
 a Comedy or Farce after a Tragedy. And after-
 wards he was preferred to be one of the King's
 Falconers. As to the Priest, he was committed
 close Prisoner, and heard of no more; the King
 loving to seal up his own Dangers (h).

After the Battel the King went to *Lincoln*,
 where he caused Supplications and Thanksgivings
 to be made for his Deliverance and Victory.
 And that his Devotions might go round in Cir-
 cle, he sent his Banner to be offer'd to our Lady
 of *Walsingham*, where before he made his Vows.
 And thus deliver'd of this so strange an Engine
 and new Invention of Fortune, he return'd to
 his former Confidence of Mind; thinking now,
 that all his Misfortunes had come at once; but
 it fell out unto him according to the Speech of
 the Common People in the beginning of his
 Reign, that said, *It was a Token he should reign in
 labour, because his Reign began with a Sickness of
 Sweat*. But howsoever the King thought him-
 self now in a Haven, yet such was his Wisdom,
 as his Confidence did seldom darken his Fore-
 sight, especially in things near hand. And
 therefore awaken'd by so fresh and unexpected
 Dangers, he entered into due Consideration, as
 well how to weed out the Partakers of the for-
 mer Rebellion, as to kill the Seeds of the like in
 time to come; and withal to take away all Shel-
 ters and Harbours for discontented Persons,
 where they might hatch and foster rebellions,
 which afterwards might gather Strength and
 Motion. And First, He did yet again make a
 Progress from *Lincoln* to the Northern Parts,
 tho' indeed it were rather an Itinerary Circuit
 of Justice, than a Progress: For all along as
 he went, with much Severity and strict Inquisi-
 tion, partly by Martial Law, and partly by
 Commission, were punished, the Adherents and
 Aiders of the late Rebels: Not all by Death,
 (for the Field had drawn much Blood) but by
 Fines and Ransoms which spared Life and raised
 Treasure. Amongst other Crimes of this na-

*Lambert
 Simnell
 taken.*

*Is put in
 to the
 King's
 Kitchen.
 Made one
 of his Fal-
 coners.*

*The Bat-
 tel was
 fought on
 Saturday
 the 28th of
 June ac-
 cording
 to our
 English Hi-
 storians.*

*The Bat-
 tel of
 Stokefield.*

(f.) *Polydore Virgil* places this Battel in the Year 1485. But that is not one of the least Mistakes in his History:
 (g.) 'Twas the Lord *Thomas Fitzgerald*, whom, says *Sir James Ware*, Some do erroneously call the Earl of *Kildare*. There
 fell also *Maurice Fitz-Thomas* a *Geraldine*, and *Plunket* the Baron of *Kelleny's* Son.

(h) The King wrote to the Mayor and Citizens of *Watersford* in *Ireland*, to Commend their Fidelity, which he next
 Year rewarded with new Privileges and Immunities. The Earl of *Kildare* and the Lords who had sided with *Lambert*,
 sent over Letters to the King and begg'd Pardon; which he not only granted them, but continued the Earl of *Kildare*,
 Lord Deputy. *Sir J. Ware. Cap. III.*

In the Year following, *Sir Richard Edgecomb* was sent over to *Ireland* with 500 Men to take new Oaths of Allegiance
 of the Nobility, and King *Henry* order'd them to come to *England*; where he Feasted them all, and gave the Lord *Heath*
 3000 *l.* in Gold.

1487. ture, there was diligent Inquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a Bruit and Rumour, a little before the Field fought, *That the Rebels had the Day, and that the King's Army was overthrown, and the King fled*: Whereby it was supposed, that many Succours, which otherwise would have come unto the King, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which Charge and Accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the best affected to the King's Part, nor forward to come to his Aid, were glad to apprehend this Colour to cover their Neglect and Coldness, under the pretence of such Discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the King would not understand, tho' he lodg'd it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the Roots and Causes of the like Commotions in time to come, the King began to find where his Shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the House of York, that did rancle and fester the Affections of his People. And therefore being now too wise to disdain Perils any longer, and willing to give some Contentment in that Kind (at least in Ceremony) he resolv'd at last to proceed to the Coronation of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entred in State, and in a kind of Triumph, and celebrated his Victory with two Days of Devotion, (for the first Day he repair'd to Paul's, and had the Hymn of *Te Deum* sung, and the Morrow after he went in Procession, and heard the Sermon at the Cross) the Queen was with great Solemnity crown'd at Westminster, the Five and twentieth of November, in the Third Year of his Reign, which was about two Years after the Marriage; *Like an old Christning, that had stayed long for Godfathers*. Which strange and unusual distance of Time, made it subject to every Man's note, that it was an Act against his Stomach, and put upon him by Necessity and Reason of State. Soon after, to shew that it was now fair Weather again, and that the Imprisonment of *Thomas Marquess Dorset*, was rather upon Suspicion of the Time than of the Man, he the said Marquess was set at Liberty without Examination, or other Circumstance. At that time also the King sent an Ambassadour unto Pope *Innocent*, signifying unto him this his Marriage, and that now (like another *Aeneas*) he had passed through the Floods of his former Troubles and Travels, and was arriv'd unto a safe Haven: And thanking his Holiness that he had honour'd the Celebration of his Marriage with the presence of his Ambassador; and offering both his Person and the Forces of his Kingdom upon all Occasions to do him Service.

The Ambassador making his Oration to the Pope, in the presence of the Cardinals, did so magnifie the King and Queen, as was enough to glut the hearers. But then he did again so extol and deify the Pope, as made all that he had said in Praise of his Master and Mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertain'd, and extremely much made on by the Pope: Who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian World, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such Echoes of him sounding in remote Parts. He obtain'd also of the Pope a very Just and Honourable Bull, qualifying the Privileges of Sanctuary (wherewith the King had been extremely gauled) in three Points.

The King procures a Bull from the Pope about Sanctuaries.

The first, That if any Sanctuary-man did by Night, or otherwise, get out of Sanctuary privately and commit Mischief and Trespas, and then come in again, he should lose the Benefit of Sanctuary for ever after. The Second, That howsoever the Person of the Sanctuary-man was protected from his Creditors, yet his Goods out of Sanctuary should nor. The Third, That if any took Sanctuary for Cause of Treason the King might appoint him Keepers to look to him in Sanctuary.

The King also for the better securing of his Estate, against mutinous and malecontented Subjects (whereof he saw the Realm was full) who might have their Refuge into Scotland, which was not under Key, as the Ports were; For that Cause, rather than for any doubt of Hostility from those Parts, before his coming to London (when he was at New-Castle) had sent a Solemn Embassage unto *James III.* King of Scotland, to Treat and Conclude a Peace with him. The Ambassadors were *Richard Fox* Bishop of Exeter, and *Sir Richard Edgcomb*, Comptroller of the King's House, who were honourably receiv'd and entertain'd there. But the King of Scotland labouring of the same Disease that King Henry did (tho' more Mortal, as afterwards appear'd) that is, Discontented Subjects, apt to rise and raise Tumult, altho' in his own Affection he did much desire to make a Peace with the King; yet finding his Nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a Truce for Seven Years; giving nevertheless Promise in Private, that it should be renew'd from time to time, during the two Kings Lives.

Hitherto the King had been exercis'd in settling his Affairs at Home. But about this time brake forth an Occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign Business. *Charles VIII.* the French King, by the Vertue and good Fortune of his two immediate Predecessors, *Charles VII.* his Grandfather, and *Lewis XI.* his Father, receiv'd the Kingdom of France in more flourishing and spreading Estate than it had been of many Years before; being redintegrate in those Principal Members which anciently had been Portions of the Crown of France, and were after dissevered, so as they remain'd only in Homage, and not in Sovereignty (being govern'd by absolute Princes of their own) *Anjou, Normandy, Provence and Burgundy*. There remain'd only *Brittain* to be reunited, and so the Monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient Terms and Bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an Ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that Dutchy. Which his Ambition was a wise and well-weigh'd Ambition; not like unto the Ambitions of his succeeding Enterprizes of Italy. For at that time being newly come to the Crown, he was somewhat guided by his Father's Councils (Councils, not Counsellors) for his Father was his own Council, and had few able Men about him. And that King (he knew well) had ever distast'd the Designs of Italy, and in particular had an Eye upon *Brittain*. There were many Circumstances that did feed the Ambition of Charles, with pregnant and apparent Hopes of Success. The Duke of *Brittain* old, and entred into a Lethargy, and serv'd with *Mercenary Counsellors*, Father of two only Daughters, the one sickly and not like to continue. King Charles himself in the Flower of his Age, and the Subjects of France at that time well train'd for War, both for Leaders and Soldiers; Men of Service being not yet worn out since the Wars of *Lewis* against *Burgundy*. He found

The Benefit of Council.

An Embassage sent into Scotland. * In Aug. 1487.

1488. found himself also in Peace with all his Neighbour Princes. As for those that might oppose to his Enterprize, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, his Rival in the same Desires, (as well for the Dutchy, as the Daughter) feeble in Means; and King *Henry* of *England* as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his Favours and Benefits, as busy'd in his particular Troubles at Home. There was also a fair and specious Occasion offer'd him to hide his Ambition and to justify his Warring upon *Britain*, for that the Duke had receiv'd and succour'd *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, and other of the *French* Nobility, which had taken Arms against their King. Wherefore King *Charles* being resolv'd upon that War, knew well he could not receive any Opposition so Potent, as if King *Henry* should either upon Policy of State, in preventing the growing Greatness of *France*; or upon Gratitude unto the Duke of *Britain*, for his former Favours in the time of his Distress, espouse that Quarrel, and declare himself in Aid of the Duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King *Henry* was settled by his Victory, but forthwith he sent Ambassadors unto him to pray his Assistance, or at the least that he would stand Neutral. Which Ambassadors found the King at *Leicester*, and deliver'd their Embassage to this Effect. They first imparted unto the King the Success that their Master had had a little before against *Maximilian*, in recovery of certain Towns from him; which was done in a kind of Privacy, and inwardness towards the King; as if the *French* King did not esteem him for an outward or formal Confederate, but as one that had part in his Affections and Fortunes, and with whom he took Pleasure to communicate his Business. After this Complement, and some Gratulation for the King's Victory, they fell to their Errand; declaring to the King, That their Master was enforced to enter into a Just and Necessary War with the Duke of *Britain*, for that he had receiv'd and succour'd those that were Traytors, and declared Enemies unto his Person and State. That they were no mean, distressed and calamitous Persons that fled to him for Refuge, but of so great Quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own Fortune, but to infest and invade his; the Head of them being the Duke of *Orleance*, the first Prince of the Blood, and the second Person of *France*. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their Master's part a Defensive War than an Offensive; as that, that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tendred the Conservation of his own Estate; and that it was not the first Blow that made the War invasive, (for that no wise Prince would stay for) but the first Provocation, or at least the first Preparation. Nay, that this War was rather a Suppression of Rebels, than a War with a just Enemy, where the Case is; That his Subjects, Traytors, are receiv'd by the Duke of *Britain* his Homager. That *K. Henry* knew well what went upon it in Example, if Neighbour-Princes should Patronize and Comfort Rebels, against the Law of Nations and of Leagues. Nevertheless that their Master was not ignorant, that King had been beholden to the Duke of *Britain* in his Adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the Readiness of their King, in Aiding him when the Duke of *Britain*, or his mercenary Councillors fail'd him and would have betray'd him; And that there was a great difference between the Courtesies receiv'd from their Master and the Duke of *Britain*; for that the Duke's might have Ends

of Utility and Bargain; whereas their Masters 1488. could not have proceeded but out of entire Affection. For that, if it had been measur'd by a Politick Line, it had been better for his Affairs, that a Tyrant should have reign'd in *England*, troubled and hated, than such a Prince, whose Vertues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be Master of his Affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of Obligation which the King might owe to the Duke of *Britain*, yet their Master was well assur'd, it would not divert King *Henry* of *England* from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a Quarrel. Therefore, since this War which their Master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent Dangers, their King hop'd the King would shew the like Affection to the Conservation of their Master's Estate, as their Master had (when time was) shew'd to the King's Acquisition of his Kingdom. At the least, that according to the Inclination which the King had ever profess'd of Peace, he would look on, and stand Neutral; for that their Master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the War, being so newly settled and recover'd from Intestine Seditions.

But touching the Mystery of re-annexing of the Dutchy of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, either by War, or by Marriage with the Daughter of *Britain*; the Ambassadors bare aloof from it, as from a Rock, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their Conference with the King, the assured Purpose of their Master, to match with the Daughter of *Maximilian*: And entertain'd the King also with some wandring Discourses of their King's purpose to recover by Arms his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, by an Expedition in Person; All to remove the King from all Jealousy of any Design in these hither Parts upon *Britain*, otherwise than for quenching of the Fire, which he fear'd might be kindled in his own Estate.

The King after Advice taken with his Council, made Answer to the Ambassadors. And first returned their Complement, shewing he was right glad of the *French* King's reception of those Towns from *Maximilian*. Then he familiarly related some particular Passages of his own Adventures and Victory passed. As to the Business of *Britain*, the King answer'd in few Words; That the *French* King and the Duke of *Britain* were the two Persons to whom he was most obliged of all Men; and that he should think himself very Unhappy if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in Gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a Christian King and a Common Friend to them, to satisfy all Obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himself for a Mediator of an Accord and Peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their King's Estate and Honour both, would be preserv'd with more Safety and less Envy than by War, and that he would spare no Costs or Pains, no if it were to go on Pilgrimage for so good an Effect: And concluded, that in this great Affair, which he took so much to Heart, he would express himself more fully by an Embassage, which he would speedily dispatch unto the *French* King for that purpose. And in this sort the *French* Ambassadors were dismissed; The King avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of *Britain*, as the Ambassa-

1488. Ambassadors had avoided to mention it; save that he gave a little touch of it in the Word, *Envy*. And so it was, that the King was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertis'd, as not to perceive the Intention of the *French King*, for the Investing himself of *Britain*. But first he was utterly unwilling (howsoever he gave out) to enter into War with *France*. A Fame of a War he liked well, but not an Atchievement; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer: And he was possessed with many secret Fears touching his own People, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put Weapons into their Hands. Yet notwithstanding (as a Prudent and Courageous Prince) he was not so averse from a War, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have *Britain* carried by *France*, being so great and opulent a Dutchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy *England*, either for Coast, or Trade: But the King's Hopes were, that partly by Negligence, commonly imputed to the *French* (especially in the Court of a young King) and partly by the Native Power of *Britain* it self, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great Party that the Duke of *Orleanse* had in the Kingdom of *France*, and thereby Means to stir up Civil Troubles, to divert the *French King* from the Enterprize of *Britain*. And lastly, in regard of the Power of *Maximilian*, who was Corrival to the *French King* in that Pursuit, the Enterprize would either bow to a Peace, or break in it self. In all which, the King measur'd and valued things amiss, as afterwards appear'd. He sent therefore forthwith to the *French King*, *Christopher Urswicke* his Chaplain, a person by him much trusted and imploy'd: Choosing him the rather, because he was a Churchman, as best sorting with an Embassy of Pacification; and giving him also a Commission, That if the *French King* consented to Treat, he would thence repair to the Duke of *Britain*, and ripen the Treaty on both Parts. *Urswicke* made Declaration to the *French King*, much to the purpose of the King's Answer to the *French Ambassadors* here; instilling also tenderly some Overture of receiving to Grace the Duke of *Orleanse*, and some taste of Conditions of Accord. But the *French King* on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of Art and Diffimulation, in this Treaty; having for his End to gain time, and so put off the *English* Succours, under hope of Peace, till he had got good footing in *Britain*, by force of Arms. Wherefore he answer'd the Ambassador, That he would put himself into the King's Hands, and make him Arbitrator of the Peace; and willingly consented, that the Ambassador should straightways pass into *Britain*, to signify this his consent, and to know the Duke's Mind likewise; well foreseeing, that the Duke of *Orleanse*, by whom the Duke of *Britain* was wholly led, taking himself to be upon Terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no Treaty of Peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his Ambition, and win the Reputation of Just and Moderate Proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the Affections of the King of *England*, as one that had committed all to his Will: Nay; and (which was yet more fine) make Faith in him, That altho' he went on with the War, yet it should be but with his Sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other Party to accept of Peace; and so the King should make no Umbraige of his arming and prosecution; but the Treaty to be kept on foot, to the very last instant, till he were Master of the Field,

The Fr.
King's
Diffim-
ulation.

Which Grounds being by the *French King* wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *English Ambassador* came to the Court of *Britain*, the Duke was then scarcely perfect in his Memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of *Orleanse*; who gave Audience to the Chaplain *Urswicke*, and, upon his Ambassage deliver'd, made Answer in somewhat high Terms: That the Duke of *Britain* having been an Host, and a kind of Parent or Foster-father to the King, in his tenderness of Age and weakness of Fortune, did look for at this time from King *Henry* (the renowned King of *England*) rather brave Troops for his Succours, than a vain Treaty of Peace. And if the King could forget the good Offices of the Duke done unto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his Wisdom consider of the Future, how much it imported his own Safety and Reputation, both in foreign Parts and with his own People, not to suffer *Britain* (the old Confederates of *England*) to be swallow'd up by *France*, and so many good Ports and strong Towns upon the Coast be in the Command of so Potent a Neighbour-King, and so Ancient an Enemy. And therefore humbly desired the King to think of this Business as his own; and therewith brake off, and denyed any further Conference for Treaty.

Urswicke return'd first to the *French King*, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his Desire, took hold of them, and said, That the Ambassador might perceive now that which he for his part partly imagined before. That considering in what Hands the Duke of *Britain* was, there would be no Peace, but by a mixt Treaty of Force and Perswasion. And therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the King not to desist from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the King's Power to rule him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly represented unto the King by *Urswicke* at his Return, and in such a fashion as if the Treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stay'd for a better Hour, till the Hammer had wrought, and beat the Party of *Britain* more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually Packets and Dispatches between the two Kings, from the one out of Desire, and from the other out of Diffimulation, about the Negotiation of Peace. The *French King* meanwhile invaded *Britain* with great Forces, and distress'd the City of *Nantz* with a strait Siege, and (as one, who tho' he had no great Judgment, yet had that, that he could dissemble home) the more he did urge the Prosecution of the War, the more he did at the same time urge the Solicitation of the Peace. Infomuch as during the Siege of *Nantz*, after many Letters and particular Messages, the better to maintain his Diffimulation, and to refresh the Treaty; he sent *Bernard Daubigny* (a Person of good Quality) to the King, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the Business howsoever.

The Fr.
King a
Dissem-
bler.

The Lord
Bernard
Daubigny
a Scotch-
man.

The King was no less ready to revive and quicken the Treaty: And thereupon sent three Commissioners, the Abbot of *Abington*, † Sir *Richard Tunstall* and Chaplain *Urswicke* formerly imploy'd, to do their Endeavours, to manage the Treaty roundly and strongly.

† Hol.
says, Sir
Rich. Edge-
comb.

About this time the Lord *Woodville*, (Uncle to the Queen) a Valiant Gentleman and desirous of Honour, sued to the King, that he might raise some Power of Voluntaries under-hand, and without Licence or Passport (wherein the King might any ways appear) go to the Aid of the Duke

1488.
The Lord
Woodville
Volunta-
rily goes
to aid the
Bretons.

1488. Duke of Britain. The King denied his Request (or at least seemed so to do) and lay'd strait Commandment upon him, that he should not stir; for that the King thought his Honour would suffer therein during a Treaty, to better a Party. Nevertheless this Lord (either being unruly, or out of conceit that the King would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow) sail'd secretly over into the Isle of Wight, whereof he was Governour, and levied a fair Troop of four Hundred Men, and with them passed over into Britain, and joyned himself with the Duke's Forces. The News whereof when it came to the French Court, put divers Young Bloods into such a Fury, as the English Ambassadors were not without Peril to be outraged. But the French King both to preserve the Privilege of Ambassadors, and being conscious to himself that in the Business of Peace, he himself was the greater Dissembler of the two, forbade all Injuries of Fact or Word against their Persons, or Followers. And presently came an Agent from the King, to purge himself touching the Lord Woodville's going over, using for a principal Argument, to demonstrate that it was without his Privity, for that the Troops were so small, as neither had the Face of a Succour by Authority; nor could much advance the Britain Affairs. To which Message, although the French King gave no full Credit, yet he made fair Weather with the King, and seem'd satisfied: Soon after the English Ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the Duke of Britain, and found things in no other Terms, than they were before. Upon their return, they inform'd the King of the State of the Affairs, and how far the French King was from any true meaning of Peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other Course. Neither was the King himself led all this while with Credulity merely, as was generally supposed: But his Error was not so much Facility of Belief, as an ill Measuring of the Forces of the other Party.

For (as was partly touch'd before) the King had cast the Business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own Judgment, that the War of Britain, in respect of the Strength of the Towns and of the Party, could not speedily come to a Period. For he conceiv'd that the Counsels of a War, that was undertaken by the French King, then Childless, against an Heir-apparent of France, would be very Faint and Slow. And besides, that it was not possible, but that the State of France should be embroil'd with some Troubles and Alterations in Favour of the Duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise, that Maximilian, King of the Romans, was a Prince, Warlike and Potent; who (he made account) would give Succours to the Britains roundly. So then judging it would be a Work of Time, he laid his Plot, how he might best make use of that Time, for his own Affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his Vantage upon his Parliament; knowing that they being Affectionate unto the Quarrel of Britain, would give Treasure largely. Which Treasure, as a Noise of War might draw forth; so a Peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his People were hot upon the Business, he chose rather to seem to be deceiv'd, and lull'd asleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his Subjects were not so fully capable of the Reasons of State, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on Foot a continual Treaty of Peace;

laying it down, and taking it up again, as the Occurrence requir'd. Besides, he had in consideration the point of Honour in bearing the blessed Person of a Pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the Envy, that the French King met with, by occasion of this War of Britain, in strengthening himself with new Alliances; as namely that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent even in Nature and Customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interess'd. So that in Substance he promised himself Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the End. But those things were too fine to be fortunate, and succeed in all parts; for that great Affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer Edges, or Points of Wit. The King was likewise deceived in his two main Grounds. For although he had Reason to conceive, that the Counsel of France would be wary to put the King into a War against the Heir-apparent of France; yet he did not consider, that Charles was not guided by any of the Principal of the Blood or Nobility, but by mean Men, who would make it their Master-piece of Credit and Favour, to give their Venturous Counsels, which no great or Wise Man durst, or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a Greater-matter than he was; his Unstable and Necessitous Courtes being not then known.

After Consultation with the Ambassadors, who brought him no other News, than he expected before (though he would not seem to know it till then) he presently summoned his Parliament, and in open Parliament propounded the Cause of Britain to both Houses, by his Chancellor Morton Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who spake to this Effect.

MY Lords and Masters; The King's Grace our Sovereign Lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the Causes that have mov'd him at this time to Summon this his Parliament; which I shall do in few Words, craving Pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

His Grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankful Memorie the Love and Loyalty shewed to him by you, at your last meeting, in Establishment of his Royaltie; freeing and discharging of his takers, and Confiscation of his Traytors and Rebels; more than which could not come from Subjects to their Sovereign, in one Action. This he taketh so well at your Hands, as he hath made it a Resolution to himself, to communicate with so loving and well approved Subjects, in all Affairs that are of publick Nature, at home or abroad.

Two therefore are the Causes of your present Assembling; the one, a foreign Business; the other, matter of Government at home.

The French King (as no doubt ye have heard) maketh at this present hot War upon the Duke of Britain. His Army is now before Nantes, and holdeth it straightly besieg'd, being the Principal City (if not in Ceremonie and Preheminence, yet in Strength and Wealth) of that Dutchie. Ye may guess at his Hopes, by his attempting of the Hardest part of the War first. The Cause of this War he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of Orleans, and some other French Lords; whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others divine of other Matters. Both parts have by their Ambassadors divers times prayed the King's

1488. The King mediates a Peace between the French King and Duke of Bretagne.

The French King's Council mean Persons. Their Counsel different from that of the Nobles and in what.

A Parliament summoned.

The King thanks the Commons for their Loyalty and Love.

1488. King's Aids: The French King's Aids, or Neutrality; the Britons Aids simply; for so their Aid de- Case requireth. The King, as a Christian Prince, and Blessed Son of the Holy Church, hath offered himself as a Mediator to treat a Peace between them. The French King yeildeth to treat, but will not stay the Prosecution of the War. The Britons, that desire Peace most, hearken to it at least; not upon Confidence or Stiffness, but upon Distrust of true Meaning, seeing the War goes on. So as the King after as much Pains and Care to effect a Peace, as ever he took in any Business, not being able to remove the Prosecution on the one Side, nor the Distrust on the other, caused by that Prosecution, hath let fall the Treatie; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this Narrative you now understand the State of the Question, whereupon the King prayeth your Advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an Auxiliary and Defensive War for the Britons against France.

The King asks Advice of the Parliament.

Peace to be desired but with two Conditions.

King Henry was forced to fly out of Brittain into France.

And the better to open your Understandings in this Affair, the King hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him, of the Persons that do intervene in this Business; and somewhat of the Consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this Kingdom; and somewhat of the Example of it in general: Making nevertheless no Conclusion or Judgment of any Point, until his Grace hath received your faithful and politick Advices.

First, for the King our Sovereign himself, who is the principal Person you are to eye in this Business; his Grace doth Profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in Peace. But his Grace saith, he will neither buy Peace with Dishonour, nor take it up at Interest of Danger to ensue; but shall think it a good Change, if it please God to change the inward Troubles and Seditions, wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised into an honourable Foreign War. And for the other two Persons in this Action, the French King; and the Duke of Brittain, his Grace doth declare unto you, that they be the Men, unto whom he is of all other Friends and Allies most bounden; the one having held over him his Hand of Protection from the Tyrant; the other having reacht forth unto him his Hand of Help, for the Recovery of his Kingdom. So that his Affection toward them in his natural Person, is upon equal Terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his Grace was enforced to flee out of Brittain into France, for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the Duke of Brittain, in Defacement of his former Benefits: For that he is thoroughly informed, that it was but the Practice of some corrupt Persons about him, during the time of his Sickness, altogether without his Consent or Privy.

But howsoever these things do interest his Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well, that the higher Bond that tyeth him to procure by all means the Safety and Welfare of his loving Subjects, doth dis-interest him of these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise than thus: That if his Grace be forced to make a War, he do it without Passion, or Ambition.

For the consequence of this Action towards this Kingdom, it is much as the French King's Intention is. For if it be no more, but to

range his Subjects to Reason, who bear themselves stout upon the strength of the Duke of Brittain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French King's purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one as if it were sought, that the French King shall make a Province of Brittain, and joyn it to the Crown of France; then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the Increasement of the greatness of France, by the Addition of such a Country, that stretcheth his Boughes unto our Seas, as in depriving this Nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured Confederates, as the Britains have always been. For then it will come to pass, that whereas not long since, this Realm was mighty upon the Continent, first in Territory, and after in Alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Brittain, which were Confederates indeed, but dependant Confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the Greatness of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France, and this Island shall remain confined in Effect within the Salt Waters, and Girt about with the Coast-Countries of two Mighty Monarchs.

For the Example, it reflecteth likewise upon the same Question, upon the French King's Intent. For if Brittain be carried and swallow'd up by France, as the World abroad (apt to impute and confute the Actions of Princes to Ambition) conceive it will; then it is an Example very dangerous and universal that the lesser Neighbour Estate should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the Case of Scotland towards England; of Portugal, towards Spain; of the smaller Estates of Italy, towards the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the Commons, might not live and dwell safely, besides some of these great Lords. And the bringing in of this Example, will be chiefly laid to the King's Charge, as to him that was most interested and most able to forbid it. But then on the other Side, there is so fair a Pretext on the French King's Part (and yet Pretext is never wanting to Power) in regard the danger imminent to his own Estate is such, as may make this Enterprize seem rather a Work of Necessity, than of Ambition, as doth in reason correct the Danger of the Example. For that the Example of that which is done in a Man's own Defence, cannot be dangerous; because it is in another's Power to avoid it. But in all this Business, the King remits himself to your Grave and Mature Advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely.

He again asks their Advice.

This was the Effect of the Lord Chancellor's Speech touching the Cause of Brittain: For the King had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the Parliament towards the Business; but without engaging the King in any express Declaration.

The Chancellor went on:

FOR that which may concern the Government at home, the King hath commanded me to say unto you; That he thinketh there was never any King (for the small time that he hath reign'd) had greater and juster Cause of the two contrary Passions

The Lord Chancellor Morton's Speech.

of

1488. of Joy, and Sorrow, than his Grace hath
 Joy, in respect of the rare and visible Favours
 of Almighty God in Girding the Imperial
 Sword upon his Side, and assisting the same
 his Sword against all his Enemies; and like-
 wise in blessing him with so many good and
 loving Servants and Subjects, which have ne-
 ver fail'd to give him faithful Counsel, ready
 Obedience, and courageous Defence. Sorrow,
 for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him
 to sheath his Sword (as he greatly desired o-
 therwise than for Administration of Justice)
 but that he hath been forced to draw it so oft,
 to cut off traiterous and disloyal Subjects,
 whom (it seems) God hath left (a few amongst
 many good) as the *Canaanites* among the Peo-
 ple of *Israel*, to be Thorns in their Sides to
 tempt and try them; tho' the end hath been
 always (God's Name be blessed therefore) that
 the Destruction hath falln upon their own
 Heads.

How Re-
 bellion is
 to be pre-
 vented.
 Wherefore his Grace saith, That he seeth
 that it is not the Blood spilt in the Field, that
 will save the Blood in the City; nor the Mar-
 shal's Sword, that will set this Kingdom in
 perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to
 stop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in
 their Beginnings; and for that purpose to
 devise, confirm, and quicken good and whol-
 som Laws, against Riots, and Unlawful As-
 semblies of People, and all Combinations and
 Confederacies of them, by Liveries, Tokens,
 and other Badges of factious Dependence;
 that the Peace of the Land may by these Or-
 dinances, as by Bars of Iron, be soundly bound
 in and strengthened, and all Force both in
 Court, Country, and Private Houses, be sup-
 press'd. The Care hereof, which so much
 concerneth your selves, and which the Na-
 ture of the Times doth instantly call for, his
 Grace commends to your Wisdoms.

Trade to
 be Consi-
 der'd.
 And because it is the King's Desire, that
 this Peace, wherein he hopeth to Govern and
 Maintain you, do not bear only unto you
 Leaves for you to sit under the Shade of them
 in Safety; but also should bear you Fruit of
 Riches, Wealth and Plenty: Therefore his
 Grace prays you, to take into Consideration
 Matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures
 of the Kingdom, and to repress the bastard
 and barren Employment of Moneys, to Usury
 and Unlawful Exchanges, that they may be
 (as their Natural use is) turned upon Com-
 merce, and Lawful and Royal Trading. And
 likewise, that our People be set on work in
 Arts and Handicrafts; that the Realm may
 subsist more of it self; that Idleness be avoid-
 ed, and the drawing out of our Treasure for
 foreign Manufactures stopped. But you are
 not to rest here only, but to provide further,
 that whatsoever Merchandize shall be brought
 in from beyond the Seas, may be employ'd
 upon the Commodities of this Land; where-
 by the Kingdom's Stock of Treasure may be
 sure to be kept from being diminished, by any
 over-trading of the Foreigner.

Foreign
 Manufa-
 ctures dis-
 courag'd.
 And lastly, because the King is well assu-
 red, that you would not have him Poor, that
 wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but that
 you will have Care, as well to maintain his
 Revenues, of Customs, and all other Natures,
 as also to supply him with your loving Aids,
 if the Case shall so require. The rather, for
 that you know the King is a good Husband,
 and but a Steward in effect for the Publick;
 and that what comes from you is but as Moi-
 sture drawn from the Earth, which gathers

into a Cloud, and falls back upon the Earth
 again. And you know well, how the King-
 doms about you grow more and more in Great-
 ness, and the Times are stirring; and there-
 fore not fit to find the King with an empty
 Purse. More I have not to say to you; and
 wish, that what hath been said, had been bet-
 ter express'd: But that your Wisdoms and
 good Affections will supply. God bless your
 Doings.

It was no hard Matter to dispose and affect
 the Parliament in this Business; as well in re-
 spect of the Emulation between the Nations The Emu-
 and the Envy at the late growth of the *French* lation be-
 Monarchy; as in regard of the Danger, to suf- tween the
 fer the *French* to make their Approaches upon *Engl sh*
England, by obtaining so goodly a Maritime Pro- and the
 vince, full of Sea-Towns; and Havens: that *French*.
 might do Mischief to the *English* either by In-
 vasion or by interruption of Traffick. The Par-
 liament was also moved with the Point of Op-
 pression; for altho' the *French* seem'd to speak
 reason, yet Arguments are ever with Multitudes
 too weak for Suspitions. Wherefore they did
 advise the King, roundly to embrace the *Brit-*
tons Quarrel, and to send them speedy Aids,
 and with much alacrity and forwardness grant-
 ed to the King a great Rate of Subsidy, in
 Contemplation of these Aids. But the King,
 both to keep a Decency towards the *French* King,
 to whom he profess'd himself to be obliged,
 and indeed desirous rather to shew War, than
 to make it, sent new solemn Ambassadors to in-
 timate unto him the Decree of his Estates, and
 to iterate his Motion, that the *French* would
 desist from Hostility; or if War must follow,
 to desire him to take it in good part, if at the
 Motion of his People, who were sensible of the
 Cause of the *Britons* as their ancient Friends
 and Confederates, he did send them Succours;
 with Protestation nevertheless, that to save all
 Treaties and Laws of Friendship, he had limited
 his Force, to proceed in Aid of the *Britons*, but
 in no wise to war upon the *French*, otherwise
 than as they maintain'd the Possession of *Britain*.
 But before this formal Ambassage arriv'd, the
 Party of the Duke had receiv'd a great blow;
 and grew to manifest Declination. For near the
 Town of *St. Alban* in *Britain*, a Battel had been
 given, where the *Britons* were overthrown, and
 the Duke of *Orleanse*, and the Prince of *Orange*
 taken Prisoners, there being slain on the *Britons*
 part Six thousand Men, and amongst them the
 Lord *Woodville*, and almost all his Soldiers val-
 iantly fighting. And of the *French* part one
 thousand two hundred, with their Leader *Jaines*
Galeot, a great Commander.

When the News of the Battel came over into
England, it was time for the King (who now
 had no Subterfuge to continue further Treaty, The *Brit-*
 and saw before his Eyes, that *Britain* went to tons in Di-
 speedily for lost, contrary to his Hopes, know- strefs.
 ing also that with his People and Foreigners
 both, he sustained no small Envy and Disrepu-
 tation for his former Delays) to dispatch with
 all possible speed his Succours into *Britain*; which
 he did under the Conduct of *Robert Lord Brook*, Aid sent
 to the Number of Eight thousand choice Men, them.
 and well arm'd; who having a fair Wind, in
 few Hours landed in *Britain*, and joyned them-
 selves forthwith to those *Briton* Forces, that re-
 mained after the Defeat, and march'd straight
 on to find the Enemy, and incamped fast by
 them. The *French* wisely Husbanding the Pos- At what
 session of a Victory, and well acquainted with Time the
 the Courage of the *English*, especially when they *English* are
 are most Cou-
 ragious.

1488. are fresh, kept themselves within their Trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give Battel. But mean while, to harrafs and weary the *English*, they did upon all Advantages set upon them with their Light Horfe; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the *English* Archers.

But upon these Atchievements *Francis*, Duke of *Britain*, deceased; an Accident that the King might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckon'd upon, and provided for; but that the Point of Reputation, when News first came of the Battel lost (that somewhat must be done) did over-bear the Reason of War.

After the Duke's Decease, the principal Persons of *Britain*, partly bought, partly through Faction, put all things into Confusion; so as the *English* not finding Head or Body with whom to joyn their Forces, and being in Jealousy of Friends, as well as in Danger of Enemies, and the Winter begun, return'd Home five Months after their Landing. So the Battel of St. Alban, the Death of the Duke, and the Retire of the *English* Succours were (after some time) the Causes of the Loss of that Dutchy; which Action some accounted as a Blemish of the King's Judgment; but most as the Misfortune of his Times.

But howsoever the temporary Fruit of the Parliament in their Aid and Advice given for *Britain*, took not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting Fruit of Parliament, which is good and wholesome Laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this Day. For according to the Lord Chancellor's Admonition, there were that Parliament divers excellent Laws ordained, concerning the Points which the King recommended.

First, The Authority of the *Star-Chamber*, which before subsisted by the Ancient Common Laws of the Realm, was confirm'd in certain Cases by Act of Parliament. This Court is one of the Sagest and Noblest Institutions of this Kingdom. For in the Distribution of Courts of Ordinary Justice (besides the High Court of Parliament) in which Distribution the *Kings Bench* holdeth the Pleas of the Crown, the *Common-Place* Pleas Civil, the *Exchequer* Pleas concerning the King's Revenue, and the *Chancery* the Prætorian Power for mitigating the Rigour of Law, in Case of Extremity, by the Conscience of a good Man; there was nevertheless always reserv'd a High and Preheminent Power to the King's Council, in Causes that might in Example, or Consequence, concern the State of the Commonwealth, which if they were Criminal, the Council used to sit in the Chamber, call'd the *Star-Chamber*; if Civil in the *White-Chamber*, or *White-hall*. And as the *Chancery* had the Prætorian Power for Equity; so the *Star-Chamber* had the Censorian Power for Offences, under the degree of Capital. This Court of *Star-Chamber* is compounded of good Elements; for it consisteth of four kinds of Persons: Councillors, Peers, Prelates, and Chief Judges. It discerneth also principally of Four kinds of Causes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stelionate, and the Inchoations or Middle Acts towards Crimes Capital, or Heighnous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this Act was Force, and the two chief Supports of Force, Combination of Multitudes, and Maintenance or Headship of great Persons.

From the general Peace of the Country, the King's Care went on to the Peace of the King's House, and the Security of his great Officers

and Counsellors. But this Law was somewhat of a strange Composition and Temper. That if any of the King's Servants under the degree of a Lord, do conspire the Death of any of the King's Council, or Lord of the Realm, it is made Capital. This Law was thought to be procur'd by the Lord Chancellor, who being a stern and haughty Man, and finding he had some mortal Enemies in Court, provided for his own Safety; drowning the Envy of it in a general Law, by communicating the Priviledge with all other Councillors and Peers, and yet not daring to extend it further, than to the King's Servants in Check-Roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the Gentlemen, and other Commons of the Kingdom; who might have thought their Ancient Liberty, and the Clemency of the Laws of *England* invaded, *If the Will in any Case of Felony should be made the Deed*. And yet the reason which the Act yieldeth (that is to say, *That he that Conspireth the Death of Councillors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the Death of the King himself*) is indifferent to all Subjects, as well as to Servants in Court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the Lord Chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a General Law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the Country, as he was then to the Court.

From the Peace of the King's House, the King's Care extended to the Peace of Private Houses and Families. For there was an excellent Moral Law moulded thus; The taking and carrying away of Women forcibly, and against their will (except Female-wards and Bondwomen) was made Capital. The Parliament wisely and justly conceiving, that the obtaining of Women by force into Possession (howsoever afterwards Assent might follow by Allurements) was but a Rape drawn forth in length, because the first Force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another Law for Peace in general, and repressing of Murthers and Man-slaughters, and was in Amendment of the Common Laws of the Realm, being this: That whereas by the Common Law, the King's Suit in case of *Homicide*, did expect, *The Year and the Day*, allowed to the Parties Suit by way of Appeal; and that it was found by Experience, that the Party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the Suit, so that in the end such Suit was let fall, and by that time the Matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby Prosecution at the King's Suit by Indictment (which is ever best, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordain'd, That the Suit by Indictment might be taken as well at any time within the Year and the Day, as after, not prejudicing nevertheless the Parties Suit.

The King began also then, as well in Wisdom as in Justice, to pare a little the Priviledge of Clergy, ordaining, *That Clerks convicted should be burn'd in the Hand*; both because they might taste of some corporal Punishment, and that they might carry a Brand of Infamy. But for this good Act's sake, the King himself was after branded by *Perkin's* Proclamation, for an execrable Breaker of the Rites of Holy Church.

Another Law was made for the better Peace of the Country; by which Law the King's Officers and Farmers were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in case of unlawful Retainer, or partaking in Routs and unlawful Assemblies.

These were the Laws that were made for repressing of Force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they

1488.

Made a Capital Crime for any of the K. Ser.

vants, to Conspire the Death of any of the King's Council.

A Law against taking away Women by Force.

Laws against Murder and Man-slaughter.

The Priviledge of the Clergy Abridg'd.

1488. they are found fit for all succeeding Times, and so continue to this Day.

There were also made good and politick Laws that Parliament against Usury, which is the Bastard Use of Money: And against unlawful Chievances and Exchanges, which is Bastard Usury: And also for the Security of the King's Customs; And for the Imployment of the Procedures of Foreign Commodities, brought in by Merchant Strangers, upon the Native Commodities of the Realm: Together with some other Laws of less importance.

But howsoever the Laws made in that Parliament did bear good and wholesome Fruit; yet the Subsidy granted at the same time, bare a Fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the King's Barn; but it was after a Storm. For when the Commissioners entred into the Taxation of the Subsidy in *Yorkshire*, and the Bishoprick of *Duresme*; the People upon a suddain grew into great Mutiny, and said openly that they had endured of late Years a thousand Miseries, and neither could nor would pay the Subsidy. This (no doubt) proceeded not simply of any present Necessity, but much by Reason of the old Humour of those Countries, where the Memory of King *Richard* was so strong, that it lies like Lees in the bottom of Mens Hearts; and if the Vessel was but stirred, it would come up. And (no doubt) it was partly also by the Instigation of some Factionous Malecontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the Commissioners being somewhat astonished, deferr'd the matter unto the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the principal Man of Authority in those Parts. The Earl forthwith wrote unto the Court, signifying to the King plainly enough in what Flame he found the People of those Countries, and praying the Kings Direction. The King wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one Penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by Parliament, both because it might encourage other Countries to pray the like Release, or Mitigation, and chiefly because he would never endure, that the base Multitude should frustrate the Authority of the Parliament, wherein their Votes and Consents were concluded. Upon this Dispatch from Court, the Earl assembled the principal Justices and Free-holders of the Country; and speaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had writtento him, which needed not (save that an Harsh Business was unfortunately fallen into the Hands of a Harsh Man) did not only irritate the People, but make them conceive, by the Stoutness and Haughtiness of delivery of the King's Errand, that himself was the Author or principal Perswader of that Counsel. Whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the Earl in his House, slew him, and divers of his Servants. And rested not there, but creating for their Leader Sir *John Egremont*, a factionous Person, and one that had of a long time born an ill Talent towards the King; and being animated also by a Base Fellow, called *John a Chamber*, a very Boutefeu, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entred into open Rebellion, and gave out in flat Terms, they would go against King *Henry*, and fight with him for the maintenance of their Liberties.

When the King was advertised of this new Insurrection (being almost a Fever, that took him every Year) after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* (whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to

special Favour) with a Competent Power against the Rebels; who fought with the Principal Band of them, and defeated them, and took alive *John a Chamber* their Firebrand. As for Sir *John Egremont*, he fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret of Burgundy*; whose Palace was the Sanctuary and Receptacle of all Traitors against the King. *John a Chamber* was executed at *Tork* in great State; for he was hanged upon a Gibbet raised a Stage higher in the middle of a square Gallows, as a Traitor Paramount, and a number of his Men that were his chief Complices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himself omit his Custom, to be first or second in all his Warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was usual with him when he heard of Rebels; that He desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the Earl of *Surrey*, he marched towards them himself in Person. And although in his Journey he heard News of the Victory, yet he went on as far as *Tork*, to pacify and settle those Countries. And that done, returned to *London*, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* for his Lieutenant in the Northern Parts, and Sir *Richard Tunstall* for his principal Commissioner, to levy the Subsidy, whereof he did not remit a Denier.

About the same time that the King lost so good a Servant as the Earl of *Northumberland*, he lost likewise a faithful Friend and Allie of *James* the Third King of *Scotland*, by a miserable Disaster. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long smother of Discontent, and hatred of many of his Nobility and People, breaking forth at times into Seditions and Alterations of Court, was at last distressed by them, having taken Arms, and surpris'd the Person of Prince *James* his Son, partly by Force, partly by Threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the Kingdom to the King of *England*, to shadow their Rebellion, and to be the Titular and painted Head of those Arms. Whereupon the King (finding himself too weak) sought unto King *Henry*, as also unto the Pope, and the King of *France*, to compose those Troubles between him and his Subjects. The Kings accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of Request and Perswasion, but also by way of Protestation of Menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the Common Cause of all Kings, If Subjects should be suffered to give Laws unto their Sovereign; and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the Rebels that had shaken off the greater Yoke of Obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser Tye of Respect. And Fury prevailing above Fear, made answer, That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would resign his Crown. Whereupon (Treaty of Accord taking no place) it came to a Battel, at *Bannocks-bourn* by *Strivelin*. In which Battel the King transported with Wrath and just Indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the Charge, before his whole Numbers came up to him, was (notwithstanding the contrary express and straight Commandment of the Prince his Son) slain in the Pursuit, being fled to a Mill, situate in the Field, where the Battel was fought.

As for the Popes Embassy, which was sent by *Adrian de Castello* an Italian Legate (and perhaps as those times were might have prevail'd more) it came too late for the Ambassy, but not for the Ambassador. For passing through *England*, and being honourably entertained, and received of King *Henry*; (who ever applied himself with much respect to the See of *Rome*) he

1489. fell into great Grace with the King, and great Familiarity and Friendship with *Norton* the Chancellor. Infomuch as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his Mind prefer'd him to the Bishoprick of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and employed him in many of his Affairs of State, that had Relation to *Rome*. He was a Man of great Learning, Wisdom and Dexterity in Business of State; and having not long after ascended to the Degree of Cardinal, pay'd the King large Tribute of his Gratitude, in diligent and judicious Advertisement of the Occurrences of *Italy*. Nevertheless in the end of his time, he was Partaker of the Conspiracy, which Cardinal *Alphonso Petrucci*, and some other Cardinals had plotted against the Life of Pope *Leo*. And this Offence in it self so hainous, was yet in him aggravated by the Motive thereof; which was not Malice or Discontent, but an aspiring Mind to the Papacy. And in this Height of Impiety there wanted not an intermixture of Levity and Folly; for that (as was generally believed) he was animated to expect the Papacy, by a fatal Mockery, the Prediction of a Sooth-sayer, which was; *That one should succeed Pope Leo, whose Name should be Adrian, an aged Man of mean Birth, and of great Learning and Wisdom*. By which Character and Figure, he took himself to be describ'd, though it were fulfilled of *Adrian the Flemming*, Son of a Dutch Brewer, Cardinal of *Tortosa*, and Preceptor unto *Charles* the Fifth; the same that not changing his Christen-name was afterwards called *Adrian* the Sixth.

But these things happened in the Year following; which was the fifth of this King. But in the end of the fourth Year the King had called again his Parliament, not as it seemeth for any particular Occasion of State. But the former Parliament being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the Preparations for *Britain*, the King thought he had not remunerated his People sufficiently with good Laws, which evermore was his Retribution for Treasure. And finding by the Insurrection in the North, there was Discontentment abroad in respect of the Subsidy, he thought it good to give his Subjects yet further Contentment, and Comfort in that kind. Certainly his Times for good Common-wealth Laws did excel. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best Law-giver to this Nation, after King *Edward* the first. For his Laws (who-so marks them well) are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the Spur of a particular Occasion for the Present, but out of Providence of the Future, to make the Estate of his People still more and more happy; after the manner of the Legislators in Ancient and Heroical times.

First therefore he made a Law, suitable to his own Acts and Times. For as himself had in his Person and Marriage made a final Concord, in the great Suit and Title for the Crown; so by this Law he settled the like Peace and Quiet in the Private Possessions of the Subjects. Ordaining, *That Fines thenceforth should be final, to conclude all Strangers Rights*; and that upon Fines levied, and solemnly proclaim'd, the Subject should have his Time of Watch for five Years after his Title accrued; which if he fore-passed, his Right should be bound for ever after; with some Exception nevertheless, of Minors, Married Women, and such incompetent Persons.

This Statute did in Effect but restore an Ancient Statute of the Realme, which was it self also made but in Affirmance of the Common-Law. The Alteration had been by a Statute,

commonly called the Statute of Non-claim, made in the time of *Edward* the Third. And surely this Law was a kind of Prognostick of the good Peace, which since his time hath (for the most part) continued in this Kingdom, until this Day. For Statutes of Non-claim are fit for times of War, when Mens Heads are Troubled, that they cannot intend their Estates; but Statutes, that quiet Possessions, are fittest for Times of Peace, to extinguish Suits and Contentions, which is one of the Banes of Peace.

Another Statute was made of singular Policy, for the Population apparently, and (if it be thoroughly considered) for the Souldiery, and Militar Forces of the Realm.

Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arable Land (which could not be manured without People and Families) was turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a few Herdsmen; and Tenancies for Years, Lives, and at Will (whereupon much of the Yeomanry lived) were turned into Demesnes. This bred a decay of People, and (by consequence) a decay of Towns, Churches, Tithes, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued with all upon this a Decay and Diminution of Subsidy and Taxes; for the more Gentlemen, ever the lower Books of Subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience, the King's Wisdom was Admirable, and the Parliament's at that time. Inclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the Improvement of the Patrimony of the Kingdom; nor Tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with Nature and Utility. But they took a Course to take away The In- depopulating Inclosures, and depopulating Pa- conveni- sturage, and yet not by that Name, or by any encies of Imperious express Prohibition, but by Conse- Inclo- quence. The Ordinance was, *That all Houses of fures Husbandry, that were used with twenty Acres of Reme- dy'd. Ground, and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a Competent Proportion of Land to be used and occupied with them; and in no wise to be severed from them, as by another Statute, made afterwards in his Successors time, was more fully declared. This upon Forfeiture to be taken; not by way of Popular Action, but by seisure of the Land it self, by the King and Lords of the Fee, as to half the Profits, till the Houses and Lands were restored. By this means the Houses being kept up, did of necessity inforce a Dweller; and the Proportion of Land for Occupation being kept up, did of necessity inforce that Dweller not to be a Beggar or Cottager, but a Man of some Substance, that might keep Hinds and Servants, and set the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the Might and Mannerhood of the Kingdom, to have Farms, as it were of a Standard sufficient to maintain an able Body out of Penury, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdom unto the Hold and Occupation of the Yeomanry or Middle-People, of a Condition between Gentlemen, and Cottagers, or Peasants; Now, how much this did advance the Militar Power of the Kingdom, is apparent by the true Principles of War, and the Examples of other Kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general Opinion of Men of best Judgment in the Wars (howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of Case) that the Principal Strength of an Army consisteth in the Infantry or Foot. And to make good Infantry, it requireth Men bred, not in a servile or indigent Fashion, but in some free and plentiful*

1489;
Statute
of Non-
claim.

How the
People
came to
Decay.

The In-
conveni-
encies of
Inclo-
sures
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Fines.

1489. plentiful manner. Therefore if a State run most to Noble men and Gentlemen, and that the Husband-men and Plough-men be but as their Work-folks and Labourers, or else mere Cottagers, (which are but Hous'd Beggars) you may have a good Cavalry, but never good stable Bands of Foot; like to Coppice-Woods, that if you leave in them Staddles too thick, they will run to Bushes and Briars, and have little clean Underwood. And this is to be seen in *France*, and *Italy*, and some other Parts abroad, where in Effect all is Nobles, or Pefantry, I speak of People out of Towns, and no middle People; and therefore no good Forces of Foot: Insomuch, as they are enforced to imploy Mercenary Bands of *Switzers* and the like, for their Battalions of Foot: Whereby also it comes to pass, that those Nations have much People, and few Soldiers. Whereas the King saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that *England* though much less in Territory, yet should have infinitely more Soldiers of their Native Forces, than those other Nations have. Thus did the King secretly sow *Hydra's* Teeth, whereupon (according to the Poets fiction) should rise up Armed Men for the Service of this Kingdom.

The King also (having care to make his Realm potent, as well by Sea as by Land) for the better maintenance of the Navy, ordained; *That Wines and Woods from the Parts of Gascoyn and Langue-dock should not be brought but in English Bottoms*; Bowing the Ancient Policy of this Estate, from consideration of Plenty, to consideration of Power. For that almost all the Ancient Statutes incite by all means Merchant-strangers, to bring in all sorts of Commodities; having for end Cheapness, and not looking to the Point of State concerning the Naval Power.

The King also made a Statute in that Parliament Monitory and Minatory, towards Justices of Peace, that they should duly execute their Office, inviting Complaints against them, first to their Fellow-Justices, then to the Justices of Assise, then to the King or Chancellor; and that a Proclamation, which he had published of that Tenor, should be read in open Sessions four times a Year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his Laws executed, and thereby to reap either Obedience or Forfeitures; (wherein towards his latter Times he did decline too much to the left Hand) he did ordain Remedy against the Practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp Informations upon Penal Laws, by procuring Informations by Collusion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at Pleasure, and pleading them in Bar of the Informations, which were prosecuted with Effect.

He made also Laws for the Correction of the Mint, and counterfeiting of Foreign Coyne current. And that no payment in Gold should be made to any Merchant-Stranger, the better to keep Treasure within the Realm, for that Gold was the Mettal that lay in least Room.

His Statutes for encouraging Woollen Drapery. He made also Statutes for the Maintenance of Drapery, and the keeping of Wools within the Realm; and not only so, but for stinting, and limiting the Prices of Cloth, one for the Finer, and another for the Coarser sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set Prices by Statute, especially upon our Home-Commodities; and because of the Wise Model of this Act, not prescribing Prices, but stinting them not to

exceed a Rate, that the Clothier might drape according as he might afford.

Divers other good Statutes were made that Parliament, but these were the Principal. And here I do desire those, into whose Hands this Work shall fall, that they do take it in good part my long insisting upon the Laws that were made in this King's Reign. Whereof I have these Reasons; Both because it was the preheminent Vertue and Merit of this King, to whose Memory I do honour; and because it hath some Correspondence to my Person; but chiefly, because (in my Judgment) it is some defect even in the best Writers of History, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most Memorable Laws that passed in the Times whereof they write, being indeed the Principal Acts of Peace. For though they may be had in the Original Books of Law themselves, yet that informeth not the Judgments of King's and Councillors, and Persons of Estate, so well as to see them describ'd, and entred into the Table and Pourtrait of the Times;

About the same time, the King had a Loan from the City of Four thousand Pounds; which was double to that they lent before, (a) and was duely and orderly paid back at the Day, as the former likewise had been. The King ever choosing rather to borrow too soon, than to pay too late, and so keeping up his Credit.

Neither had the King yet cast off his Cares and Hopes touching *Britain*, but thought to master the Occasion by Policy, though his Arms had been unfortunate, and to bereave the *French* King of the Fruit of his Victory. The Sum of his Design was, to encourage *Maximilian* to go on with his Suit, for the Marriage of *Ann*, the Heir of *Britain*, and to Aid him to the Consummation thereof. But the Affairs of *Maximilian* were at that time in great Trouble and Combustion, by a Rebellion of his Subjects in *Flanders*, especially those of *Bruges* and *Gant*; whereof the Town of *Bruges* (at such time as *Maximilian* was there in Person) had suddenly Arm'd in Tumult, and slain some of his Principal Officers, and taken himself Prisoner, and held him in Durance, till they had enforced him, and some of his Councillors, to take a solemn Oath; to pardon all their Offences, and never to queston and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless *Frederick* the Emperor would not suffer this Reproach and Indignity offer'd to his Son to pass, but made sharp War upon *Flanders*, to reclaim and chastise the Rebels. But the Lord *Ravenstein*, a principal Person about *Maximilian*, and one that had taken the Oath of Abolition with his Master, pretending the Religion thereof, but indeed upon private Ambition, and (as it was thought) instigated and corrupted from *France*, forsook the Emperor and *Maximilian* his Lord, and made himself an Head of the Popular Party, and seiz'd upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*, with both the Castles. And forthwith sent to the Lord *Cordes*, Governour of *Picardy* under the *French* King, to desire Aid, and to move him, that he on the behalf of the *French* King would be Protector of the united Towns, and by Force of Arms reduce the rest. The Lord *Cordes* was ready to embrace the Occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater Forces, than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden, if he had not looked for such a Summons before, in Aid of the Lord *Ravenstein*, and the *Flemings*, with Instructions to invest the Towns between *France* and

(a) The King borrowed of every Alderman 200 l. and of the Chamber of London 500 l. 17 s. 4d. Hollinghead.

1489. Bruges. The French Forces besieged a little Town called *Dixmue*, where part of the *Flemish* Forces joyned with them. While they lay at this Siege, the King of England, upon pretence of the Safety of the *English* Pale about *Calice*, but in Truth being loth that *Maximilian* should become contemptible, and thereby be shaken off by the States of *Britain* about this Marriage, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand Men unto the Lord *Daubigny*, then Deputy of *Calice*, with secret Instructions to aid *Maximilian*, and to raise the Siege of *Dixmue*. The Lord *Daubigny* (giving it out that all was for the Strengthening of the *English* Marches) drew out of the Garrisons of *Calice*, *Hammes*, and *Guines*, to the Number of a Thousand Men more. So that with the fresh Succours that came under the Conduct of the Lord *Morley*, they made up to the Number of two Thousand, or better. Which Forces joyning with some Companies of *Almains*, put themselves into *Dixmue*, not perceived by the Enemies; and passing through the Town with some Re-inforcement (from the Forces that were in the Town) assail'd the Enemies Camp, negligently guarded, as being out of Fear; where there was a bloody Fight, in which the *English* and their Partakers obtain'd the Victory, and slew to the Number of eight Thousand Men, with the loss on the *English* part of a Hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord *Morley*. They took also their great Ordnance, with much rich Spoils which they carried to *Newport*, whence the Lord *Daubigny* return'd to *Calice*, leaving the hurt Men, and some other Voluntaries in *Newport*. But the Lord *Cordes* being at *Ipre* with a great power of Men, thinking to recover the Loss and Disgrace of the Fight at *Dixmue*, came presently on, and sat down before *Newport* and besieg'd it; and after some days Siege, he resolv'd to try the Fortune of an Assault: Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal Tower and Fort in that City, and planted upon it the French Banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the *English*, by the help of some fresh Succours of Archers arriving by good Fortune (at the instant) in the Haven at *Newport*. Whereupon the Lord *Cordes* discouraged, and measuring the new Succours (which were small) by the Success (which was great) levied his Siege. By this means, Matters grew more exasperate between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, for that in the War of *Flanders*, the Auxiliary Forces of French and *English* were much blooded one against another. Which Blood rankled the more by the vain Words of the Lord *Cordes*, that declared himself an open Enemy of the *English*, beyond that that appertain'd to the present Service; making it a common By-word of his, That he could be content to lie in Hell seven Years, so he might win *Calice* from the *English*.

The Lord Cordes's hatred to the English.

A New Ceremony of Marriage.

The King having thus upheld the Reputation of *Maximilian*, advised him now to press on his Marriage with *Britain* to a Conclusion. Which *Maximilian* accordingly did, and so far forth prevail'd both with the young Lady, and with the principal Persons about her, as the Marriage was consummate by Proxy, with a Ceremony at that time in these Parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated as a Bride, and solemnly Bedded; and after she was laid, there came in *Maximilian's* Ambassador with Letters of Procuracion, and in the presence of sundry Noble Personages, Men and Women, put his Leg (stript naked to the Knee) between the Espousal Sheets; to the end, that that Ceremony might be thought to amount to

a Consummation and actual Knowledge. This done, *Maximilian* (whose Property was to leave things then, when they were almost come to Perfection, and to end them by Imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrows up to the Head; and who might as easily have bedded the Lady himself, as to have made a Play and Disguise of it) thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further Proceeding, and intended his Wars. Mean while, the French King (consulting with his Divines, and finding that this pretended Consummation was rather an Invention of Court, than any ways valid by the Laws of the Church) went more really to work, and by secret Instruments and cunning Agents, as well Matrons about the young Lady as Councillors, first sought to remove the Point of Religion and Honour out of the Mind of the Lady her self, wherein there was a double Labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted unto the Lady, but *Maximilian's* Daughter was likewise contracted to King *Charles*. So as the Marriage halted upon both Feet, and was not clear on either side: But for the Contract with King *Charles*, the Exception lay plain and fair; for that *Maximilian's* Daughter was under Years of Consent, and so not bound by Law, but a power of Disagreement left to either part. But for the Contract made by *Maximilian* with the Lady her self, they were harder driven: Having nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, whose Ward and Client she was, and He to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of such Consent. Which Defect (they said) tho' it would not evacuate a Marriage, after Cohabitation, and Actual Consummation; yet it was enough to make void a Contract. For as for the pretended Consummation, they made Sport with it, and said, That it was an Argument, that *Maximilian* was a Widdower, and a cold Wooer, that could content himself to be a Bridegroom by Deputy, and would not make a little Journey, to put all out of Question. So that the young Lady, wrought upon by these Reasons, finely instilled by such as the French King (who spared for no Rewards or Promises) had made on his Side; and allured likewise by the present Glory and Greatness of King *Charles*, (being also a young King, and a Bachelor) and loth to make her Country the Seat of a long and miserable War; secretly yielded to accept of King *Charles*. But during this secret Treaty with the Lady, the better to save it from Blasts of Opposition and Interruption, King *Charles* resorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the Marriage as he had carried the Wars, by entertaining the King of *England* in vain belief, sent a Solemn Ambassage by Francis Lord of *Luxemburg*, *Charles Marignian* and *Robert Gaguien*, General of the Order of the *Bonnes Hommes* of the Trinity, to treat a Peace and League with the King; accoupling it with an Article in the Nature of a Request, that the French King might with the King's good Will (according unto his Right of Seigniorie and Tutelage) dispose of the Marriage of the young Dutchess of *Britain*, as he should think good; offering by a judicial Proceeding to make Void the Marriage of *Maximilian* by Proxy. Also all this while the better to amuse the World, he did continue in his Court and Custody the Daughter of *Maximilian*, who formerly had been sent unto him, to be bred and educated in *France*; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly, that he meant to proceed with that Match. And that for

The Dissimulation of the Fr. King.

1490. for the Dutcheſſe of *Britain*, he deſired only to preſerve his Right of Seigniorie, and to give her in Marriage to ſome ſuch Allie, as might depend upon him.

When the three Commiſſioners came to the Court of *England*, they deliver'd their Ambaſſage unto the King, who remitted them to his Council; where ſome days after they had Audience, and made their Propoſition by the Prior of the Trinity (who tho' he were Third in Place, yet was held the beſt Speaker of them) to this Effect.

The Fr.
Ambaſſa-
dors
Speech.

MY Lords, the King our Maſter, the greateſt and mightieſt King that reign'd in *France* ſince *Charles* the Great (whoſe Name he beareth), hath nevertheleſs thought it no Diſparagement to his Greatneſs, at this time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of *England*. For which purpoſe he hath ſent us his Commiſſioners, inſtructed and enabled with full and ample Power, to treat and conclude; giving us further in Charge, to open in ſome other Buſineſſe the Secrets of his own Intentions. Theſe be indeed the precious Love Tokens between great Kings, to communicate one with another the true ſtate of their Affairs, and to paſſe by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to give Law unto Affection. This I do aſſure your Lordſhips, it is not poſſible for you to imagine the true and cordial Love that the King our Maſter beareth to your Sovereign, except you were near him, as we are. He uſeth his Name with ſo great reſpect; He remembreth their firſt Acquaintance at *Paris* with ſo great Contentment; nay, he never ſpeaks of him, but that preſently he falls into Diſcourſe of the Miſeries of great Kings, in that they cannot converſe with their Equals, but with Servants. This Affection to your King's Perſon and Vertues, God hath put into the Heart of our Maſter, no doubt for the good of Chriſtendom, and for Purpoſes yet unknown to us all. For other Root it cannot have, ſince it was the ſame to the Earl of *Richmond*, that it is now to the King of *England*. This is therefore the firſt Motive that makes our King to deſire Peace, and League with your Sovereign: Good Affection, and ſomewhat that he finds in his own Heart. This Affection is alſo arm'd with reaſon of Eſtate. For our King doth in all Candour and Frankneſs of dealing open himſelf unto you; that having an honourable, yea, and a holy Purpoſe to make a Voyage and War in remote Parts, he conſidereth that it will be of no ſmall effect, in point of Reputation to his Enterprize, if it be known Abroad, that he is in good Peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and ſpecially with the King of *England*, whom for good Cauſes he eſteemeth moſt.

But now (my Lords) give me leave to uſe a few words to remove all Scruples and Miſunderſtandings between your Sovereign and ours, concerning ſome late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for Matter paſt, neither King may conceive unkindneſs of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindneſs of him. The late Actions are two; that of *Britain*, and that of *Flanders*. In both which, it is true, that the Subjects Swords of both Kings have encountred and ſtricken, and the Ways and Inclinations alſo of the two Kings, in reſpect of their Confederates and Allies, have ſeevered.

For that of *Britain*; The King your Sovereign knoweth beſt what hath paſſed. It was a War of Neceſſity on our Maſter's part. And tho' the Motives of it were ſharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that War rather with an Olive-Branch, than a Laurel-Branch in his Hand, more deſiring Peace than Victory. Beſides from time to time he ſent (as it were) Blank-Papers to your King, to write the Conditions of Peace. For tho' both his Honour and Safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of *England's* hands. Neither doth our King on the other Side make any unfriendly Interpretation of your King's ſending of Succours to the Duke of *Britain*; for the King knoweth well, that many things muſt be done of Kings for Satisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to diſcern what is a King's own. But this Matter of *Britain* is now (by the Act of God) ended and paſſed; and (as the King hopeth) like the way of a Ship in the Sea, without leaving any Impreſſion in either of the Kings Minds; as he is ſure for his part it hath not done in his.

For the Action of *Flanders*; As the former of *Britain* was a War of Neceſſity, ſo this was a War of Juſtice, which with a good King is of equal Neceſſity, with danger of Eſtate; for elſe he ſhould leave to be a King. The Subjects of *Burgundy* are Subjects in Chief to the Crown of *France*, and their Duke the Homager and Vaſſal of *France*. They had wont to be good Subjects, howſoever *Maximilian* hath of late diſtemper'd them. They fled to the King for Juſtice, and Deliverance from Oppreſſion. Juſtice he could not deny; Purchase he did not ſeek. This was good for *Maximilian*, if he could have ſeen it in People murthered to arreſt Fury, and prevent Deſpair. My Lords, it may be this I have ſaid is needleſs; ſave that the King our Maſter is tender in any thing, that may but glance upon the Friendſhip of *England*. The Amity between the two Kings (no doubt) ſtands entire and inviolate. And that their Subjects Swords have claiſhed, it is nothing unto the publick Peace of the Crowns; it being a thing very uſual in Auxiliary Forces of the beſt and ſtraiteſt Confederates, to meet and draw blood in the Field. Nay, many times there be Aids of the ſame Nation on both ſides, and yet it is not (for all that) *A Kingdom divided in it ſelf*.

It reſteth (my Lords) that I impart unto you a Matter, that I know your Lordſhips all will much rejoyce to hear; as that which importeth the Chriſtian Commonweal more than any Action that hath hapned of a long time. The King our Maſter hath a Purpoſe and Determination, to make War upon the Kingdom of *Naples*; being now in the Poſſeſſion of a Baſtardſhip of *Arragon*, but appertaining unto his Maſteſty, by clear and undoubted Right; which if he ſhould not by juſt Arms ſeek to recover, he could neither acquit his Honour, nor Answer it to his People. But his Noble and Chriſtian Thoughts reſt not here. For his Reſolution and Hope is, to make the Reconqueſt of *Naples*, but as a Bridge to tranſport his Forces into *Greece*; and not to ſpare Blood or Treafure (if it were to the impawning of his Crown, and diſpeopling of *France*) till either he hath Overthrown the Empire of the *Ottomans*, or taken it in his Way to *Paradiſe*. The King knoweth well, that this is a Deſign, that could not ariſe in the Mind of any

1490. any King, that did not stedfastly look up unto God, whose Quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the Will and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Person that he beareth (tho' unworthy) of the Thrice Christian King, and the eldest Son of the Church. Whereunto he is also invited by the Example (in more Ancient time) of King Henry IV. of England (the first renown'd King of the House of Lancaster; Ancestor, tho' not Progenitor to your King) who had a Purpose towards the End of his Time (as you know better) to make an Expedition into the Holy Land; and by the Example also (present before his Eyes) of that Honourable and Religious War which the King of Spain now maketh, and hath almost brought to Perfection, for the recovery of the Realm of Granada from the Moors. And altho' this Enterprize may seem vast and unmeasur'd, for the King to attempt that by his own Forces, wherein heretofore a Conjunction of most of the Christian Princes hath found Work enough; yet his Majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller Forces being united under one Command, are more effectual in Proof (tho' not so promising in Opinion and Fame) than much greater Forces, variously compounded by Associations and Leagues; which commonly in a short time after their Beginnings, turn to Dissociations and Divisions. But my (Lords, that which is as a Voice from Heaven that called the King to this Enterprize, is a Rent at this time in the House of the Ottomans. I do not say, but there hath been Brother against Brother in that House before, but never any that had refuge to the Arms of the Christians, as now hath Gemes (Brother unto Bajazeth, that reigneth) the far braver Man of the two; the other being between a Monk and a Philosopher, and better read in the *Alcoran* and *Averroes*, than able to wield the Scepter of so Warlike an Empire. This therefore is the King our Master's memorable and Heroical Resolution for an Holy War. And because he carrieth in this the Person of a Christian Soldier, as well as of a great Temporal Monarch; he beginneth with Humility, and is content for this Cause to beg Peace at the hands of other Christian Kings. There remaineth only rather a Civil Request, than any Essential part of our Negotiation, which the King maketh to the King your Sovereign. The King (as the World knoweth) is Lord in Chief of the Duchy of Britain. The Marriage of the Heir belongeth to him as Guardian. This is a private Patrimonial Right, and no Business of Estate: yet nevertheless (to run a fair Course with your King; whom he desires to make another Himself, and to be one and the same thing with him) his Request is, That with the King's Favour and Consent, he may dispose of her Marriage, as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended Marriage of Maximilian, according to Justice. This (my Lords) is all that I have to say, desiring your Pardon for my Weakness in the Delivery.

Thus did the French Ambassadors with great shew of their King's Affection, and many sugar'd Words seek to aduice all Matters between the two Kings, having two Things for their Ends; The one, to keep the King quiet till the Marriage of Britain was past, and this was but a Summer Fruit, which they thought was al-

most ripe and would soon be gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper as he might be no Disturbance or Impediment to the Voyage for Italy. The Lords of the Council were Silent; and said only, *That they knew the Ambassadors would look for no Answer, till they had reported to the King*; and so they rose from Council. The King could not tell what to think of the Marriage of Britain. He saw plainly the Ambition of the French King was to impatronize himself of the Duchy; but he wondred he would bring into his House a litigious Marriage, especially considering who was his Successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Britain for lost; but resolv'd to make his Profit of this Business of Britain, as a Quarrel for War; and that of Naples, as a Wrench and Mean for Peace; being well advertised how strongly the King was bent upon that Action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his Council, and keeping himself somewhat close; he gave a Direction to the Chancellor, for a formal Answer to the Ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his Council. And after calling the Chancellor to him apart, bad him speak in such Language as was fit for a Treaty that was to end in a Breach; and gave him also a Special Caveat, that he should not use any words, to discourage the Voyage of Italy. Soon after the Ambassadors were sent for to the Council, and the Lord Chancellor spake to them in this sort.

MY Lords Ambassadors, I shall make The Lord Chancellor's Answer to the French Ambassadors Speech: answer by the King's Commandment, unto the Eloquent Declaration of you my Lord Prior, in a brief and plain manner. The King forgetteth not his former Love and Acquaintance with the King your Master. But of this there needeth no Repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any Alteration, it is not Words that will make it up.

For the Business of Britain, the King findeth it a little strange that the French King maketh mention of it, as Matter of well deserving at his Hand. For that Deserving was no more, but to make him his Instrument, to surprise one of his best Confederates. And for the Marriage, the King would not meddle in it if your Master would marry by the Book, and not by the Sword.

For that of Flanders, if the Subjects of Burgundy had appeal'd to your King, as their Chief Lord, at first, by way of Supplication; it might have had a Shew of Justice. But it was a new Form of Process, for Subjects to imprison their Prince first, and to slay his Officers, and then to be Complainants. The King saith, that sure he is, when the French King, and himself sent to the Subjects of Scotland (that had taken Arms against their King) they both spake in another Stile, and did in Princely manner signifie their Detestation of Popular Attentates upon the Person or Authority of Princes. But my Lords Ambassadors, the King leaveth these two Actions thus: That on the one Side, he hath not received any manner of Satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them, to refuse to treat of Peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the War of Naples, and the Design against the Turks; the King hath commanded me expressly to say, That he doth wish with all his Heart, to his good

1490. ' good Brother the *French* King, that his Fortunes may succeed according to his Hopes, and honourable Intentions. And whensoever he shall hear, that he is prepared for *Grecia*, as your Master is pleased now to say, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, so the King will then beg of him a part in that War.

' But now my Lords Ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the King's part. The King your Master hath taught our King what to say and demand. You say (my Lord Prior) that your King is resolv'd to recover his Right to *Naples*, wrongfully detained from him. And that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his Honour, nor answer it to his People. Think (my Lords) that the King our Master saith the same thing over again to you touching *Normandy*, *Guien*, *Angeou*, yea and the Kingdom of *France* it self. I cannot express it better than in your own Words: If therefore the *French* King shall consent, that the King our Master's Title to *France* (at least Tribute for the same) be handled in the Treaty, the King is content to go on with the rest; otherwise he refuseth to Treat.

The K's.
Title to
the
Crown of
France re-
new'd.

THE Ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this Demand, answered in some Heat; *That they doubted not but the King their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Scepter*: And they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any Diminution of the Crown of *France* either in Territory or Regality. But howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no Commission. It was replied; that the King looked for no other Answer from them; but would forthwith send his own Ambassadors to the *French* King. There was a Question also asked at the Table, *Whether the French King would agree to have the disposing of the Marriage of Britain with an Exception and Exclusion, that he should not marry her himself?* To which the Ambassadors answered; That it was so far out of the King's Thoughts, as they had received no Instructions touching the same. Thus were the Ambassadors dismissed, all save the Prior; and were follow'd immediately by *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenston* Prior of *Christ Church* in *Canterbury*; who were presently sent over into *France*. In the mean space *Lionell*, Bishop of *Concordia*, was sent as Nuntio from Pope *Alexander* the sixth to both Kings, to move a Peace between them. For Pope *Alexander* finding himself pent and lockt up by a League and Association of the Principal States of *Italy*, that he could not make his way for the Advancement of his own House (which he immoderately thirsted after) was desirous to trouble the Waters in *Italy*, that he might fish the better; casting the Net, not out of *Saint Peter's*, but out of *Borgia's* Bark. And doubting least the Fears from *England* might stay the *French* King's Voyage into *Italy*, dispatch'd this Bishop to compose all matters between the two Kings, if he could. Who first repaired to the *French* King, and finding him well inclin'd (as he conceiv'd) took on his Journey towards *England*, and found the *English* Ambassadors at *Calice*, on their way towards the *French* King. After some Conference with them, he was in Honourable manner transported over into *England*, where he had Audience of the King. But notwithstanding he had a good Ominous Name to have made a Peace, nothing followed. For in the mean time, the purpose of the *French* King to marry the *Duchess* could be no longer dis-

sembled. Wherefore the *English* Ambassadors (finding how things went) took their Leaves and returned. And the Prior also was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his back (more like a Pedant) than an Ambassador) dispersed a bitter Libel, in Latin Verse, against the King; unto which the King (though he had nothing of a Pedant) yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like Verse; and that as speaking in his own Person, but in a Style of Scorn and Sport. About this time also was born the King's second Son *Henry*, who afterward reigned. And soon after followed the Solemnization of the Marriage between *Charles* and *Ann* *Duchess* of *Britain* with whom he received the *Duchy* of *Fritain* as her Dowry; the Daughter of *Maximilian* being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the Ears of *Maximilian* (who could never believe it till it was done, being ever the Principal in deceiving himself, though in this the *French* King did very handsomly second it and tumbling it over and over in his Thoughts, that he should at one Blow (with such a double scorn) be defeated, both of the marriage of his Daughter, and his own (upon both which he had fixed high Imaginations;) he lost all Patience, and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great Kings (even when their Blood is hottest and most risen) fell to bitter Invectives against the Person and Actions of the *French* King. And (by how much he was less able to do, talking so much the more) spake all the Injuries he could devise of *Charles* saying, That he was the most perfidious Man upon the Earth, and that he had made a Marriage compounded between an Advoury and a Rape; which was done (he said) by the just Judgment of God, to the end that (the Nullity thereof being so apparent to all the World) the Race of so unworthy a Person might not reign in *France*. And forthwith he sent Ambassadors as well to the King of *England*, as to the King of *Spain*, to incite them to War, and to treat a League offensive against *France*, promising to concur with great Forces of his own. Hereupon the King of *England* (going nevertheless his own way) called a Parliament, it being the seventh Year of his Reign; and the first day of opening thereof (sitting under his Cloth of Estate) spake himself unto his Lords and Commons in this manner.

MY Lords, and you the Commons; when I purposed to make a War in *Brittain* by my Lieutenant, I made Declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I mean to make a War upon *France* in Person; I will declare it to you my self. That War was to defend another Man's Right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by Accident, but we hope this shall end in Victory.

The *French* King troubles the Christian World. That which he hath, is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of *Britain*. He maintaineth the Rebels in *Flanders*; and he threatneth *Italy*. For Our Selves, he hath proceeded from Dissimulation to Neglect; and from Neglect to Contumely. He hath assayed our Confederates: He denyeth our Tribute: In a word, he seeks War. So did not his Father, but sought Peace at our Hands; and so perhaps will he, when good Council or Time shall make him see as much as his Father did.

Mean while; let us make his Ambition our Advantage; and let us not stand upon a few Crowns

1490. Crowns of Tribute, or Acknowledgment, but (by the Favour of Almighty God) try Our Right to the Crown of France it self; remembering there hath been a French King Prisoner in England, and a King of England Crowned in France. Our Confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier Hand than ever, and never more provoked. Britain cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New Acquests are more burthen than strength. The Male contents of his own Kingdom have not been base, popular, nor titulary Impostors, but of an higher Nature. The King of Spain (doubt ye not) will join with us, not knowing where the French King's Ambition will stay. Our holy Father the Pope likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this Matter of Confederates, is rather to be thought on than reckoned on. For God forbid, but England should be able to get Reason of France, without a Second.

At the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, we were of our selves. France hath much People, and few Soldiers. They have no stable bands of Foot. Some good Horse they have; but those are Forces, which are least fit for a defensive War, where the Actions are in the Assailant's choice. It was our Disorders only, that lost France; and (by the Power of God) it is the good Peace which we now enjoy, that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my Sword. I have in this time that I have Reigned, weeded out my bad Subjects, and tried my good. My People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there should be any bad Blood left in the Kingdom, an Honourable foreign War will vent it, or purify it. In this great Business, let me have your Advice, and Aid. If any of you were to make his Son Knight, you might have aid of your Tenants by Law. This concerns the Knighthood and Spurs of the Kingdom, whereof I am Father; and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it. But for Matter of Treasure, let it not be taken from the poorest sort; but from those, to whom the Benefit of the War may redound. France is no Wilderness: and I, that profess good Husbandry, hope to make the War (after the beginnings) to pay it self. Go together in God's Name, and lose no time; for I have called this Parliament wholly for this Cause.

Thus spake the King; but for all this, though he shewed great Forwardness for a War, not only to his Parliament and Court, but to his Privy-Council likewise, (except the two Bishops and a few more) yet nevertheless in his secret Intentions, he had no purpose to go through with any War, upon France. But the Truth was, that he did but traffick with that War, War only to make his Return in Money. He knew well, that France was now entire, and at Unity with it self, and never so mighty many Years before. He saw by the cast that he had of his Forces sent into Brittain, that the French knew well enough how to make War with the English; by not putting things to the Hazard of a Battle, but wearying them by long Sieges of Towns, and strong fortified Encampings. James the III. of Scotland, (his true Friend and Confederate) gone; and James the IV. (that had succeeded) wholly at the Devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the Conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain, and Maximilian; he could make no Foundation upon them. For the one

had Power, and not Will; and the other hath Will, and not Power. Besides that, Ferdinando had but newly taken breath, from the War with the Moors; and Merchanted at this time with France, for the restoring of the Counties of Ruffignon and Perpignan, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of Fear of the Discontents, and ill Blood within the Realm; which having used always to repress and appease in Person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond Sea, and engaged in War. Finding therefore the Inconveniences and Difficulties in the prosecution of a War, he cast with himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the Declaration and Inchoation of a War, to make his Profit. The other, how to come off from the War, with saving of his Honour. For Profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his Subjects for the War, and upon his Enemies for the Peace; like a good Merchant, that maketh his Gain, both upon the Commodities exported, and imported back again. For the point of Honour, wherein he might suffer, for giving over the War; he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for Supports of War: so the Impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for Occasions to accept of Peace. These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his Lap, as he desired.

For as for the Parliament, it presently took Fire, being affectionate (of old) to the War of France; and desirous a-fresh to repair the Dishonour they thought the King sustained by the Loss of Brittain. Therefore they advised the King (with great Alacrity) to undertake the War of France. And although the Parliament consisted of the First and second Nobility (together with principal Citizens and Townsmen) yet worthily and justly respecting more the People (whose Deputies they were) than their own private Persons, and finding by the Lord Chancellor's Speech the King's Inclination that way; they consented that Commissioners should go forth, for the gathering and levying a Benevolence, from the more able sort. This Tax (called Benevolence) was devised by Edward the Fourth for which he sustained much Envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third by Act of Parliament, to ingratiate himself with the People; and it was now revived by the King, but with consent of Parliament, for so it was not in the time of King Edward the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great Sums. Inasmuch as the City of London (in those Days) contributed nine thousand Pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a Tradition of a Dilemma that Bishop Morton the Chancellor used, to raise up the Benevolence to higher Rates; and some called it his Fork, and some his Crutch. For he had couch'd an Article in the Instructions to the Commissioners, who were to levy the Benevolence; That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their Port, and manner of living. So neither kind came amiss.

This Parliament was merely a Parliament of War; for it was in substance, but a Declaration of War against France and Scotland, with some Statutes conducing thereunto; as the severe punishing of Mort-pays, and keeping back of Soldiers Wages and Captains. The like Severity for the Departure of Soldiers without Licence; Strengthening

He desires the Parliament to advise him.

The King pretends War only to get Money.

A Benevolence granted the King for a War with France. Who the first Author of Benevolences.

They are abolished. And revived.

Bishop Morton's Dilemma.

1490. Strengthening of the Common-Law in favour of Protections, for those that were in the King's Service; And the setting the Gate open and wide, for Men to sell or mortgage their Lands without Fines for Alienation, to furnish themselves with Money for the War; And lastly, the voiding of all *Scottish men* out of *England*. There was also a Statute for the dispersing of the Standard of the Exchequer, throughout *England*; thereby to size Weights and Measures; and two or three more of less Importance.

Statute
to sell
Lands
without
Fines.

After the Parliament was broken up (which lasted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the War of *France*; yet neglected not in the mean time the Affairs of *Maximilian*, for the quieting of *Flanders*, and restoring him to his Authority amongst his Subjects. For at that time, the Lord of *Ravenstein* being not only a Subject Rebell'd, but a Servant revolted (and so much the more Malicious and Violent, by the Aid of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*) had taken the Town and both the Castles of *Sluice*; as we said before.

And having (by the Commodity of the Haven) gotten together certain Ships and Barks, fell to a kind of Pyratel Trade; robbing and spoyling, and taking Prisoners the Ships and Vessels of all Nations, that passed alongst that Coast, towards the Mart of *Antwerp*, or into any part of *Brabant*, *Zeland*, or *Freezeland*; being ever well Victualled from *Picardie*, besides the Commodity of Victuals from *Sluice*, and the Country adjacent, and the Avails of his own Prizes. The *French* assisted him still under-hand; and he likewise (as all Men do, that have been of both sides) thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third Person.

There was a small Town some two Miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea, called *Dam*; which was a Fort and Approach to *Bruges*, and had a Relation also to *Sluice*. This Town the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Town in it self, but because it might choak *Bruges*, and cut it off from the Sea) and ever fail'd. But therewith the Duke of *Saxony* came down into *Flanders*, taking upon him the Person of an Umpire, to compose things between *Maximilian* and his Subjects; but being (indeed) fast and assured to *Maximilian*. Upon this Pretext of Neutrality and Treaty, he repaired to *Bruges*; desiring of the States of *Bruges*, to enter peaceably into their Town, with a Retinue of some Number of Men of Arms, fit for his Estate; being somewhat the more (as he said) the better to guard him in a Country, that was up in Arms; and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers Matters of great Importance, for their Good. Which having obtained of them, he sent his Carriages and Harbingers before him, to provide his Lodging. So that his Men of War entred the City in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before enquired still for Inns and Lodgings, as if they would have rested there all Night, and so went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam*; and they of *Bruges* only gazed upon them and gave them Passage. The Captains and Inhabitants of *Dam* also suspected no Harm, from any that passed through *Bruges*; and discovering Forces afar off, supposed they had been some Succours, that were come from their Friends, knowing some dangers, towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well, till it was too late, suffered them to enter their Town. By which kind of Sleight rather than Stratagem, the Town of *Dam* was taken and

Dam taken by a Trick.

the Town of *Bruges* shrewdly blockt up, where- 1490. by they took great discouragement.

The Duke of *Saxony* having won the Town of *Dam*, sent immediately to the King to let him know that it was *Sluice* chiefly, and the Lord *Ravenstein*, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life; And that if it pleased the King to besiege it by Sea, he also would besiege it by Land, and so cut out the Core of those Wars.

The King willing to uphold the Authority of *Maximilian* (the better to hold *France* in aw) and being likewise sued unto by his Merchants, for that the Seas were much infested by the Barks of the Lord *Ravenstein*; sent straightways Sir *Edward Poynings* a valiant Man, and of good Service, with twelve Ships, well furnished with Souldiers and Artillery, to clear the Seas, and to besiege *Sluice* on that part. The *Englishmen* did not only coop up the Lord *Ravenstein*, that he stirred not, and likewise held in strait siege the Maritime part of the Town; but also assail'd one of the Castles, and renewed the Assault so for twenty days space (issuing still out of their Ships at the Ebb) as they made great Slaughter of them of the Castle; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the *English* part also were slain a Brother of the Earl of *Oxford's* and some fifty more.

But the Siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the Castles (which were the principal strength of the Town) being distressed, the one by the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other by the *English*; and a Bridge of Boats, which the Lord *Ravenstein* had made between both Castles, whereby Succours and Relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a Night set on fire by the *English*, he despairing to hold the Town, yielded (at the last) the Castles to the *English*, and the Town to the Duke of *Saxony*, by Composition. Which done, the Duke of *Saxony* and Sir *Edward Poynings* treated with them of *Bruges*, to submit themselves to *Maximilian* their Lord; which after some time they did, paying (in some good part) the Charge of the War, whereby the *Almains* and foreign Succours were dismissed. The example of *Bruges* other of the Revolted Towns followed; so that *Maximilian* grew to be out of Danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of Necessity. And Sir *Edward Poynings* (after he had continued at *Sluice* some good while, till all things were settled) returned unto the King, being then before *Bulloigne*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from *Ferdinando*, and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*; signifying the final Conquest of *Granada* from the *Moors*; which Action in it self so worthy, King *Ferdinando* (whose manner was never to lose any Vertue for the shewing) had expressed and displayed in his Letters at large, with all the particularities, and religious Punctoes and Ceremonies, that were observed in the Reception of that City and Kingdom: Shewing amongst other things, that the King would not by any means in Person enter the City, until he had first aloof seen the Cross set up upon the greater Tower of *Granada*, whereby it became Christian Ground: That likewise before he would enter, he did Homage to God above, pronouncing by an Herald from the Height of that Tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that Kingdom, by the help of God Almighty and the Glorious Virgin, and the Vertuous Apostle Saint *James*, and the Holy Father *Innocent* the Eighth, together with the Aids and Services of his Prelates, Nobles, and Commons: That yet he stirred not from his Camp, till he had seen a

The Spanish
niards
conquer
Granada.

1491. little Army of *Martyrs*, to the Number of Seven Hundred and more Christians (that had lived in Bonds and Servitude as Slaves to the *Moors*) pass before his Eyes, singing a Psalm for their Redemption, and that he had given Tribute unto God by Alms and Relief extended to them all, for his Admission into the City. These things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of Holy Ostentation.

The Kings affection to the Spanish King. The King ever willing to put himself into the Consort or Quire of all religious Actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spain*, (as far as one King can affect another) partly for his Vertues, and partly for a Counterpoise to *France*; upon the receipt of these Letters, sent all his Nobles and Prelates, that were about the Court, together with the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, in great Solemnity to the Church of *Pauls*; there to hear a Declaration from the Lord Chancellor; now Cardinal. When they

* On the 6th of April.

Christendom enlarged.

were Assembled*, the Cardinal (standing up on the uppermost Step, or half-pace before the Quire; and all the Nobles, Prelates, and Governours of the City at the foot of the Stairs) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were Assembled in that Consecrate Place to sing unto God a New Song: For that (said he) 'these many Years the Christians have not gained new Ground or Territory upon the Infidels, nor enlarged and set further the Bounds of the Christian World: But this is now done by the Prowess and Devotion of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*; who have (to their Immortal Honour) recover'd the great and rich Kingdoms of *Granada*, and the populous and mighty City of the same Name, from the *Moors*, having been in Possession thereof by the space of Seven hundred Years, and more. For which, this Assembly and all Christians are to render Laud and Thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble Act of the King of *Spain*; who in this is not only Victorious, but Apostolical, in the gaining new Provinces to the Christian Faith. And the rather, for that this Victory and Conquest is obtain'd, without much Effusion of Blood. Whereby it is to be hoped, that there shall be gained, not only new Territory, but infinite Souls to the Church of Christ; whom the Almighty (as it seems) would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable Particulars of the War and Victory. And after his Speech ended, the whole Assembly went Solemnly in Procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after the Solemnity, the King kept his *May-Day* at his Palace of *Sheine*, now *Richmond*: Where to warm the Blood of his Nobility and Gallants, against the War, he kept great Triumphs of Jousting and Tourney, during all that Month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir *James Parker* and *Hugh Vaughan*, (one of the King's Gentlemen Ushers) having had a Controversy touching certain Arms, that the King at Arms had given *Vaughan*, were appointed to run some Courses one against another; and by accident of a faulty Helmet, that *Parker* had on, he was stricken into the Mouth at the first Course, so that his Tongue was born unto the hinder-part of his Head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place. Which because of the Controversy Precedent and the Death that follow'd, was accounted amongst the Vulgar, as a Combate of Tryal of Right. The King towards the end of this Summer, having put his Forces, wherewith he meant to Invade *France*, in readiness, (but so as they were not yet met or mustered together) sent *Urwick*

(now made his Almoner) and Sir *John Risley* to *Maximilian*; to let him know, that he was in Arms, ready to pass the Seas into *France*, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to joyn with him, according to his Promise made unto him by *Countebalt*, his Ambassador.

The *English* Ambassadors having repaired to *Maximilian*, did find his Power and Promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of Men, Money, and Arms for any such Enterprize. For *Maximilian* having neither Wing to fly on (for that his Patrimony of *Austria* was not in his Hands, his Father being then living: And on the other side, his Matrimonial Territories of *Flanders* being partly in Dower to his Mother-in-Law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late Rebellions) was thereby destitute of Means to enter into War. The Ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the King thereof, rather than to return themselves till the King's further Pleasure were known: The rather, for that *Maximilian* himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertain'd them with dilatory Answers; so as the formal part of their Ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw thro' his Business from the beginning) wrote back to the Ambassadors, commending their Discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the State wherein they found *Maximilian*, as a Secret, till they heard further from him; and mean while went on with his Voyage Royal for *France*, suppressing for a time this Advertisement touching *Maximilian's* Poverty and Disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and Puissant Army into the City of *London*, in which were *Thomas* Marquess of *Dorset*, *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel*, *Thomas* Earl of *Derby*, *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Edmond* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Edward* Earl of *Devonshire*, *George* Earl of *Kent*, the Earl of *Essex*, *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, with a great number of Barons, Knights, and principal Gentlemen; and amongst them *Richard Thomas*, much noted for the brave Troops that he brought out of *Wales*; The Army rising in the whole to the number of Five and twenty Thousand Foot, and Sixteen Hundred Horse. Over which, the King (constant in his accustom'd Trust and Imployment) made *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, Generals under his own Person. The 9th of *September*, in the Eighth Year of his Reign, he departed from *Greenwich* towards the Sea; all Men wondring that he took that Season (being so near Winter) to begin the War; and some thereupon gathering it was a Sign that the War would not be long. Nevertheless, the King gave out the contrary, thus: That he intended not to make a Summer Business of it, but a resolute War (without term prefixed) until he recover'd *France*; it skilled not much when he began it; especially having Calice at his back; where he might Winter, if the reason of the War so required. The 6th of *October*, he embarked at *Sandwich*; and the same Day took Land at *Calice*; which was the Rendezvous where to all his Forces were assigned to meet. But in this his Journey towards the Sea side (wherein, for the Cause that we shall now speak of, he hover'd so much the longer) he had receiv'd Letters from the Lord *Cordes*; who the hotter he was against the *English* in time of War, had the more credit in a Negotiation of Peace, and besides was held a Man open, and of good Faith. In which Letters there was made an Over-

1491. ture of Peace from the *French King*, with such Conditions, as were somewhat to the King's Taste: but this was carried at the first with wonderful Secrecy. The King was no sooner come to *Calice*, but the Calm Winds of Peace began to blow. For, first, the *English Ambassadors* return'd out of *Flanders* from *Maximilian*; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any Aid from *Maximilian*, for that he was altogether unprovided: His Will was good; but he lacked Money. And this was made known and spread through the Army. And altho' the *English* were therewithal nothing dismay'd; and that it be the manner of Soldiers, upon bad News to Speak the more Bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. Instantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came News that *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, Kings of *Spain*, had concluded a Peace with King *Charles*; and that *Charles* had restor'd unto them the Counties of *Roussignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were mortgaged by *John King* of *Arragon* (*Ferdinando's* Father) unto *France*, for Three hundred Thousand Crowns: which Debt was also upon this Peace, by *Charles* clearly released. This came also handsomly to put on the Peace: both because so Potent a Confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair Example of Peace bought; so as the King should not be the sole Merchant in this Peace. Upon these Aids of Peace, the King was content, that the Bishop of *Exeter* and the Lord *Daubigny*, (Governour of *Calice*) should give a Meeting unto the Lord *Cordes*, for the Treaty of a Peace. But himself nevertheless, and his Army, the 15th of *October* removed from *Calice*, and in four days March sat down before *Bulloigne*.

K. Henry
besieges
Bulloigne.

During this Siege of *Bulloigne* (which continued near a Month) there passed no memorable Accident of War; only Sir *John Savage*, a valiant Captain was Slain, riding about the Walls of the Town to take a View. The Town was both well fortify'd and well mann'd; yet it was distressed, and ready for an Assault. Which if it had been given (as was thought) would have cost much Blood; but yet the Town would have been carried in the End. Mean while, a Peace was concluded by the Commissioners, to continue for both the Kings Lives. Where there was no Article of Importance; being in effect rather a Bargain than a Treaty. For, all things remained as they were; save that there should be paid to the King Seven hundred Forty five Thousand Ducats in present, for his Charges in that Journey; and Five and twenty Thousand Crowns yearly, for his Charges sustained in the Aids of the *Britons*. For which Annual, tho' he had *Maximilian* Bound before for those Charges; yet he counted the Alteration of the Hand, as much as the Principal Debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely, when it should Determine or Expire: Which made the *English* esteem it as a Tribute carried under fair Terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his Son King *Henry VIII.* longer than it could continue upon any Computation of Charges. There were also assign'd by the *French King*, unto all the King's principal Counsellors great Pensions, besides rich Gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit to save his own Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of a Business that was displeasing to his People, was diversly interpreted. For certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procur'd some of his best Captains, and Men of War, to advise

him to a Peace under their Hands, in an earnest manner, in the Nature of a Supplication. But the truth is, this Peace was welcome to both Kings. To *Charles*, for that it assured unto him the Possession of *Brittain*, and freed the Enterprize of *Naples*. To *Henry*, for that it fill'd his Coffers; and that he foresaw at that time a Storm of inward Troubles coming upon him; which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less Discontent to the Nobility, and principal Persons of the Army; who had many of them sold or engaged their Estates upon the Hopes of the War. They stuck not to say, That the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People, to feather himself. And some made themselves merry with that the King had said in Parliament: That after War was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it self; saying he had kept Promise.

Having risen from *Bulloigne*, he went to *Calice*, where he stay'd some time. From whence also he wrote Letters, * (which was a Courtesy that he sometimes used) to the Mayor of *London*, and Aldermen his Brethren; half bragging, what great Sums he had obtain'd for the Peace; knowing well, that full Coffers of the King is ever good News to *London*. And better News it would have been, if their Benevolence had been but a Loan. And upon the 17th of *December* following, he return'd to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmas*.

Soon after the King's Return, he sent the Order of the Garter, † to *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, eldest Son to *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; an Honour sought by that Prince, to hold him up in the Eyes of the *Italians*; Who, expecting the Arms of *Charles*, made great Account of the Amity of *England* for a Bridle to *France*. It was received by *Alphonso* with all the Ceremony and Pomp that could be devised; as things use to be carried, that are intended for Opinion. It was sent by *Urswick*; upon whom the King bestow'd this Ambassage, to help him, after many dry Employments.

* Dated the 9th of Novemb. 1491. The King writes bragging Letters to the Lord Mayor.

† By *Urswick* his Chaplain.

At this time the King began again to be haunted with Sprites, by the Magick and curious Arts of the Lady *Margaret*: Who raised up the Ghost of *Richard* Duke of *York*, second Son to King *Edward IV.* to walk and vex the King: This was a finer Counterfeit Stone than *Lambert Symnell*, better done, and worn upon greater Hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of *France*, and a King of *Scotland*, not of the Dutches of *Burgundy* only. And for *Symnell*, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome Boy, and did not shame his Robes. But this Youth (of whom we are now to speak) was such a Mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own Part if at any time he chanc'd to be out: Wherefore, this being one of the strangest Examples of a Personation that ever was in Elder or Later Times; it deserveth to be discovered, and related at the full: Altho' the King's manner of shewing things, by Pieces and by Dark Lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a Mystery to this Day.

The Lady *Margaret* (whom the King's Friends call'd *Juno*, because she was to him as *Juno* was to *Aeneas*, stirring both Heaven and Hell to do him Mischiefe) for a Foundation of her particular Practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying Opinion, That *Richard* Duke of *York* (second Son to *Edward IV.*) was not murder'd in the *Tower* (as was given out) but saved

The rise of the Counterfeit *Perkin*.

186250 l. Sterling.

The Fr. King buys a Peace of K. Henry.

The Fr. K. gives large gifts to King Henry's Officers. The Kings Device to divert the Peoples Hatred.

1492. ved alive: For that those who were employ'd in that barbarous Fact, having destroy'd the elder Brother, were stricken with Remorse and Compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his Fortune. This Lure she cast abroad, thinking that this Fame and Belief (together with the fresh Example of *Lambert Simnell*) would draw at one time or other some Birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further Diligence, not committing all to Chance. For, she had some secret Espials (like to the Turks Commissioners for Children of Tribute) to look abroad for handsom and graceful Youths, to make *Plantagenets*, and Dukes of *York*. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one could wish, to serve her turn, for a Counterfeit of *Richard Duke of York*.

This was *Perkin Warbeck*, whose Adventures we shall now describe. For, first, the Years agreed well. Secondly, He was a Youth of fine Favour and Shape; but more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching Fashion, both to move Pity and to induce Belief, as was like a kind of Fascination and Inchantment to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his Childhood such a Wanderer, or (as the King called him) such a Land-loper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his Nest and Parents. Neither again could any Man, by Company or Conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was; he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, There was a Circumstance (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the Matter, which is, That *King Edward IV.* was his Godfather. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton Prince to become Gossip in so mean a House; and might make a Man think that he might indeed have in him some base Blood of the House of *York*; so at the least (tho' that were not) it might give the occasion to the Boy, in being call'd *King Edward's* Godson, or perhaps in sport, *King Edward's* Son, to entertain such Thoughts into his Head. For, Tutor he had none (for ought that appears) as *Lambert Simnell* had, until he came unto the Lady *Margaret*, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to pass: There was a Townsman of *Tourney*, that had born Office in that Town, whose Name was (a) *John Osbeck*, a Convert Jew, married to *Catherine de Faro*; whose Business drew him to live for a time with his Wife at *London*, in *King Edward IV.*'s days. During which time he had a Son by her; and being known in Court, the King either out of a religious Nobleness, because he was a Convert, or upon some private Acquaintance, did him the Honour as to be Godfather to his Child, and named him *Peter*. But afterwards proving a Dainty and Effeminate Youth, he was commonly call'd by the Diminutive of his Name, *Peter-Kin*, or *Perkin*. For, as for the Name of *Warbeck*, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before Examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talk'd on by that Name, as it stuck by him after his true Name of *Osbeck* was known. While he was a young Child, his Parents return'd with him to *Tourney*. Then was he placed in a House of a Kinsman of his, call'd *John Stenbeck* at *Antwerp*; and so roved up and down between *Antwerp* and *Tourney*, and other Towns of *Flanders*, for a good

time; living much in *English* Company, and having the *English* Tongue perfect. In which time being grown a comely Youth, he was brought by some of the Espials of the Lady *Margaret* unto her Presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a Face and Personage, that would bear a Noble Fortune: And finding him otherwise of a fine Spirit and winning Behaviour, thought she had now found a curious Piece of Marble, to carve out an Image of a Duke of *York*. She kept him by her a great while; but with extreme Secrecy. The while, she instructed him, by many Cabinet-Conferences. First, In Princely Behaviour and Gesture; teaching him how he should keep State, and yet with a modest Sense of his Misfortunes. Then she inform'd him of all the Circumstances and Particulars that concern'd the Person of *Richard Duke of York*, which he was to act: Describing unto him the Personages, Lineaments, and Features of the King and Queen his pretended Parents; and of his Brother, and Sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in his Childhood; together with all Passages, some secret some common, that were fit for a Child's Memory, until the Death of *King Edward*. Then she added the Particulars of the Time, from the King's Death, until he and his Brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was Abroad, as while he was in Sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his Brother's Death, and his own Escape; she knew they were things that a very few could controul. And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely Tale of those Matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them, what Account he should give of his Peregrination abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the Credit of the rest; But still making them hang together, with the Part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting Questions, which were like to asked of him. But, in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as she trusted much to his own Wit and Readiness; and therefore labour'd the less in it. Lastly, she rais'd his Thoughts with some present Rewards, and further Promises; setting before him chiefly the Glory and Fortune of a Crown, if things went well; and a sure Refuge to her Court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his Lesson, she began to cast with her self from what Coast this Blazing-Star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the Horizon of *Ireland*; for there had the like Meteor strong influence before: The time of the Apparition to be, when the King should be engaged into a War with *France*. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ireland*, she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then upon Terms of Peace. Therefore she wheel'd about; and to put all Suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her (for that she knew Secrets are not long liv'd) she sent him unknown into *Portugal*, with the Lady *Brampton*, (b) an *English* Lady, that Embark'd for *Portugal* at that time;

(a) His true Name was *Peter Osbeck*; he was not unlike *Richard Duke of York*, both in Body and Countenance; he was Born at *Tourney* in *Flanders*. Whose Father, *John Osbeck*, was Controulor of that City, and his Mother *Catherine de Faro*, who could speak *English*. Sir J. Ware, Ann. Hen. VII. Cap. 6. (b) Sir *Richard Brampton's* Wife.

1492. with some *Privado* of her own, to have an Eye upon him; and there he was to remain, and to expect her further Directions. In the mean time, she omitted not to prepare things for his better Welcom, and Accepting, not only in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, but in the Court of *France*. He continued in *Portugal* about a Year; and by that time, the King of *England* called his Parliament (as hath been said) and declared open War against *France*. Now did the Sign reign, and the Constellation was come, under which *Perkin* would appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the Dutchess to go for *Ireland*, according to the first Designment. In *Ireland* he did arrive at the Town of *Cork*. When he was come thither, his own Tale was (when he made his Confession afterwards) That the *Irishmen*, finding him in good Clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down, that he was the Duke of *Clarence*, that had been there before: And after, that he was *Richard* the III's base Son: And lastly, that he was *Richard* Duke of *York*, second Son to *Edward IV*: But that he (for his part) renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the holy Evangelists, that he was no such Man; till at last they forced it upon him and bad him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into *Ireland*, he took upon him the said Person of the Duke of *York*, and drew unto him Complices, and Partakers, by all the Means he could devise: Insomuch, as he wrote his Letters unto the Earls of *Desmond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his Aid, and be of his Party; the Originals of which Letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the Dutchess had gained unto her, a near Servant of King *Henry's* own, one *Stephen Frion*, his Secretary for the French Tongue; an active Man, but turbulent and discontented. This *Frion* had fled over to *Charles* the French King, and put himself into his Service, at such time as he began to be in open Enmity with the King. Now King *Charles*, when he understood of the Person and Attempts of *Perkin* (ready of himself to embrace all Advantages against the King of *England*; instigated by *Frion*, and formerly prepared by the Lady *Margaret*) forthwith dispatch'd one *Lucas*, and this *Frion*, in the Nature of Ambassadors to *Perkin*; to advertise him of the King's good Inclination to him, and that he was resolved to Aid him to recover his Right against King *Henry* an Usurper of *England*, and an Enemy of *France*; and wish'd him to come over unto him at *Paris*. *Perkin* thought himself in Heaven now that he was invited by so great a King, in so honourable a manner: and imparting unto his Friends in *Ireland* for their Incouragement, how Fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sail'd presently into *France*. When he was come to the Court of *France*, the King received him with great Honour; saluted, and stiled him by the Name of the Duke of *York*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great State: And the better to give him the Representation and the Countenance of a Prince, assign'd him a Guard for his Person; whereof the Lord *Congresall* was Captain. The Courtiers likewise (tho' it be ill-mocking with the French) applied themselves to their King's Bent; seeing there was Reason of State of it. At the same time there repair'd unto *Perkin* divers Englishmen of Quality; Sir *George Nevile*, Sir *John Taylor*, and about One hundred more; and amongst the rest, this *Stephen Frion*, of whom we spake; who follow'd his Fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal Counsellor, and Instru-

ment in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the French King's part, was but a Trick; the better to bow King *Henry* to a Peace. And therefore upon the first Grain of Incense that was sacrificed upon the Altar of Peace at *Bulloigne*, *Perkin* was smoked away. Yet would not the French King deliver him up to King *Henry* (as he was labour'd to do) for his Honour's sake, but warn'd him away and dismissed him. And *Perkin* on his part was ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into *Flanders*, unto the Dutchess of *Burgundy*; pretending, that having been variously told by Fortune, he directed his course thither, as to a safe Harbour: No ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first Address. The Dutchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him: pretending (at the first) that she was taught and made wise by the Example of *Lambert Simnell*, how she did admit of any Counterfeit Stuff; tho' even in that (she said) she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first (and that was ever in the presence of others) to pose and list him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of *York*, or no. But seeming to receive full Satisfaction by his Answers, she then feign'd herself to be transported with a kind of Astonishment, mixt of Joy and Wonder, at his miraculous Deliverance; receiving him, as if he were risen from Death to Life; and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserv'd him from Death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous Fortune. As for his Dismission out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit Deceiver; but contrariwise, that it did shew manifestly unto the World, that he was some great Matter; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the Peace: being no more but the Sacrificing of a poor distressed Prince unto the Utility and Ambition of two mighty Monarchs. Neither was *Perkin* for his part wanting to himself, either in gracious and princely Behaviour, or in ready and apposite Answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty Scorn and Disdain to those that seem'd to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself: Insomuch as it was generally believed (as well amongst great Persons, as amongst the Vulgar) that he was indeed Duke *Richard*. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a Lye, was turn'd by habit almost into the thing he seem'd to be; and from a Lye to a Believer. The Dutchess therefore (as in a case out of doubt) did him all Princely Honour, calling him always by the Name of her Nephew, and giving him the delicate Title of *The white Rose* of *England*; and appointed him a Guard of Thirty Persons, Halberdiers, clad in a Party-coloured Livery of Murrey and Blew, to attend his Person. Her Court likewise, and generally the Dutch and Strangers in their usage towards him, expressed no less Respect.

The News hereof came blazing and thundering over into *England*, that the Duke of *York* was sure alive. As for the Name of *Perkin Warbeck*, it was not at that time come to light, but all the News ran upon the Duke of *York*; that he had been entertained in *Ireland*, bought and sold in *France*, and was now plainly avowed, and in great Honour in *Flanders*. These Fames took hold of divers; in some upon Discontent, in some upon Ambition, in some upon Levity and Desire of Change, and in some few upon Conscience and Belief; but in most upon Simplicity; and

1493. and in divers out of Dependance upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these Bruits. And it was not long, ere these Rumours of Novelty had begotten others of Scandal and Murmur against the King and his Government; taxing him for a great Taxer of his People, and Discountenancer of his Nobility. The Loss of *Brittain*, and the Peace with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his Queen, in that he did not Reign in her Right. Wherefore they said, that God had now brought to light a Masculine-Branch of the House of *York*, that would not be at his Curtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor Lady. And yet (as it fareth in things which are current with the Multitude, and which they affect) these Fames grew so general, as the Authors were lost in the Generality of Speakers. They being like running Weeds, that have no certain Root; or like Footings up and down, impossible to be traced. But after a while, these ill Humours drew to an Head, and settled secretly in some eminent Persons; which were Sir *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, the Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Mountfort*, Sir *Thomas Thwaites*. These entered into a secret Conspiracy to favour Duke *Richard's* Title. Nevertheless none engaged their Fortunes in this Business openly, but two; Sir *Robert Clifford* and Master *William Barley*, who sail'd over into *Flanders*, sent indeed from the Party of the Conspirators here, to understand the Truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of Monies from hence; provisionally to be deliver'd, if they found and were satisfied that there was Truth in these pretences. The Person of Sir *Robert Clifford* (being a Gentleman of Fame and Family) was extremely Welcome to the Lady *Margaret*. Who after she had Conference with him, brought him to the sight of *Perkin*, with whom he had often Speech and Discourse. So that in the end won either by the Dutche's to affect, or by *Perkin* to believe, he wrote back into *England*, that he knew the Person of *Richard Duke of York*, as well as he knew his own; and that this Young Man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to Revolt and Sedition here, and the Conspiracy came to a Correspondence between *Flanders* and *England*.

The King on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy Forces yet, he thought would but shew Fear, and do this Idol too much Worship. Nevertheless the Ports he did shut up, or at least kept a Watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected. But for the rest, he chose to work by Countermine. His purposes were two; The one, to lay open the Abuse; the other, to break the Knot of the Conspirators. To detect the Abuse, there were but two ways: The first, to make it manifest to the World that the Duke of *York* was indeed murder'd: The other to prove, that were he Dead or Alive, yet *Perkin* was a Counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four Persons that could speak upon Knowledge to the Murder of the Duke of *York*: Sir *James Tirrel* (the employ'd-man from King *Richard*) *John Dighton*, and *Miles Forrest*, his Servants (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the Priest of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which four, *Miles Forrest*, and the Priest were dead, and there remain'd alive only Sir *James Tirrel* and *John Dighton*. These two the King caused to be committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the Death of the two innocent Princes. They agreed both in a Tale, (as the King gave out) to this effect:

That King *Richard* having directed his Warrant for the putting of them to Death to *Brackenbury* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, was by him refused. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to Sir *James Tirrel*, to receive the Keys of the *Tower* from the Lieutenant (for the space of a Night) for the King's special Service. That Sir *James Tirrel* accordingly repair'd to the *Tower* by Night, attended by his two Servants afore nam'd, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood at the Stair-foot, and sent these two Villains to execute the Murder. That they smother'd them in their Bed; and that done, they call'd up their Master to see their naked Bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the Stairs, and some Stones cast upon them. That when the Report was made to King *Richard*, that his Will was done, he gave Sir *James Tirrel* great Thanks, but took Exception to the Place of their Burial, being too base for them that were King's Children. Whereupon another Night, by the King's Warrant renew'd, their Bodies were remov'd by the Priest of the *Tower*, and buried by him in some Place, which (by means of the Priest's Death soon after) could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to the Effect of those Examinations. But the King nevertheless made no use of them in any of his Declarations; whereby (as it seems) those Examinations left the Business somewhat perplex'd. And as for Sir *James Tirrel*, he was soon after beheaded in the *Tower-Yard*, for other matters of Treason*. But *John Dighton* (who it seemeth spake best for the King) was forthwith set at Liberty, and was the principal Means of divulging this Tradition. Therefore this kind of Proof being left so naked, the King used the more Diligence in the latter, for the tracing of *Perkin*. To this purpose, he sent abroad into several Parts, and especially into *Flanders*, divers secret and nimble Scouts and Spies; some feigning themselves to fly over unto *Perkin*, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the Circumstances and Particulars of *Perkin's* Parents, Birth, Person, Travels up and down; and in brief, to have a Journal (as it were) of his Life and Doings. He furnish'd these his employ'd men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward Intelligences: giving them also in Charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one Advertisement and Discovery call'd up another, he employ'd other new Men, where the business did require it. Others he employ'd in a more special Nature and Trust, to be his Pioneers in the main Counter-mine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the Familiarity and Confidence of the principal Persons of the Party in *Flanders*, and so to learn what Associates they had, and Correspondents, either here in *England*, or Abroad; and how far every one ingaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the Persons; so for the Actions themselves, to discover to the bottom (as they could) the utmost of *Perkin* and the Conspirators their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. These latter Best-trust Spies had some of them further Instructions, to practise and draw off the best Friends and Servants of *Perkin*, by making Remonstrance to them, how weakly his Enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King, with Promise of Pardon, and good Conditions of Reward. And (above the rest) to assail, sap, and work into the Constancy of Sir

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1494. Sir Robert Clifford; and to win him (if they could) being the Man that knew most of their Secrets, and who being won away, would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the Knot.

There is a strange Tradition; That the King being lost in a Wood of Suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both Intelligence with the Confessors and Chaplains of divers great Men, and for the better Credit of his Espials abroad with the contrary Side, did use to have them curst at *Pauls* (by Name) amongst the bead-roll of the King's Enemies, according to the Custom of those Times. These Espials plied their Charge so roundly, as the King had an Anatomy of *Perkin* alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent Conspirators in *England*, and many other Mysteries were reveal'd; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the King, and industrious and officious for his Service. The King therefore (receiving a rich Return of his Diligence, and great Satisfaction touching a number of Particulars) first divulged and spread abroad the Imposture and Juggling of *Perkin's* Person and Travels, with the Circumstances thereof throughout the Realm. Not by Proclamation (because things were yet in Examination, and so might receive the more or the less) but by Court-fables, which commonly print better than printed Proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an Ambassage unto Archduke *Philip* into *Flanders*, for the abandoning and dismissing of *Perkin*. Herein he employ'd Sir *Edward Poynings* and Sir *William Warham*, Doctor of the Canon-Law. The Archduke was then Young, and governed by his Council: before whom the Ambassadors had Audience, and Dr. *Warham* spake in this manner.

Those Ambassadors went to *Flanders* before Sir Robert Clifford sided with the King. Hol.

MY Lords, the King our Master is very sorry, that *England* and your Country here of *Flanders* having been counted as Man and Wife for so long time, now this Country of all others should be the Stage, where a base Counterfeit should play the part of a King of *England*; not only to his Grace's Disquiet and Dishonour, but to the Scorn and Reproach of all Sovereign Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyn, is an high Offence by all Laws: But to counterfeit the living Image of a King in his Person, exceedeth all Falsifications, except it should be that of *Mahomet*, or an Anti-Christ, that counterfeit Divine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this Sage Council, to think that any of you is caught with this Fable (though way may be given by you to the Passion of some) the thing in it self is so improbable. To set Testimonies aside of the Death of Duke *Richard*, which the King hath upon Record, plain and infallible (because they may be thought to be in the King's own Power) let the thing testify for it self. Sense and Reason no Power can command. Is it possible (trow you) that King *Richard* should damn his Soul, and foul his Name with so abominable a Murder, and yet not mend his Case? Or do you think, that Men of Blood (that were his Instruments) did turn to Pity in the midst of their Execution? Whereas in cruel and savage Beasts, and Men also, the first Draught of Blood doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Do you not know, that the Bloody Executioners of Tyrants do go to such Errands, with an Halter about their

Neck: So that if they perform not, they are sure to dye for it? And do you think, that these Men would hazard their own Lives, for sparing anothers? Admit they should have saved him: What should they have done with him? Turn him into *London* Streets, that the Watch-men or any Passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a Justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great deal of Care, Charge, and continual Fears. But (my Lords) I labour too much in a clear Business. The King is so wise, and hath so good Friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke *Perkin* from his Cradle. And because he is a great Prince; if you have any good Poet here, he can help him with Notes to write his Life, and to parallel him with *Lambert Simnel*, now the King's Faulconer. And therefore (to speak plainly to your Lordships) it is the strangest thing in the World, that the Lady *Margaret* (excuse us, if we name her, whose Malice to the King is both causeless and endless) should now when she is old, at the time when other Women give over Childbearing, bring forth two such Monsters; being not the Birth of nine or ten Months, but of many Years. And whereas other Natural Mothers bring forth Children Weak, and not able to help themselves; she bringeth forth tall Striplings, able soon after their coming into the World, to bid Battel to mighty Kings. My Lords, we stay unwillingly upon this Part. We would to God, that Lady would once taste the Joys, which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her Niece to Reign in such Honour, and with so much Royal Issue; which she might be pleased to accompt as her own. The King's Request unto the Arch-Duke, and your Lordships might be; That according to the Example of King *Charles*, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But because the King may justly expect more from an Antient Confederate, than from a new reconciled Enemy; he maketh his Request unto you, to deliver him up into his Hands. Pirates and Impostures of this sort, being fit to be accounted the common Enemies of Mankind, and no ways to be protected by the Laws of Nations.

After some time of Deliberation, the Ambassadors received this short Answer.

THAT the Archduke, for the Love of the King *Henry*, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended Duke; but in all things conserve the Amity he had with the King. But for the Dutches's Dowager, she was absolute in the Lands of her Dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own.

The King, upon the Return of the Ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this Answer. For well he knew, that a Patrimonial Dowry carried no part of Sovereignty, or Command of Forces. Besides, the Ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the Dutches had a great Party in the Arch-Duke's Council; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of Conivance; yet the Arch-Duke under hand gave Aid and Furtherance to *Perkin*. Wherefore (partly out of Courage, and partly out of Policy) the King forthwith banished all *Flemmings* (as *Flemmings* well their Persons, as their Wares) out of his Kingdom;

1494. Kingdom; commanding his Subjects likewise (and by name his Merchant-Adventurers) which had a Residence in *Antwerp*, to return; translating the *Mart* (which commonly followed the *English Cloth*) unto *Calice*, and embarr'd also all further Trade for the future. This the King did, being sensible in point of Honour, not to suffer a Pretender to the Crown of *England* to affront him so near at Hand, and he to keep Terms of Friendship with the Country where he did set up. But he had also a further reach: for that he knew well, that the Subjects of *Flanders* drew so great Commodity from the Trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would soon wax weary of *Perkin*, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the Prince to displease the People. Nevertheless for Form's sake, by way of Requital, the Arch-Duke did likewise banish the *English* out of *Flanders*; which in effect was done to his Hand.

The King being well advertis'd, that *Perkin* did more trust upon Friends and Partakers within the Realm, than upon foreign Arms, thought it behoov'd him to apply the Remedy, where the Disease lay; and to proceed with Severity against some of the principal Conspirators here within the Realm; thereby to purge the ill Humours in *England*, and to cool the Hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore he caused to be apprehended (almost at an instant) *John Ratcliff* Lord *Fitzwater*, *Sir Simon Mountford*, *Sir Thomas Thwaites*, *William Dawbigney*, *Robert Ratcliff*, *Thomas Chressenor*, and *Thomas Astwood*. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for High Treason, in adhering, and promising aid to *Perkin*. Of these, the Lord *Fitzwater* was conveyed to *Calice*, and there kept in hold, and in hope of Life, until soon after (either impatient, or betrayed) he dealt with his Keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But *Sir Simon Mountford*, *Robert Ratcliff*, and *William Dawbigney* were beheaded immediately after their Condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many other Clerks and Laikes, amongst which were two *Dominican Friars*, and *William Worsley*, Dean of *Pauls*: which latter sort pass'd Examination, but came not to publick Trial.

The Lord Chamberlain at that time was not touch'd; whether it were, that the King would not stir too many Humours at once but (after the manner of good Physicians) purge the Head last; or that *Clifford* (from whom most of these Discoveries came) reserved that Piece for his own coming over; signifying only to the King in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the King further accompt, when he came to his presence.

Upon All-hallows-day even being now the tenth year of the King's Reign, the King's second Son *Henry* was created Duke of *York*; and as well the Duke, as divers others, Noblemen, Knights Batchellours, and Gentlemen of Quality were made Knights of the *Bath*, according to the Ceremony. Upon the Morrow after Twelfth-Day, the King removed from *Westminster* (where he had kept his *Christmas*) to the Tower of *London*. This he did as soon as he had Advertisment, that *Sir Robert Clifford* (in whose Bosom or Budget most of *Perkin's* Secrets were lay'd up) was come into *England*. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if *Clifford* should accuse any of the great ones, they might without Suspicion, or Noise, or sending abroad of Warrants, be presently at-

1494. tached; the Court and Prison being within the Cincture of one Wall. After a Day or two, the King drew unto him a selected Council, and admitted *Clifford* to his Presence; who first fell down at his Feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's Pardon, which the King then granted, though he were indeed secretly assur'd of his Life before. Then commanded to tell his Knowledge, he did amongst many others (of himself, not interrogated) appeach *Sir William Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household.

The King seem'd to be much amazed at the naming of this Lord, as if he had heard the News of some strange and fearful Prodigy. To hear a Man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his Life, and set the Crown upon his Head; a Man, that enjoyed by his Favour and Advancement so great a Fortune, both in Honour and Riches; a Man, that was tied unto him in so near a Band of Alliance, his Brother having married the King's Mother; and lastly, a Man, to whom he had committed the trust of his Person, in making him his Chamberlain. That this Man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in Fear, should be false unto him. *Clifford* was required to say over again, and again, the Particulars of his Accusation, being warn'd, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a Servant of the King's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the King finding that he did sadly and constantly (without Hesitation or varying, and with those Civil Protestations that were fit) stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his Soul and Life; he caus'd him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoan'd himself unto his Council there present, gave order that *Sir William Stanley* should be restrained in his own Chamber, where he lay before, in the Square Tower. And the next day he was examined by the Lords. Upon his Examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavour'd much to excuse or extenuate his Fault. So that (not very wisely) thinking to make his Offence less by Confession, he made it enough for Condemnation. It was conceived, that he trusted much to his former Merits, and the Interest that his Brother had in the King. But those helps were over-weighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the King's Nature and Mind. First, an Over-merit; for convenient Merit, unto which Reward may easily reach, doth best with Kings: next the sense of his Power; for the King thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the Glimmering of a Confiscation; for he was the Richest Subject for Value in the Kingdom; there being found in his Castle of *Holt* forty Thousand Marks in ready Money, and Plate, besides Jewels, Household-Stuff, Stocks upon his Grounds, and other personal Estate, exceeding great. And for his Revenue in Land and Fee, it was three thousand Pounds a Year of old Rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the Nature of the Time; for if the King had been out of Fear of his own Estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his Life. But the Cloud of so great a Rebellion hanging over his Head, made him work sure. Wherefore after some six Weeks distance of time, which the King did honourably interpose, both to give space to his Brother's Intercession, and to shew to the World, that he had a Conflict with himself what he should do; he was arraigned of High-Treason, and condemn'd, and presently after beheaded.

1495. Yet is it to this Day but in dark Memory, both what the case of this noble person was, for which he suffered, and what likewise was the Ground and Cause of his Defection, and the Alienation of his Heart from the King. His case was said to be this; That in Discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him, he had said; *That if he were sure, that that young Man were King Edward's Son, he would never bear Arms against him.*

Condition- in respect of the conditional, and in respect of
nal words the other words. But for the conditional, it
not Treason. seems the Judges of that time (who were learned Men, and the Three chief of them of the Privy Council) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *Ifs* and *Ands*, to qualify Words of Treason; whereby every Man might express his Malice, and Blanch his Danger. And it was like to the case (in the following Times) of *Elizabeth Barton*, the Holy Maid of Kent; who had said, *That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Katherine his Wife again, He should be deprived of his Crown, and die the Death of a Dog.* And infinite cases may be put of like Nature. Which (it seemeth) the grave Judges taking into consideration, would not admit of Treasons upon condition. And as for the positive words, *That he would not bear Arms against King Edward's Son*; though the words seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct Over-ruling of the King's Title, either by the Line of Lancaster, or by Act of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, than if Stanley had charged his Launce upon him in the Field. For if Stanley would hold that Opinion, that a Son of King Edward had still the better Right, he being so principal a person of Authority, and Favour about the King; it was to teach all England to say as much. And therefore (as those Times were) that speech touched the Quick. But some Writers do put this out of doubt; for they say, that Stanley did expressly promise to aid *Perkin*, and sent him some help of Treasure.

Why Sir William Stanley fell from the King's Interest. Now for the Motive of his falling off from the King; it is true, that at *Bosworth Field* the King was beset, and in a Manner inclosed round about by the Troops of King Richard, and in manifest Danger of his Life; when this Stanley was sent by his Brother, with Three thousand Men to his Rescue, which he performed so, that King Richard was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal Men is not capable of a greater Benefit, than the King received by the Hands of Stanley; being like the Benefit of *Christ*, at once to Save and Crown. For which Service the King gave him great Gifts, made him his Councillour and Chamberlain; and (somewhat contrary to his Nature) had winked at the great Spoils of *Bosworth Field*, which came almost wholly to this Man's Hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheless blown up with the conceit of his Merit, he did not think he had received good Measure from the King, at least not prest down and running over, as he expected. And his Ambition was so exorbitant, and unbounded, as he became Suitor to the King for the Earldom of *Chester*. Which ever being a kind of Appendage to the Principality of *Wales*, and using to go to the King's Son; his Suit did not only end in a Denial, but in a Distaste. The King perceiving thereby, that his Desires were intemperate, and his Cogitations vast, and irregular, and that his former Benefits were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore

the King began not to brook him well. And as a little Leaven of new Distast doth commonly sour the whole Lump of former Merit, the King's Wit began to suggest unto his passion that Stanley, at *Bosworth Field*, though he came time enough to save his Life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no Matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his Fall.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain, *Giles Lord Dawbeny*, a Man of great Sufficiency and Valour; the more, because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford (who now was become the State-Informer) was from the beginning an Emissary, and Spie of the King's; and that he fled over into *Flanders* with his consent and privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that Degree of Grace, which he had with the King before his going over; and chiefly, for that the Discovery which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain (which was his great Service) grew not from any thing he learn'd abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These Executions (and especially that of the Lord Chamberlain, which was the chief strength of the Party, and by Means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most inward Man of Trust amongst them) did extremely quail the Design of *Perkin*, and his Complices, as well through Discouragement, as Distrust. So that they were now (like Sand without Lime) ill bound together; especially as many as were *English*: Who were at a Gaze, looking one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking that the King (what with his Baits, and what with his Nets) would draw them all unto him, that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came away by the Thred, sometimes one, and sometimes another. *Barley* (that was Joint-Commissioner with Clifford) did hold out one of the longest, till *Perkin* was far worn; yet made his Peace at the length. But the Fall of this great Man, being in so high Authority and Favour (as was thought) with the King; and the Manner of carriage of the Business, as if there had been secret Inquisition upon him, for a great time before; and the Cause for which he suffered, which was little more, than for saying in effect, *That the Title of York was better than the Title of Lancaster*; which was the case almost of every Man (at the least in Opinion;) was Matter of great Terror amongst all the King's servants and subjects: Insomuch, as no Man almost thought himself secure; and Men durst scarce commune or talk one with another. But there was a general Diffidence every where. Which nevertheless made the King rather more absolute, than more safe. For, *Bleeding inwardly and shut Vapours strangle soonest, and oppress most.*

Hereupon presently came out swarms and volleys of Libels (which are the Gifts of Liberty of speech restrained, and the Females of sedition) containing bitter Invectives and slanders against the King, and some of the Council. For the contriving and dispersing whereof (after great Diligence and Inquiry) Five mean Persons were caught, and executed.

Mean while, the King did not neglect *Ireland*, being the soil where the Mushromes and Upstart-Weeds (that spring up in a Night) did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his Affairs there) Commissioners of both Robes: The Prior of *Lancho-ny*, * to be his Chancellour in that Kingdom;

(*) Sir Henry Dean Hol. Sir James Ware calls him Henry Dean Bishop of Bangor in Wales. Sir Edward Poyning was made Lord Deputy. Dean Lord Chancellour, and Sir Hugh Conway Lord Treasurer. They arriv'd in Ireland the 13th of September in the Year before.

1495. and Sir Edward Poyning's with a Power of Men (a) and a Marshal Commission, together with a civil Power of his Lieutenant, with a clause, that the Earl of Kildare, then Deputy, should obey him. But, the *Wild-Irish* (who were the principal Offenders) fled into the Woods and Boggs, after their Manner: And those that knew themselves guilty, in the Pale, fled to them. So that Sir Edward Poyning's was enforced to make a wild chase upon the *Wild-Irish*: Where (in respect of the Mountains and Fastnesses) he did little good. Which (either out of a suspicious Melancholy upon his bad Success, or the better to save his Service from Disgrace) he would needs impute unto the comfort, that the *Rebels* should receive under-hand from the Earl of Kildare that was in the Action of Lambert Simnel, slain at *Stoke-field*. (b) Wherefore he caused the Earl to be apprehended, and sent into England; where, upon Examination, he declared himself so well, as he was re-placed in his Government. But, Poyning's (the better to make compensation of the Meagerness of his Service in the Wars by Acts of Peace) called a Parliament; where was made that memorable Act, which at this Day is called *Poyning's Law*, whereby all the Statutes of England were made to be of Force in Ireland. (c) For, before they were not: Neither are any now in Force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time; which was the Tenth Year of the King.

Poyning's
Act.

About this time, began to be discovered in the King that Disposition, which, afterward nourished and whet-on by bad Councillours and Ministers, proved the Blot of his Times; which was the course he took, to crush Treasure out of his Subjects Purses, by Forfeitures upon Penal Laws. At this, Men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the King's Nature, and not out of his Necessity, he being now in float for Treasure; For that he had newly received the Peace-Money from France, the Benevolence-Money from his Subjects, and great casualties upon the confiscations of the Lord Chamberlain, and divers others. The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Campe, Alderman of London: Who, upon sundry Penal-Laws, was condemned in the Sum of Seven and twenty hundred Pounds, and compounded with the King for Sixteen hundred: And yet after, Empson would have cut a chop out of him, if the King had not died in the instant.

Forfeitures on
Penal
Laws the
Blot of
this
Reign.

Sir William Campe, Alderman of London, fined.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his Mother (whom he did always tenderly love and revere) and to make Demonstration to the World, that the Proceedings against Sir William Stanley which was imposed upon him by necessity of State) had not in any degree diminished the Affection he bore to Thomas his Brother; went in progress to Latham, to make merry with his Mother, and the Earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress, Perkin Warbeck finding, that time and Temporizing, which (whilst his Practices were covert and wrought well in England) made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him (for that when matters once go down the Hill they stay not without a new Force) resolved to try his Adventure in some Exploit upon England;

hoping still upon the Affections of the common People towards the House of York. Which Body of common People he thought was not to be practised upon, as persons of Quality are; But, that the only practice upon their Affections, was, to set up a Standard in the Field. The place where he should make his attempt, he chose to be the Coast of Kent.

The King by this time was grown to such an height of Reputation for cunning and policy, that every Accident and Event, that went well, was laid and imputed to his Foresight, as if he had set it before: As, in this particular of Perkin's Design upon Kent. For, the World would not believe afterwards, but the King, having secret Intelligence of Perkin's Intention for Kent, (the better to draw it on) went of purpose into the North, afar off, laying an open Side unto Perkin, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his Heels, having made sure in Kent before hand.

But so it was, that Perkin had gather'd together a Power of all Nations, neither in Number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons, contemptible; but in their Nature and Fortunes, to be feared as well of Friends as Enemies; being Bankrupts, and many of them Felons, and such as liv'd by Rapine. These he put to Sea, and arriv'd upon the Coast of Sandwich and Deal in Kent, about July.

There he cast Anchor; and to prove the Affections of the People, sent some of his Men to Land, making great boast of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentish men* (perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of Name or Account; and that his Forces consisted but of Strangers born, and most of them base People, and Free-booters, fitter to spoil a Coast than to recover a Kingdom) resorting unto the principal Gentlemen of the Country, professed their Loyalty to the King, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the King's Service. The Gentlemen, entering into consultation, directed some Forces in good Number, to shew themselves upon the Coast; and some of them to make Signs, to entice Perkin's Soldiers to Land, as if they would join with them: and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them; the better to encourage them to Land. But Perkin, (who, by playing the Prince, or else taught by Secretary Frion, had learned thus much, That People under command do use to consult, and after to march in Order; and Rebels contrariwise run upon an Head together in confusion) considering the Delay of Time, and observing their Orderly, and not Tumultuary Arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily Youth would not set one Foot out of his ship till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the King's Forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their ships. In which skirmish (besides those that fled and were slain) there were taken about an Hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the King thought that to punish a few for Example was Gentleman's-play, but for Rascal-people, they were to be cut off every Man, especially in the begin-

(a) Not 1000 Men, Sir J. W. An. Hen. VII. Cap. X.

(b) 'Twas not the Earl of Kildare, but his Brother, the Lord Thomas Howard that was slain at Stokefield. Ibid. Cap. III.

(c) The English Statutes were admitted in Ireland in old Times. Those Laws that were now made did not in a long Time pass beyond the English Pale. Ibid. Cap. R. Poyning's arrested the Earl of Kildare, and sent him Prisoner to England.

1495. ning of an Enterprize ; and likewise for that he saw that *Perkin's* Forces would now consist chiefly of such Rabble, and Scum of desperate People ; he therefore hang'd them all for the greater terror. They were brought to *London*, all rail'd in Ropes, like a Team of Horses in a Cart ; and were executed some of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the rest at divers Places upon the Sea-Coast of *Kent*, *Suffex*, and *Norfolk*, for Sea-marks, or Light-houses, to teach *Perkin's* People to avoid the Coast. The King being advertis'd of the Landing of the Rebels, thought to leave his Progress : But being certifi'd the next day that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his Progress, and sent Sir *Richard Guilford* into *Kent* in Message. Who, calling the Country together, did much commend (from the King) their Fidelity, Manhood, and well-handling of that Service ; and gave them all Thanks, and (in private) promis'd Reward to some Particulars.

The Serjeants were, Mr. *Mordant*, *Higham*, *Kingmill*, *Conisby*, *Butler*, *Tawly*, *Frowick*, *Oxenbridge* and *Constable*. Upon the Sixteenth of *November* (this being the Eleventh Year of the King) was holden the Serjeants-Feast at *Ely-Place* ; there being Nine Serjeants of that Call. The King, to honour the Feast, was present with his Queen at the Dinner ; being a Prince, that was ever ready to grace and countenance the Professors of the Law ; having a little of that, *That as he governed his Subjects by his Laws, so he governed his Laws by his Lawyers.*

The King's Errors in his Expedition to *Naples*. This Year also the King entred into League with the *Italian* Potentates, for the Defence of *Italy* against *France*. For King *Charles* had conquer'd the Realm of *Naples*, and lost it again, in a kind of Felicity of a Dream. He pass'd the whole Length of *Italy* without Resistance : So that it was true which Pope *Alexander* was wont to say ; *That the Frenchmen came into Italy, with Chalk in their Hands, to mark up their Lodgings, rather than with Swords to Fight.* He likewise entred and won, in effect, the whole Kingdom of *Naples* it self, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many Errors ; as was too great a Task for the best Fortune to overcome. He gave no Contentment to the Barons of *Naples*, of the Faction of the *Angeovines* ; but scatter'd his Rewards according to the mercenary Appetites of some about him. He put all *Italy* upon their Guard, by the seizing and holding of *Ostia*, and the protecting of the Liberty of *Pisa* ; which made all Men suspect that his Purposes look'd further, than his Title of *Naples*. He fell too soon at difference with *Ludovico Sfortia* ; who was the Man that carried the Keys which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some Relicks of the War. And lastly, in regard of his easy Passage through *Italy* without Resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the Arms of the *Italians* : Whereby he left the Realm of *Naples* at his Departure so much the less provided. So that not long after his Return, the whole Kingdom revolted to *Ferdinando* the Younger, and the *French* were quite driven out. Nevertheless, *Charles* did make both great Threats and great Preparations to re-enter *Italy* once again. Wherefore at the instance of divers of the States of *Italy* (and especially of Pope *Alexander*) there was a League concluded between the said Pope, *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, *Henry* King of *England*, *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* King and Queen of *Spain* (for so they are constantly placed in the Original Treaty throughout) *Augustissimo* *Barbadico*, Duke of *Venice*, and *Ludovico Sfortia*, Duke of *Milan*, for the common defence of their Estates. Wherein though

Ferdinando of *Naples* was not nam'd as principal ; yet no doubt, the Kingdom of *Naples* was tacitly included, as a Fee of the Church.

There died also this Year *Cecile* Dutcheß of *York*, Mother to King *Edward IV.* at her Castle of *Barkhamsted*, being of extreme Years ; and who had liv'd to see Three Princes of her Body crown'd, and Four murder'd. She was Buried at *Foderingham* by her Husband.

This Year also the King call'd his Parliament : where many Laws were made, of a more Private and Vulgar Nature, than ought to detain the Reader of an History. And it may be justly suspected by the Proceedings following, that as the King did excel in good Commonwealth Laws ; so nevertheless he had, in secret, a Design to make use of them, as well for collecting of Treasure, as for correcting of Manners ; and meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal Law that was made this Parliament, was a Law of a strange Nature : rather Just, than Legal ; and more Magnanimous than Provident. This Law did Ordain, That no Person, that did assist in Arms, or otherwise, the King for the time being, should after be Impeached therefore, or Attainted, either by the Course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament : But, if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be Void and of none Effect ; For that it was agreeable to Reason of Estate, that the Subject should not enquire of the Justness of the King's Title, or Quarrel ; and it was agreeable to good Conscience, that (whatsoever the Fortune of the War were) the Subject should not suffer for his Obedience. The Spirit of this Law was wonderful Pious and Noble : being like in matter of War, unto the Spirit of *David* in matter of Plague, who said, *If I have sinned, strike me ; but what have these sheep done ?* Neither wanted this Law Parts of prudent and deep foresight. For, it did the better take away Occasion for the People to busie themselves, to pry into the King's Title ; for that howsoever it fell, their Safety was already provided for. Besides it could not but greatly draw unto him the Love and Hearts of the People, because he seem'd more careful for them than for Himself. But yet nevertheless, it did take off from his Party, that great Tie and Spur of Necessity, to Fight and go Victors out of the Field ; considering their Lives and Fortunes were put in Safety, and protected, whether they stood to it or ran away. But the Force and Obligation of this Law was in it self Illusory, as to the latter part of it ; by a precedent Act of Parliament, to bind or frustrate a Future. For a Supreme and Absolute Power cannot conclude it self, neither can that which is in Nature revocable be made fixt, no more than if a Man should appoint or declare by his Will, that if he made any Latter Will, it should be Void. And for the Case of the Act of Parliament, there is a notable President of it in King *Henry* the VIII's time ; who doubting he might dye in the Minority of his Son, procur'd an Act to pass, *That no Statute made during the Minority of the King should bind him or his Successors, except it were confirmed by the King under his Great Seal, at his full Age.* But the first Act that passed in King *Edward* the VI's Time, was an Act of Repeal of that former Act ; at which time nevertheless the King was Minor. But things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or underpropping Act for the Benevolence ; to make the Sums which any Person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by

1495. by Course of Law. Which Act did not only bring in the Arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole Business, and was pretended to be made at the Desire of those that had been forward to pay.

A Good Law.

This Parliament also was made that good Law, which gave the Attaint upon a false Verdict between Party and Party, which before was a kind of Evangile, irremediable. It extends not to causes Capital, as well because they are for the most part at the King's Suit; as because in them (if they be follow'd in Course of Indictment) there passeth a double Jury, the Indictors, and the Triers; and so not Twelve Men, but Four and Twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this Reason holdeth not in the Appeal. But the great Reason was, lest it should tend to the Discouragement of Jurors in Cases of Life and Death; if they should be subject to Suit and Penalty, where the Favour of Life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any Suit, where the Demand is under the Value of Forty Pounds; for that in such Cases of Petty Value, it would not quit the Charge to go about again.

There was another Law made against a branch of Ingratitude in Women, who having been advanced by their Husbands, or their Husbands Ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the Heirs, or those in Remainder, of the Lands, whereunto they had been so advanced. The Remedy was, by giving Power to the next, to enter for a Forfeiture.

An Act pass'd for Suing in Forma Pauperis.

There was also enacted that Charitable Law, for the Admission of poor Suitors *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to Counsellor, Attorney, or Clerk, whereby Poor Men became rather Able to Vex than Unable to Sue. There were divers other good Laws made that Parliament, as we said before. But we still observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a Vulgar Nature.

The King this while, tho' he sat in Parliament, as in full Peace, and seem'd to account of the Designs of *Perkin* (who was now return'd into *Flanders*) but as a *May-Game*; yet having the Composition of a Wise King (Stout without, and apprehensive within) had given order for the watching of Beacons upon the Coasts and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful Eye where this wandering Cloud would break. But *Perkin* advis'd to keep his Fire (which hitherto burn'd as it were, upon green Wood) alive, with continual blowing; sail'd again into *Ireland*, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the Hopes of *France*, than upon any Unreadiness or Discouragement he found in that People. But in the space of time between, the King's Diligence and *Poyning's* Commission had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for *Perkin*, but the blustering Affection of wild and naked People. Wherefore he was advis'd by his Council, to seek Aid of the King of *Scotland*; a Prince Young and Valorous, and in good Terms with his Nobles and People, and ill-affected to King *Henry*. At this time also both *Maximilian* and *Charles* of *France* began to bear no good Will to the King. The one being displeased with the King's Prohibition of Commerce with *Flanders*: The other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entry into League with the *Italians*. Wherefore besides the open Aids of the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, which did with Sails and Oars put on and advance *Perkin's* Designs, there wanted not some secret Tides from *Maximilian* and *Charles*, which did further his Fortunes. Insomuch as

they, both by their secret Letters and Messages, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

Perkin therefore coming into *Scotland* upon those Hopes, with a well appointed Company, was by the King of *Scots** (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcom'd, and soon after his Arrival admitted to his Presence in a Solemn manner. For the King received him in State in his Chamber of Presence, accompany'd with divers of his Nobles. And *Perkin* well attended, as well with those that the King had sent before him, as with his own Train, entred the Room where the King was, and coming near to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some Paces back, and with a loud Voice (that all that were present might hear him) made his Declaration in this manner:

High and Mighty King, your Grace, and these your Nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your Ears, to hear the Tragedy of a young Man, that by Right ought to hold in his Hand the Ball of a Kingdom; but by Fortune is made Himself a Ball, tossed from Misery to Misery, and from Place to Place. You see here before you the Spectacle of a *Plantagenet*, who hath been carried from the Nursery to the Sanctuary; from the Sanctuary to the direful Prison; from the Prison to the Hand of the cruel Tormentor; and from that Hand to the wide Wilderness (as I may call it) for so the World hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great Kingdom, hath not Ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth, by your Princely Favour. *Edward* the Fourth, late King of *England*, (as your Grace cannot but have heard) left two Sons; *Edward* and *Richard* Duke of *York*, both very Young. *Edward* the Eldest, succeeded their Father in the Crown, by the Name of King *Edward* V. But *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, their Unnatural Uncle, first thirsting after the Kingdom, through Ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their Blood, out of Desire to secure himself, imployed an Instrument of his (confident to him, as he thought) to murder them both. But this Man that was imploy'd to execute that execrable Tragedy, having cruelly slain King *Edward*, the Eldest of the two, was moved partly by Remorse, and partly by some other means, to save *Richard* his Brother; making a Report nevertheless to the Tyrant, that he had perform'd his Commandment for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly believ'd, and publish'd generally. So that the World hath been possessed of an Opinion that they both were barbarously made away, tho' ever Truth hath some sparks that fly abroad until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stopped the Mouth of the Lion, and saved little *Joas* from the Tyranny of *Athaliah*, when she massacred the King's Children; and did save *Isaac*, when the hand was stretch'd forth to Sacrifice him, preserv'd the second Brother. For I my self, that stand here in your Presence, am that very *Richard* Duke of *York*, Brother of that Infortunate Prince, King *Edward* V. now the most right-ful surviving Heir-Male to that Victorious and most Noble *Edward*, of that Name the Fourth, late King of *England*. For the manner of my Escape, it is fit it should pass in Silence, or (at least) in a more secret Relation: for that it may concern some alive, and the Memory of some

* James the 4th.

Perkin's Declaration to the Scottish King.

Edward the Fifth murdered.

1495. some that are Dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a Mother living, a Queen, and one that expected daily such a Commandment from the Tyrant, for the murdering of her Children. Thus in my tender Age escaping by God's Mercy out of London, I was secretly convey'd over Sea. Where, after a time, the Party that had me in Charge, (upon what new Fears, change of Mind, or Practice God knoweth) suddenly forlook me. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean Conditions for the sustaining of my Life. Wherefore distracted between several Passions, the one of Fear to be known, lest the Tyrant should have a new Attempt upon me; the other of Grief and Disdain to be unknown, and to live in that base and servile manner that I did; I resolv'd with my self to expect the Tyrant's Death, and then to put my self into my Sister's Hands, who was next Heir to the Crown. But in this Season, it happen'd one Henry Tidder, Son to Edmond Tidder Earl of Richmond, to come from France and enter into the Realm, and by subtle and foul Means to obtain the Crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertain'd. So that it was but a Change from Tyrant to Tyrant. This Henry, my extream and mortal Enemy, so soon as he had Knowledge of my being alive, imagin'd and wrought all the subtil Ways and Means he could, to procure my final Destruction. For my mortal Enemy hath not only falsely surmised me to be a feign'd Person, giving me Nick-names, so abusing the World; but also to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offer'd large Sums of Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Ministers, with whom I have been retained; and made importune Labours to certain Servants about my Person, to Murder or Poison me, and others to forsake and leave my Righteous Quarrel and to depart from my Service; as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. So that every Man of Reason may well perceive that Henry, calling himself King of England, needed not to have bestow'd such great Sums of Treasure, nor so to have busy'd himself with importune and incessant Labour and Industry, to compass my Death and Ruin, if I had been such a feign'd Person. But the truth of my Cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the Lady Dutches Dowager of Burgundy, my most dear Aunt, not only to acknowledge the Truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above (for the good of this whole Island, and the knitting of these two Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait Concord and Amity, by so great an Obligation) had reserv'd the placing of me in the Imperial Throne of England, for the Arms and Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them, that were bereft and spoiled of the Kingdom of England; as of late (in fresh Memory) it was done in the Person of Henry VI. Wherefore for that your Grace hath given clear Signs, that you are in no noble Quality inferior to your Royal Ancestors; I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put my Self into your Royal Hands, desiring your Assistance to recover my Kingdom of England; promising faithfully to bear my Self towards

your Grace no otherwise, than if I were your own natural Brother, and will upon the Recovery of mine Inheritance, gratefully do you all the Pleasure that is in my utmost Power. 1495.

After Perkin had told his Tale, King James answered bravely and wisely, *That whatsoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his Hands.* And from that time forth, tho' there wanted not some about him, that would have perswaded him, that all was but an Illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring Behaviour, or inclining to the Recommendation of the great Princes abroad, or willing to take an Occasion of a War against King Henry, he entertain'd him in all things, as became the Person of Richard Duke of York; embraced his Quarrel; and (the more to put it out of Doubt, that he took him to be a great Prince, and not a Representation only) he gave Consent, that this Duke should take to Wife the Lady Katherine Gordon, Daughter to the E. of Huntley, being a near Kinswoman to the King himself, and a young Virgin of excellent Beauty and Vertue. *The Scots King favours Perkin.*

Not long after, (d) the King of Scots in Person, with Perkin in his Company, entred with a great Army (though it consisted chiefly of Borderers being raised somewhat suddenly) into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a Perfume before him as he went, caused to be publish'd a Proclamation of this Tenor following, in the Name of Richard Duke of York, true Inheritor of the Crown of England. *The King of Scots invades England.*

IT hath pleased God, who putteth down the Mighty from their Seat, and exalterth the Humble, and suffereth not the Hopes of the Just to perish in the end, to give us means at the length, to shew our selves armed unto our Lieges and People of England. But far be it from us, to intend their Hurt and Damage, or to make War upon them, otherwise than to deliver our self and them from Tyranny and Oppression. For, our mortal Enemy my Henry Tidder, a false Usurper of the Crown of England, (which to us by Natural and Lineal Right appertaineth) knowing in his own Heart our undoubted Right (we being the very Richard Duke of York, younger Son, and now surviving Heir-Male of the Noble and Victorious Edward IV. late King of England) hath not only deprived us of our Kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means sought to betray us, and bereave us of our Life. Yet if his Tyranny only extended it self to our Person (altho' our Royal Blood teacheth us to be sensible of Injuries) it should be less to our Grief. But this Tidder, who boasteth himself to have Overthrown a Tyrant, hath ever since his first Entrance into his usurped Reign, put little in Practice but Tyranny and the Fears thereof. For King Richard our unnatural Uncle, altho' Desire of Rule did bind him, yet in his other Actions (like a true Plantagenet) was Noble, and lov'd the Honour of the Realm, and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this our mortal Enemy (agreeable to the Meanness of his birth) hath trodden under foot the Honour of this Nation; selling our best Confederates for Money; *The Origin of this Proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy Preserver and Treasurer of rare Antiquities: from whose Manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this Work.*

(d) Maximilian the Emperor, Charles the Eighth, King of France, and Margaret Dutches of Burgundy, wrote to the Scottish King in Favour of this Counterfeit. Sir J. W. Cap. 9.

1495. and making Merchandize of the Blood, Estates, and Fortunes of our Peers and Subjects, by feigned Wars and dishonourable Peace, only to enrich his Coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful Mis-government, and evil Deportments at Home. First, he hath (to fortify his false Quarrel) caused divers Nobles of this our Realm (whom he held suspect, and stood in Dread of) to be cruelly murder'd; as our Cousin Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William Dawbeney, Humphry Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their Lives with intolerable Ransoms. Some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in Prison, our right entirely well-beloved Cousin Edward, Son and Heir to our Uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; with-holding from them their rightful Inheritance, to the intent they should never be of Might and Power to aid and assist us at our need, after the Duty of their Liegances. He also married by Compulsion certain of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our said Cousin the Earl of Warwick, and divers other Ladies of the Royal Blood, to certain of his Kinsmen and Friends of simple and low Degree; and putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, he hath none in Favour and Trust about his Person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Rifeley, Turberville, Tiler, Cholmley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat, and such other Caitiffs and Villains of Birth, which by subtle Inventions and Pilling of the People, have been the principal Finders, Occasioners, and Counsellors of the Mis-rule and Mischiefs now reigning in England.

We remembring these Premises, with the great and execrable Offences daily committed, and done by our foresaid great Enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of our Mother the holy Church, upon pretences of wicked and heathenish Policy, to the high Displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold Treasons, abominable Murthers, Man-slaughters, Robberies, Extortions, the daily Pilling of the People, by Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, and other unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, with many other heinous Effects, to the likely Destruction and Desolation of the whole Realm: shall by God's Grace, and the Help and Assistance of the great Lords of our Blood, with the Counsel of other said Persons, see that the Commodities of our Realm be employ'd to the most Advantage of the same; the intercourse of Merchandize betwixt Realm and Realm, to be ministred and handled, as shall more be to the Common-weal and Prosperity of our Subjects; and all such Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, as be above rehearsed, to be fore-done and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such Cases as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England, have of old Time been accusom'd to have the Aid, Succour, and Help of their Subjects and true Liege-men.

And further, we do out of our Grace and Clemency, hereby as well Publish and Promise to all our Subjects Remission and free Pardon of all By-past Offences whatsoever, against our Person, or Estate, in adhering to our said Enemy, by whom (we know well) they have been misled, if they shall within

time convenient submit themselves unto us. And for such as shall come with the foremost, to assist our righteous Quarrel, we shall make them so far Partakers of our Princely Favour and Bounty, as shall be highly for the Comfort of them and theirs, both during their Life, and after their Death. As also we shall by all means, which God shall put into our hands, demean our selves to give Royal Contentment to all Degrees and Estates of our People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy Church in their entire, preserving the Honours, Privileges, and Preheminences of our Nobles from Contempt or Disparagement, according to the Dignity of their Blood. We shall also unyoke our People from all heavy Burthens and Endurances, and confirm our Cities, Boroughs, and Towns, in their Charters and Freedoms, with Inlargement, where it shall be deserv'd; and in all Points give our Subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonaire Government of our noble Father King Edward (in his last times) is in us revived.

And for as much as the putting to Death, or taking alive of our said mortal Enemy, may be a means to stay much Effusion of blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by Compulsion or fair promises, he shall draw after him any number of our Subjects to resist us; which we desire to avoid (though we be certainly informed that our said Enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the Land, having already made over great Masses of the Treasure of our Crown, the better to support him in Foreign Parts) we do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take or distress our said Enemy (though the Party be of never so mean a Condition) he shall be by us rewarded with a Thousand Pound in Money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and an Hundred Marks by the Year of Inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both towards God and all good People, for the Destruction of such a Tyrant.

Lastly, we do all Men to wit, and herein we take also God to witness, That whereas God hath moved the Heart of our Dearest Cousin, the King of Scotland, to Aid us in Person, in this our Righteous Quarrel; it is altogether without any Pact or Promise, or so much as Demand of any thing, that may prejudice our Crown or Subjects: But contrariwise with Promise on our said Cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper Hand of our Enemy (which we hope will be very suddenly) he will forthwith peaceably return into his own Kingdom; contenting himself only with the Glory of so honourable an Enterprize, and our true and faithful Love and Amity. Which we shall ever (by the Grace of Almighty God) so order, as shall be to the great Comfort of both Kingdoms.

But Perkin's Proclamation did little edifie with the People of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred any where in his Favour, turned his enterprize into a Rode; and wasted and destroyed the County of Northumberland, with Fire and Sword. But hearing that there were Forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his Men heavy and laden with Booty, he returned into Scotland with great Spoils, deferring further Prosecution, till another time. It is said, that Perkin acting the part

1495.

Perkin promises a 1000l. Reward to any that shall kill King Henry.

A. D. 1456.

What effect Perkin's Proclamation had.

1496: part of a Prince handsomly, when he saw the *Scottish* fell to waite the Country, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desir'd, That that might not be the manner of making the War; for that no Crown was so dear to his Mind, as that he desir'd to purchase it with the Blood and ruin of his Country. Whereunto the King answered half in sport; that he doubted much, he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a Steward for his Enemy, to save the Country to his use.

The Decay of Trade by the War. By this Time, being the eleventh Year of the King, the Interruption of Trade between the *English* and the *Flemmish*, began to pinch the Merchants of both Nations very sore. Which moved them, by all means they could devise, to affect and dispose their Sovereigns respectively, to open the Entercourse again. Wherein, time favoured them. For the Arch-Duke and his Council began to see, that *Perkin* would prove but a Runnagate, and *Citizen of the World*; and that it was the part of Children to fall out about Babies. And the King on his part, after the Attempts upon *Kent* and *Northumberland*, began to have the Business of *Perkin* in less Estimation; so as he did not put it to account, in any Consultation of State. But that that moved him most, was, that being a King that loved Wealth and Treasure, he could not endure to have Trade sick, nor any Obstruction to continue in the Gate-vein, which dispersed that Blood. And yet he kept State so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the Merchant-Adventurers likewise, (being a strong Company at that time, and well underlet with rich Men, and good Order) did hold out bravely; taking off the Commodities of the Kingdom, though they lay dead upon their Hands for want of Vent. At the last, Commissioners met at *London*, to treat. On the King's part; Bishop *Fox* Lord Privy-Seal, *Viscount Wells*, *Kendal* Prior of *Saint John*, *Warham* Master of the Rolls, who began to gain much upon the King's Opinion; *Urswick*, who was almost ever one; and *Riseley*. On the Arch-Duke's part, the Lord *Beyers* his Admiral, the Lord *Verunsel* President of *Flanders*, and others. These concluded a perfect Treaty, both of Amity and Interchange, between the King and the Arch-Duke; containing Articles both of State, Commerce and Free-fishing. This is that Treaty, which the *Flemmings* call at this Day, *Intercursus Magnus*; both because it is more compleat, than the precedent Treaties, of the Third and Fourth Years of the King: and chiefly to give it a Difference from the Treaty that followed in the one and twentieth Year of the King: which they call *Intercursus Malus*. In this Treaty, there was an expresse Article against the Reception of the Rebels of either Prince by other; purporting, that if any such Rebel should be required by the Prince whose Rebel he was, of the Prince Confederate, that forthwith the Prince Confederate should by Proclamation command him to avoid the Country. Which if he did not within fifteen Days, the Rebel was to stand proscrib'd, and put out of Protection. But nevertheless in this Article, *Perkin* was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no Rebel. But by this means his Wings were clip'd of his Followers, that were *English*. And it was expressly comprised in the Treaty, that it should extend to the Territories of the Dutche's *Dowager*. After the Interchange thus restored, the *English* Merchants came again to their Mansion at *Antwerp*, where they were received with Procession and great Joy.

The Winter following, being the Twelfth Year of his Reign, the King called again his Parliament: where he did much exaggerate both the Malice, and cruel Predatory War lately made by the King of *Scotland*; That that King, being in Amity with him, and no ways provok'd, should so burn in Hatred towards him, as to drink of the Lees and Dregs of *Perkin's* Intoxication, who was every where else detected and discarded: And that when he perceived it was out of his Reach, to do the King any Hurt, he had turned his Arms upon unarmed and unprovided People to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the Laws both of War and Peace: Concluding, that he could neither with Honour, nor with the safety of his People, to whom he did owe Protection, let pass these Wrongs unrevenge'd. The Parliament understood him well, and gave him a Subsidy, limited to the Sum of one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, besides two fifteens. For his Wars were always to him as a Mine of Treasure, of a strange kind of Ore; Iron at the Top, and Gold and Silver at the bottom. At this Parliament (for that there had been so much time spent in making Laws the Year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the *Scottish* War) there were no Laws made to be remembred: Only there passed a Law, at the Suite of the Merchant-Adventurers of *England*, against the Merchant-Adventurers of *London*, for Monopolizing and exacting upon the Trade: Which it seemeth they did, a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of Trade. But those Innovations were taken away by Parliament.

But it was fatal to the King, to fight for his Money. And though he avoided to fight with Enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with Rebels at home. For no sooner began the Subsidy to be levied in *Cornwall*, but the People there began to grudge and murmur. The *Cornish* being a Race of Men, stout of Stomach, mighty of Body and Limb, and that lived hardly in a barren Country, and many of them could (for a need) live under Ground, that were Tinnners; they muttered extreamly, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little Stir of the *Scots*, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to Powder with Payments: And said, it was for them to pay, that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat the Bread they got with the Sweat of their Brows, and no Man should take it from them. And as in the Tides of People once up, there want not commonly stirring Winds to make them more rough: So this People did light upon two Ringleaders, or Captains of the Rout. The one was one *Michael Joseph*, a Blacksmith or Farrier of *Bodmin*; a notable talking Fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was *Thomas Flammoock*, a Lawyer; who by telling his Neighbours commonly upon any occasion, that the Law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This Man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a Rebellion, and never break the Peace. He told the People, that Subsidies were not to be granted nor levied in this Case; that is, for Wars of *Scotland* (for that the Law had provided another Course, by service of Escuage, for those Journeys) much less when all was quiet, and War was made but a Pretence to poll and pill the People: And therefore that it was good they should not stand now like Sheep before the Shearers, but put on Harness, and take Weapons in their Hands: Yet to do no Creature hurt; but go and deliver the King a Creature hurt; but go and deliver the King a Strong

1497. strong Petition, for the laying down of those grievous Payments, and for the Punishment of those that had given him that Counsel, to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the Duty of true *English-Men*, and good Liege Men, except they did deliver the King from such wicked ones that would destroy both him and the Country. Their Aim was at Archbishop *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*, who were the King's Skreens in this Envy.

After that these two, *Flammock* and the *Blacksmith*, had by joint and several Pratings, found Tokens of Consent in the Multitude, they offer'd themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better Men to be their Leaders; which they said would be e'er long: Telling them further, that they would be but their Servants, and first in every Danger; but doubted not but to make both the *West End* and the *East End* of *England* to meet in so good a Quarrel; and that all (rightly understood) was but for the King's Service. The People, upon these seditious Instigations, did arm (most of them with Bows and Arrows, and Bills, and such other Weapons of Rude and Country People) and forthwith under the Command of their Leaders, (which in such Cases is ever at pleasure) marched out of *Cornwall*, thro' *Devonshire*, and *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, without any Slaughter, Violence, or Spoil of the Country. At *Taunton* they killed, in fury,

A Commissioner for the Taxes murder'd. an officious and eager Commissioner for the Subsidy, whom they called the Provost of *Perkins*. Thence they marched to *Wells*; where the Lord *Audley* (with whom their Leaders had,

The Rebels chuse the Lord *Audley* for their General. before, some secret Intelligence) a Nobleman of an Ancient Family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to Ruin, came in to them, and was by them (with great Gladness and Cries of Joy) accepted as their General; they being now proud, that they were led by a Nobleman. The Lord *Audley* led them on from *Wells* to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*. Thence the foolish People, who (in effect) led their Leaders, had a Mind to be led into *Kent*; fancying, that the People there would joyn with them, contrary to all Reason or Judgment; considering the *Kentish* Men had shewed great Loyalty and Affection to the King so lately be-

The Loyalty of the *Kentish-men*. fore. But the rude People had heard *Flammock* say, that *Kent* was never conquer'd, and that they were the freest People of *England*. And upon these vain Noises, they look'd for great matters at their hands, in a Cause which they conceited to be for the Liberty of the Subject. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Country was so well settled, both by the King's late kind Usage towards them, and by the Credit and Power of the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Abergavenny*, and the Lord *Cobham*, as neither Gentleman nor Yeoman came in to their Aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the Army, and went home. But the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud, than fail'd in Hopes and Courage. For as it did somewhat appall them, that the People came not in to them; so it did no less encourage them, that the King's Forces had not set upon them, having march'd from the *West* unto the *East* of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their Way, and encamp'd upon *Black-Heath*, between *Greenwich* and *Eltham*; threatening either to bid Battel to the King, (for now the Seas went higher than to *Morton* and *Braie*) or to take *London* within

his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less Fear than Wealth. 1497.

But to return to the King. When first he heard of this Commotion of the *Cornish-men*, occasioned by the Subsidy, he was much troubled therewith: Not for itself, but in regard of the Concurrence of other Dangers, that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted lest a War from *Scotland*, a Rebellion from *Cornwall*, and the Practices and Conspiracies of *Perkin* and his Partakers, would come upon him at once; knowing well, that it was a dangerous Triplicity to a Monarchy, to have the Arms of a Foreigner, the Discontents of Subjects, and the Title of a Pretender, to meet. Nevertheless, the Occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the Parliament had broken up, the King had presently raised a puissant Army, to War upon *Scotland*. And King *James* of *Scotland* likewise, on his part, had made great Preparations either for Defence, or for new assailing of *England*. But as for the King's Forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the Conduct of *Darweney*, the Lord Chamberlain. But as soon as the King understood of the Rebellion of *Cornwall*, he stayed those Forces, retaining them for his own Service and Safety. But therewithal he dispatch'd the Earl of *Surry* into the *North*, for the Defence and strength of those Parts, in case the *Scots* should stir. But for the Course he held towards the Rebels, it was utterly differing from his former Custom and Practice; which was ever full of Forwardness and Celerity, to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in Action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attemper'd by Years, and less in love with Dangers, by the continued Fruition of a Crown, it was a time when the various Appearance to his Thoughts of Perils of several Natures, and from divers Parts, did make him judge it his best and surest Way to keep his Strength together, in the Seat and Center of his Kingdom; according to the ancient *Indian* Emblem, in such a swelling Season, To hold the Hand upon the middle of the Bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him, to alter this Counsel. For neither did the Rebels spoil the Country; in which case it had been Dishonour to abandon his People: Neither on the other side, did their Forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them, before they grew too strong. And lastly, both Reason of Estate and War seem'd to agree with this Course: For that Insurrections of base People are commonly more furious in their Beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at Vantage, being tired and harrassed with a long March; and more at Mercy, being cut off far from their Country, and therefore not able by any suddain Flight to get to retreat, and to renew the Troubles.

When therefore the Rebels were encamped on *Black-Heath*, upon the Hill, whence they might behold the City of *London*, and the fair Valley about it; the King knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the Time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them, that it might appear to have been no Coldness in foreslowing, but Wisdom in chusing his Time, resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with that Providence and Surety, as should leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant Forces about him, the better to master all Events and Accidents,

1497. Accidents, he divided them into three Parts. The first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk. These Noblemen were appointed, with some Cornets of Horse, and Bands of Foot, and good store of Artillery wheeling about, to put themselves beyond the Hill, where the Rebels were encamped; and to beset all the Skirts and Descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; whereby to have these Wild Beasts (as it were) in a Toil. The second Part of his Forces (which were those that were to be most in Action, and upon which he relied most for the Fortune of the Day) he did assign to be led by the Lord Chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the Rebels in Front, from that side which is toward London. The third Part of his Forces (being likewise great and brave Forces) he retained about himself, to be ready upon all Events, to restore the Fight, or consummate the Victory; and mean while to secure the City. And for that purpose he encamped in Person in St. George's Fields, putting himself between the City and the Rebels. But the City of London (especially at the first) upon the near encamping of the Rebels, was in great Tumult: As it useth to be with wealthy and populous Cities (especially those, which, for Greatness and Fortune, are Queens of their Regions) who seldom see out of their Windows, or from their Towers, an Army of Enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the Conceit, that they dealt with a Rout of People with whom there was no Composition or Condition, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon Rapin and Spoil. And although they had heard, that the Rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly, by the way as they went, yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon Spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of People, some to the Gates, some to the Walls, some to the Water side; giving themselves Alarms and panick Fears continually. Nevertheless, both *Tate* the Lord Mayor, and *Shaw* and *Haddon* the Sheriffs, did their Parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the People. And the King likewise did adjoin some Captains of Experience in the Wars, to advise and assist the Citizens. But soon after, when they understood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the Rebels must win three Battels, before they could approach the City, and that he had put his own Person between the Rebels and them, and that the great Care was rather how to impound the Rebels, that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of Fear. The rather, for the Confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three Leaders *Oxford*, *Essex*, and *Dawbeny*, all Men famed and loved amongst the People. As for *Jasper Duke of Bedford*, whom the King used to employ with the first in his Wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the Two and twentieth of June, and a Saturday (which was the Day of the Week the King fancied) when the Battel was fought; though the King had, by all the Art he could devise, given out a false Day, as if he prepared to give the Rebels Battel on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The Lords that were appointed to circle the Hill, had some Days before planted themselves (as at the Receipt) in Places convenient. In the Afternoon, towards the Decline of the Day, (which was done the better to keep the Rebels in opinion that they should not fight that Day) the Lord *Dawbeny* marched on towards them, and first beat some Troops of them from *Deptford-bridge*, where they fought manfully; but being in no great number were soon driven back, and fled up to their main Army upon the Hill. The Army at that time hearing of the Approach of the King's Forces, were putting themselves in Array, not without much Confusion. But neither had they placed upon the first high Ground towards the Bridge any Forces to second the Troops below, that kept the Bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main Battel (which stood in Array far into the Heath) near to the Ascent of the Hill. So that the Earl with his Forces mounted the Hill, and recovered the Plain without Resistance. The Lord *Dawbeny* charged them with great Fury; insomuch, as it had like (by accident) to have brandled the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconsiderate Forwardness in fighting in the Head of his Troops, he was taken by the Rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The Rebels maintained the Fight for a small time, and for their Persons shewed no want of Courage; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without Horse and Artillery, they were with no great Difficulty cut in pieces, and put to flight. And for their three Leaders, the Lord *Audley*, the *Blacksmith* and *Flammock*, (as commonly the Captains of Commotions are but half-couraged Men) suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the Rebels part, were some two thousand Men; their Army amounting (as it is said) unto the number of Sixteen thousand. The rest were (in effect) all taken; for that the Hill, as was said, was encompassed with the King's Forces round about. On the King's part there died about three hundred; most of them shot with Arrows which were reported to be of the length of a Taylor's Yard: So strong and mighty a Bow the Cornish Men were said to draw.

The Victory thus obtained, the King created divers Bannerets, as well upon *Black-Heath*, where his Lieutenant had won the Field, (whither he rode in Person to perform the said Creation) as in *St. George's Fields*, where his own Person had been encamped. And for matter of Liberality, he did (by open Edict) give the Goods of all the Prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind, or compound for them as they could. After matter of Honor and Liberality, followed matter of Severity and Execution. The Lord *Audley* was led from *New-gate* to *Tower-Hill*, in a Paper Coat painted with his own Arms; the Arms reversed, the Coat torn, and he at *Tower-Hill* beheaded. || *Flammock* and the *Blacksmith* were hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; the *Blacksmith* taking pleasure upon the Hurdle (as it seemeth by Words that he uttered) to think that he should be famous in after-times. The King was once in mind to have sent down *Flammock* and the *Blacksmith* to have been executed in *Cornwall*, for the more Terror; But being advertised, that the Country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the People further. All the rest were pardoned by Proclamation, and to take out their Pardons under Seal, as many as would. So that, more than the Blood drawn in the Field, the King did satisfy himself with the Lives of only three Offenders, for the Expiation of this great Rebellion.

It was a strange thing, to observe the Variety and Inequality of the King's Executions and Pardons. And a Man would think it, at the first, a kind of Lottery or Chance. But, looking into

1497. it more nearly, one shall find there was Reason for it; much more perhaps, than (after so long a distance of Time) we can now discern. In the *Kentish* Commotion (which was but an Handful of Men) there were executed to the number of One hundred and fifty; and, in this so mighty a Rebellion, but three: Whether it were, that the King put to accompt the Men that were slain in the Field: or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause; or that the harmless behaviour of this People (that came from the West of *England*, to the East, without Mischief almost, or spoil of the Country) did somewhat mollify him, and move him to Compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between People, that did rebel upon Wantonness, and them that did rebel upon Want.

After the *Cornish* Men were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable Ambassage from the *French* King, which had arrived at *Calice* a Month before, and there was stayed in respect of the Troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

The King, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have Patience, till a little Smoak, that was raised in his Country, were over; which would soon be: Slighting (as his Manner was) that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This Ambassage concerned no great Affair; but only the Prolongation of Days for Payment of Monies, and some other Particulars of the Frontiers. And it was (indeed) but a wooing Ambassage; with good Respects to entertain the King in good Affection: But nothing was done or handled, to the Derogation of the King's late Treaty with the *Italians*.

But, during that time that the *Cornish* Men were in their March towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* (well advertised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of War from *England*, whensoever those Stirs were appeased) neglected not his Opportunity; but thinking the King had his Hands full, entered the Frontiers of *England* again with an Army, and besieged the Castle of *Norham* in Person, with part of his Forces, sending the rest to forrage the Country. But Fox, Bishop of *Duresme* (a wise Man, and one that could see through the Present, to the Future) doubting as much before, had caused his Castle of *Norham* to be strongly fortified, and furnished, with all kind of Munition: And had mann'd it likewise with a very great number of tall Soldiers, more than for the proportion of the Castle; reckoning rather upon a sharp Assault, than a long Siege. And for the Country likewise, he had caused the People to withdraw their Cattle and Goods into fast Places, that were not of easie approach; and sent in Post to the Earl of *Surry* (who was not far off in *Yorkshire*) to come in diligence to the Succour. So as the *Scottish* King both failed of doing good upon the Castle, and his Men had but a catching Harvest of their Spoils. And when he understood, that the Earl of *Surry* was coming on with great Forces, he returned back into *Scotland*. The Earl finding the Castle freed, and the Enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into *Scotland*; hoping to have overtaken the *Scottish* King, and to have given him Battle; but not attaining him in time, sat down before the Castle of *Aton* (one of the strongest Places then esteemed, between *Berwick* and *Edenburgh*) which in a small time he took. And soon after, the *Scottish* King retiring further into his Country, and the Weather being extraordinary foul and stormy, the Earl returned into *England*. So that

the Expeditions on both parts were (in effect) but a Castle taken, and a Castle distressed; not answerable to the Puissance of the Forces, nor to the Heat of the Quarrel, nor to the Greatness of the Expectation.

Amongst these Troubles both Civil and External, came into *England* from *Spain* Peter *Hialas*, some call him *Elias* (surely he was the forerunner of the good Hap, that we enjoy at this Day. For, his Ambassage set the Truce between *England* and *Scotland*; the Truce drew on the Peace; the Peace the Marriage; and the Marriage the Union of the Kingdoms) a Man of great Wisdom, and (as those times were) not unlearned; sent from *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* Kings of *Spain* unto the King, to treat a Marriage between *Katherine* their second Daughter, and Prince *Arthur*. The Rise of the Union of *England* and *Scotland*.

This Treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to Perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some Conference which he had with the King touching this Business, the King (who had a great Dexterity in getting suddenly into the Bosom of Ambassadors of foreign Princes, if he liked them; insomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own Affairs, yea and employ them in his Service) fell into Speech and Discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the Debates and Differences with *Scotland*. For the King naturally did not love the barren Wars with *Scotland*, though he made his Profit of the Noise of them. And he wanted not in the Council of *Scotland*, those that would advise their King to meet him at the half way, and to give over the War with *England*; pretending to be good Patriots, but indeed favouring the Affairs of the King. Only his heart was too great to begin with *Scotland* for the Motion of Peace. On the other side, he had met with an Ally of *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, as fit for his Turn as could be. For after that King *Ferdinando* had, upon assured Confidence of the Marriage to succeed, taken upon him the Person of a Fraternal Allie to the King, he would not let (in a *Spanish* Gravity) to counsel the King in his own Affairs. And the King on his Part not being wanting to himself, but making use of every Man's Humours, made his Advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the Council of *Ferdinando*. Wherefore he was content that *Hialas* (as in a Matter moved and advised from *Hialas* himself) should go into *Scotland*, to treat of a Concord between the two Kings. *Hialas* took it upon him: And coming to the *Scottish* King, after he had with much Art brought King *James* to hearken to the more safe and quiet Counsels, wrote unto the King, that he hoped that Peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate Counsellor of his own, that might treat of the Conditions. Whereupon the King directed Bishop Fox (who at that time was at his Castle of *Norham*) to confer with *Hialas*, and they both to treat with some Commissioners deputed from the *Scottish* King. The Commissioners on both Sides met. But after much Dispute upon the Articles and Conditions of Peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a Peace. The chief Impediment thereof was the Demand of the King to have *Perkin* deliver'd into his Hands, as a Reproach to all Kings, and a Person not protected by the Law of Nations. The King of *Scotland* on the other side peremptorily denied so to do; saying, That he (for his part) was no competent Judge of *Perkin's* Title: But that he had received him as a Suppliant, protected

The *Scottish* King enters *England* with an Army.

Fox Bishop of *Duresme*, Pro-vident against the *Scots*.

The Earl of *Surry* enters *Scotland*.

He takes *Aton* Castle.

1497. tested him as a Person fled for Refuge, espoused him with his Kinswoman, and aided him with his Arms, upon the belief that he was a Prince; And therefore that he could not now with his Honour so unrip and (in a sort) put a Lye upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his Enemies. The Bishop likewise (who had certain proud Instructions from the King, at the least in the Front, tho' there were a pliant Clause at the Foot, that remitted all to the Bishop's Discretion, and requir'd him by no Means to break off in ill Terms) after that he had failed to obtain the Delivery of *Perkin*, did move a second Point of his Instructions; which was, that the *Scottish* King would give the King an Enterview in Person at *Newcastle*. But this being reported to the *Scottish* King, his Answer was, *That he meant to treat a Peace, and not to go a begging for it.* The Bishop also (according to another Article of his Instructions) demanded Restitution of the Spoils taken by the *Scottish*, or Damages for the same. But the *Scottish* Commissioners answered, *That it was but as Water spilt upon the Ground, which could not be gotten up again; and that the King's People were better able to bear the Loss, than their Master able to repair it.* But in the end (as Persons capable of Reason) on both Sides they made rather a kind of Recess, than a breach of Treaty, and concluded upon a Truce for some Months following. But the King of *Scotland*, tho' he would not formally retract his Judgment of *Perkin*, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private Opinion, upon often Speech with the *Englishmen*, and divers other Advertisements, began to suspect him for a Counterfeit. Wherefore in a Noble fashion he call'd him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him, in making him his Ally, and in provoking a Mighty and Opulent King by an Offensive War in his Quarrel, for the space of two Years together. Nay more, that he had refused an Honourable Peace, whereof he had a fair Offer, if he would have deliver'd him; and that to keep his Promise with him, he had deeply offended both his Nobles and People, whom he might not hold in any long Discontent. And therefore requir'd him to think of his own Fortunes, and to choose out some fitter Place for his Exile: Telling him withal, that he could not say, but the *English* had forsaken him before the *Scottish*; for that upon two several Trials, none had declar'd themselves on his Side. But nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first Receiving; which was, *That he should not repent him, for putting himself into his Hands; For that he would not cast him off, but help him with Shipping and means to transport him where he should desire.* *Perkin*, not descending at all from his Stage-like Greatness, answered the King in few Words, *That he saw his time was not yet come; But whatsoever his Fortunes were, he should both think and speak Honour of the King.* Taking his leave, he would not think on *Flanders*, doubting it was but hollow Ground for him, since the Treaty of the Arch-Duke concluded the Year before; but took his Lady, and such Followers as would not leave him, and sail'd over into *Ireland*.

This Twelfth year of the King, a little before this time, Pope *Alexander* (who loved best those Princes that were furthest off, and with whom

he had least to do) taking very thankfully the King's late entrance into League for the Defence of *Italy*, did remunerate him with an Hal-low'd Sword, and Cap of Maintenance sent by his Nuncio. Pope *Innocent* had done the like, but it was not received in that Glory. For the King appointed the Mayor and his Brethren to meet the Pope's Orator at *London-bridge*, and all the Streets between the Bridge-foot and the Palace of *Paul's* (where the King then lay) were garnish'd with the Citizens, standing in their Liveries. And the Morrow after (being *All-Hallow's Day*) the King, attended with many of his Prelates, Nobles, and principal Courtiers, went in Procession to *Paul's*, and the Cap and Sword were born before him. And after the Procession, the King himself remaining seated in the Quire, the Lord Archbishop upon the Greece of the Quire made a long Oration, setting forth the Greatness and Eminency of that Honour, which the Pope (in these Ornaments and Ensigns of Benediction) had done the King; and how rarely, and upon what high Deserts they used to be bestowed. And then recited the King's principal Acts and Merits, which had made him appear worthy in the Eyes of his Holiness of this great Honour.

All this while the Rebellion of *Cornwall* (whereof we have spoken) seem'd to have no relation to *Perkin*; save that perhaps *Perkin's* Proclamation had stricken upon the right Vein, in promising to lay down Exactions and Payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind Thought on *Perkin*. But now these Bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the Top of Water. The King's Lenity (by that time the *Cornish* Rebels, who were taken and pardon'd, and (as it was said) many of them sold by them that had taken them, for Twelve-pence and Two Shillings apiece, were come down into their Country) had rather imbolden'd them, than reclaim'd them. Infomuch, as they stuck not to say to their Neighbours and Country-men, *That the King did well to pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few Subjects in England, if he hang'd all that were of their Mind:* And began whetting and inciting one another to renew the Commotion. Some of the subtillest of them, hearing of *Perkin's* being in *Ireland*, found mean to send to him to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When *Perkin* heard this News, he began to take heart again, and advis'd upon it with his Council which were principally three; *Horne* a Mercer, that fled for Debt; *Skelton* a Taylor, and *Astley* a Scrivener: for Secretary *Frion* was gone. These told him that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into *Kent*, and when he went into *Scotland*: The one being a Place so near *London*, and under the King's Nose; and the other, a Nation so distast'd with the People of *England*, that if they had lov'd him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that Company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in *Cornwall* at the first when the People began to take Arms there, he had been crown'd at *Westminster* before this time. For, these Kings (as he had now Experience) would sell poor Princes for Shoes: But he must rely wholly upon People; and therefore advis'd him to sail over with all possible speed into *Cornwall*. Which accordingly he did; ha-

1497
The Pope
presents
K. Henry
with a
consecra-
ted Sword.

(f) He arriv'd at *Cork* the 26th of *July*; where some out of Affection, others for Desire of Change flock'd to him; among whom, 'tis said, was *Maurice* Earl of *Desmond*. The Mayor and Citizens of *Waterford* notify'd his Arrival to the King, and as they had bravely defended themselves against *Sinnel's* Adherents, so they did the same now against *Perkin*; for which they were taken into the King's especial Favour. *Sir J. W. Cap. XIII.*

1497. ving in his Company four small Barks, with some Sixscore or Seven score fighting Men. (g) He arriv'd in September at *Whitland-Bay*, and forth with came to *Bodmin*, the Blacksmith's Town: where there assembled unto him to the number of Three Thousand Men of the rude People. There he set forth a new Proclamation, stroaking the People with fair Promises, and humouring them with *Invectives* against the King and his Government. And, as it fareth with Smoke, that never loseth it self till it be at the highest; he did now before his end raise his Stile, intiruling himself no more *Richard Duke of York*, but *Richard the IVth, King of England*. His Council advised him by all means, to make himself Master of some good walled Town; as well to make his Men find the Sweetness of rich Spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost People, by like hopes of Booty; as to be a sure Retreat to his Forces, in case they should have any ill Day, or unlucky Chance in the Field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on, and besieged the City of *Exeter*, the principal Town for Strength and Wealth in those Parts.

When they were come before *Exeter*, they forbore to use any Force at the first; but made continual Shouts and Out-cries, to terrifie the Inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places call and talk to them from under the Walls, to join with them, and be of their Party; telling them, That the King would make them another *London*, if they would be the first Town that should acknowledge him. But they had not the Wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, Agents or chosen Men to tempt them, and to treat with them. The Citizens on their part shew'd themselves stout and loyal Subjects. Neither was there so much as any Tumult or Division amongst them: but all prepar'd themselves for a valiant Defence, and making good the Town. For well they saw that the Rebels were of no such Number or Power, that they needed to fear them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their Numbers encreased, the King's Succours would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of Evils, to put themselves at the Mercy of those hungry and disorderly People. Wherefore setting all things in good Order within the Town, they nevertheless let down with Cords, from several parts of the Walls privily, several Messengers (that, if one came to Mischance, another might pass on) which should advertise the King of the State of the Town, and implore his Aid. *Perkin* also doubted that Succours would come ere long; and therefore resolved to use his utmost Force to assault the Town: And for that purpose, having mounted Scaling-Ladders in divers places upon the Walls, made at the same instant an Attempt to force one of the Gates: But having no Artillery nor Engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with Logs of Timber, nor by the use of Iron Bars and Iron Crows, and such other means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of the Gates on Fire: which he did. But the Citizens, well perceiving the Danger, before the Gate could be fully consumed, block'd up the Gate, and some space about it on the inside with Faggots and other Fuel: which they likewise set on fire, and so repuls'd Fire with Fire: And in the mean time, raised up Rampiers of Earth, and cast up deep Trenches, to serve instead of Wall and Gate. And

Exeter besieged by *Perkin*.

The Loy. Citizens.

for the *Escalades*, they had so bad Success, as the Rebels were driven from the Walls, with the Loss of Two hundred Men.

The King when he heard of *Perkin's* Siege of *Exeter*, made Sport with it, and said to them that were about him, That the King of *Rake-hells* was landed in the West, and that he hoped now to have the Honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appear'd plainly to those that were about the King, that he was indeed much joy'd with the News of *Perkin's* being in *Englesh* Ground, where he could have no Retreat by Land; thinking now that he should be cured of those privy Stitches which he had long had about his Heart, and had sometimes broken his Sleeps in the midst of all his Felicity. And to set all Mens Hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those, who should now do him Service to make an end of these Troubles, should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the Eleventh Hour and had the whole Wages of the Day. Therefore now (like the end of a Play) a great Number came upon the Stage at once. He sent the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord *Brook*, and *Sir Rice ap Thomas*, with expedite Forces to speed to *Exeter*, to the Rescue of the Town, and to spread the Fame of his own following in Person with a Royal Army. The Earl of *Devonshire* and his Son, with the *Caroes*, and the *Fulfordes*, and other principal Persons of *Devonshire* (uncall'd from the Court, but hearing that the King's Heart was so much bent upon this Service) made hast with Troops, that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the City of *Exeter*, and prevent the King's Succours. The Duke of *Buckingham* likewise, with many brave Gentlemen, put themselves in Arms, not staying either the King's or the Lord Chamberlain's coming on, but making a Body of Forces of themselves, the more to indear their Merit; signifying to the King their Readiness, and desiring to know his Pleasure. So that according to the Proverb, *In the coming down every Saint did help*.

Perkin hearing this Thunder of Arms and Preparations against him from so many parts, raised his Siege, and marched to *Taunton*; beginning already to squint one Eye upon the Crown, and another upon the Sanctuary: Tho' the *Cornishmen* were become, like Metal often fir'd and quench'd, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their Blood were spilt. He was at his rising from *Exeter* between Six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him after he was set before *Exeter*, upon Fame of so great an Enterprize, and to partake of the Spoil; tho' upon the raising of his Siege, some did slip away. When he was come near *Taunton*, he dissembled all Fear, and seemed all the Day to use Diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about Midnight, he fled with Threescore Horse to *Bewley* in the *New-Forrest*, where he and divers of his Company registred themselves Sanctuary-Men, leaving his *Cornish* Men to the four Winds: But yet thereby easing them of their Vow, and using his wonted Compassion, *Not to be by when his Subjects blood should be spilt*. The King, as soon as he heard of *Perkin's* Flight, sent presently five hundred Horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the Sea, or to that same little Island, call'd a *Sanctuary*. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore

In Hampshire.

1497. all they could do, was to beset the Sanctuary, and to maintain a strong Watch about it, till the King's Pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the Rebels, they (being destituted of their Head) without Stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the King's Mercy. And the King, who commonly drew Blood (as Physicians do) rather to save Life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure; now he saw the Danger was past, pardon'd them all in the end, except some few desperate Persons which he reserv'd to be executed, the better to set off his Mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some Horse to St. Michael's

The Lady Katherine Gordon, Perkin's Wife royally entertain'd by the King. Mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Katherine Gordon was left by her Husband, whom in all Fortunes she entirely loved; adding the Vertues of a Wife to the Vertues of her Sex. The King sent in the greater Diligence, not knowing whether she might be with Child; whereby the Business would not have ended in Perkin's Person.

When she was brought to the King, it was commonly said, that the King receiv'd her not only with Compassion, but with Affection; Pity giving more Impression to her excellent Beauty. Wherefore comforting her (to serve as well his Eye as his Fame) he sent her to his Queen to remain with her; giving her very honourable Allowance for the Support of her Estate: which she enjoy'd both during the King's Life and many Years after. The Name of the *White-Rose* (which had been given to her Husband's false Title) was continued in common Speech to her true Beauty.

The King went forwards on his Journey, and made a joyful Entrance into Exeter, where he gave the Citizens great Commendations and Thanks; and taking the Sword he wore from his Side, he gave it to the Mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the Ring-leaders, of the *Cornish-men*, in Sacrifice to the Citizens, whom they had put in fear, and Trouble. At Exeter the King consulted with his Council, whether he should offer Life to Perkin if he would quit the Sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The Council were divided in

Divers Opinions of what was to be done with Perkin. Opinion. Some advised the King to take him out of Sanctuary perforce, and to put him to Death, as in a Case of Necessity, which in it self dispenseth with consecrated Places and Things. Wherein they doubted not also, but the King should find the Pope tractable to ratify his Deed, either by Declaration, or (at least) by Indulgence. Others were of Opinion (since all was now safe, and no further Hurt could be done) that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new Scandal and Envy. A third sort fell upon the Opinion that it was not possible for the King ever, either to satisfy the World well touching the Imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the Conspiracy, except by Promise of Life and Pardon, and other fair Means, he should get Perkin into his Hands. But they did all in their Preambles much bemoan the King's Case, with a kind of Indignation at his Fortune. That a Prince of his high Wisdom and Vertue should have been so long, and so oft exercis'd and vex'd with Idols. But the King said, that it was the Vexation of God Almighty himself, to be vex'd with Idols, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himself, he always despis'd them; but was griev'd that they had put his People to such Trouble and Misery. But (in Conclusion) he lean'd to the third Opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin. Who seeing himself Prisoner, and destitute of all Hopes, having try'd Princes and Peo-

ple, Great and Small, and found all either Faint, Faint, or Unfortunate, did gladly accept of the Condition. The King did also (while he was at Exeter) appoint the Lord Darcy and others, Commissioners, for the fining all such as were of any Value, and had any Hand or partaking in the Aid or Comfort of Perkin or the *Cornish-men*, either in the Field or in the Flight.

These Commissioners proceeded with such Strictness and Severity, as did much obscure the King's Mercy in sparing of Blood, with the bleeding of so much Treasure. Perkin was brought unto the King's Court, but not to the King's Presence; tho' the King (to satisfy his Curiosity) saw him sometimes out of a Window, or in Passage. He was in shew at Liberty, but guarded with all Care and Watch that was possible; and willed to follow the King to London. But from his first Appearance upon the Stage, in his new Person of a Sycophant or Juggler, instead of his former Person of a Prince, all Men may think how he was exposed to the Derision, not only of the Courtiers, but also of the common People, who flock'd about him as he went along; that one might know afar off where the Owl was by the Flight of Birds. Some Mocking, some Wondring, some Curling, some prying and picking Matter out of his Countenance and Gesture to talk of. So that the false Honour and Respects which he had so long enjoy'd, was plentifully repay'd in Scorn and Contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the King gave also the City the Solace of this May Game. For he was convey'd leisurely on Horseback (but not in any ignominious fashion) through Cheapside and Cornwall to the Tower; and from thence back again unto Westminster, with the Charm of a thousand Taunts and Reproaches. But to amend the Show, there followed a little distance of Perkin, an inward Councillor of his, one that had been Serjeant-Farrier to the King. This Fellow, when Perkin took Sanctuary, chose rather to take an holy Habit than a holy Place, and clad himself like a Hermit, and in that Weed wander'd about the Country till he was discover'd and taken. But this Man was bound Hand and Foot upon the Horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few Days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his Confession taken, an Extract was made of such Parts of them, as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispers'd Abroad. Wherein the King did himself no Right. For as there was a labour'd Tale of Particulars, of Perkin's Father, and Mother, and Grandfire, and Grandmother, and Uncles, and Cousins, by Names and Surnames, and from what Places he travell'd up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his Designs, or any Practices that had been held with him; nor the Dutcheffs of Burgundy her self (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the Person that had put Life and Being into the whole Business) so much as nam'd or pointed at. So that Men mulling of that they look'd for, look'd about for they knew not what; and were in more doubt than before. But the King chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle Coals. At that time also it did not appear by any new Examinations or Commitments, that any other Person of Quality was discover'd or appeach'd, tho' the King's Closeness made that a Doubt-Dormant.

About this time, a great Fire in the Night suddenly began at the King's Palace of *Shyne*, near unto the King's own Lodgings; where

The Palace of Shyne, near unto the King's own Lodgings, where
by

1498. by a great part of the Building was consumed, with much costly Household stuff; which gave the King occasion of Building from the Ground that fine Pile of *Richmond*, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also there fell out a memorable Accident: There was one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Brislow*, a Man seen and expert in *Cosmography* and *Navigation*. This Man seeing the Success, and emulating perhaps the Enterprize of *Christopherus Columbus* in that fortunate Discovery towards the Southwest, which had been by him made some six Years before; conceited with himself, that Lands might likewise be discover'd towards the Northwest. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant Conjectures of it, than *Columbus* had of this at the first. For the two great Islands of the Old and New World, being (in the shape and making of them) broad towards the North, and pointed towards the South; it is likely, that the Discovery first began where the Lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a Discovery of some Lands, which they took to be Islands, and were indeed the Continent of *America* towards the Northwest. And it may be, that some Relation of this Nature coming afterwards to the Knowledge of *Columbus*, and by him suppress'd, (desirous rather to make his Enterprize the Child of his Science and Fortune, than the Follower of a former Discovery) did give him better assurance, that all was not Sea, from the West of *Europe* and *Africk* unto *Asia*, than either *Seneca's* Prophecy, or *Plato's* Antiquities, or the Nature of the Tides, and Landwinds, and the like, which were the Conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have rely'd. Tho' I am not ignorant that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind beaten Discovery (a little before) of a *Spanish* Pilot, who died in the House of *Columbus*. But this *Gabato* bearing the King in hand, that he would find out an Island endued with rich Commodities, procur'd him to Man and Victual a Ship at *Brislow*, for the Discovery of that Island; with whom ventur'd also three small Ships of *London* Merchants, fraught with some gross and slight Wares fit for Commerce with barbarous People. He sail'd (as he affirm'd at his Return, and made a Card thereof) very far Westwards, with a Quarter of the North, on the North-side of *Terra de Labrador*, until he came to the Latitude of Sixty seven Degrees and a half, finding the Seas still open. It is certain also, that the King's Fortune had a tender of that great Empire of the *West-Indies*. Neither was it a Refusal on the King's part, but a Delay by Accident, that put by so great an Acquest. For *Christopherus Columbus* refused by the King of *Portugal* (who would not embrace at once both East and West) imploy'd his Brother *Bartholomeus Columbus* unto King *Henry*, to negotiate for his Discovery. And it so fortun'd, that he was taken by Pirates at Sea; by which accidental Impediment he was long ere he came to the King. So long, that before he had obtain'd a Capitulation with the King for his Brother; the Enterprize by him was Achieved, and so the *West-Indies* by Providence were then reserv'd for the Crown of *Castilia*. Yet this sharpen'd the King so, that not only in this Voyage, but again in the 16th Year of his Reign, and likewise in the 18th thereof, he granted forth new Commissions, for the Discovery and investing of unknown Lands.

An Accident rival in its self, great in Effect.

Accident, that drew on great and happy Effects. 1498. During the Truce with *Scotland*, there were certain *Scottish* Young Gentlemen that came into *Norham Town*, and there made merry with some of the *English* of the Town. And having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the Castle. Some of the Garrison of the Castle, observing their doing twice or thrice, and having not their Minds purg'd of the late ill Blood of Hostility, either suspected them, or quarrell'd them for Spies. Whereupon they fell at ill Words, and from Words to Blows; so that many were wounded of either Side, and the *Scottish-men* (being Strangers in the Town) had the worst. In so much as some of them were slain, and the rest made haste Home. The Matter being complain'd on, and often debated before the Wardens of the Marches of both Sides, and no good Order taken, the King of *Scotland* took it to himself, and being much kindled, sent a Herald to the King to make Protestation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the Truce, his King did denounce War. The King (who had often try'd Fortune, and was inclin'd to Peace) made Answer, 'That what had been done, was utterly against his Will, and without his Privy. But if the Garrison Soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punish'd, and the Truce in all Points to be preserv'd. But this Answer seem'd to the *Scottish* King but a Delay to make the Complaint breath out with time; and therefore it did rather exasperate him, than satisfy him. Bishop *Fox*, understanding from the King, that the *Scottish* King was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the Occasion of breaking of the Truce should grow from his Men, sent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the *Scottish* King to appease him. Whereupon King *James*, mollify'd by the Bishop's Submiss and Eloquent Letters, wrote back unto him, 'That tho' he were in part moved by his Letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him, as well about the compounding of the present Differences, as about other Matters, that might concern the good of both Kingdoms. The Bishop advising first with the King, took his Journey for *Scotland*. The meeting was at *Melrosse*, an Abbey of the *Cistercians*, where the King then abode. The King first roundly utter'd unto the Bishop his Offence conceiv'd for the insolent Breach of Truce, by his Men of *Norham-Castle*. Whereunto Bishop *Fox* made such an humble and smooth Answer, as it was like Oil into the Wound, whereby it began to heal. And this was done in the Presence of the King and his Council. After, the King spake with the Bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying, 'That these temporary Truces and Peaces were soon made, and soon broken: But that he desir'd a firmer Amity with the King of *England*, discovering his Mind; That if the King would give him in Marriage the Lady *Margaret*, his Eldest Daughter, that indeed might be a Knot indissoluble. That he knew well what Place and Authority the Bishop deservedly had with his Master. Therefore if he would take the Business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The King-Bishop answered soberly, 'That he thought himself rather happy, than worthy, to be an Instrument in such a Matter; but would do his best Endeavour. Wherefore the Bishop returning to the King, and giving Account what had passed, and finding the King more than well-disposed in it, gave the King Advice; first, to proceed

The Princess Margaret's Marriage by the Scots King.

1499. proceed to a Conclusion of Peace, and then to go on with the Treaty of Marriage, by degrees. Hereupon a Peace was concluded, which was published a little before *Christmas*, in the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign, to continue for both the Kings Lives, and the Outliver of them, and a year after. In this Peace there was an Article contained, that no *English* Man should enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottish* Man into *England*, without Letters Commendatory from the Kings of either Nation. This at the first Sight might seem a Means to continue a Strangeness between the Nations; but it was done, to lock in the Borderers.

The Kings third Son Edmund is born and dyes. This Year there was also born to the King a third Son, who was christened by the Name of *Edmund*, and shortly after dyed. And much about the same time came News of the Death of *Charles* the *French* King; for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely Obsequies.

It was not long, but *Perkin* (who was made of Quick-silves, which is hard to hold or imprison) began to stir. For deceiving his Keepers, he took him to his Heels, and made speed to the Sea Coasts. But presently all Corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the House of *Bethleem*, called the Priory of *Shyne*, (which had the privilege of Sanctuary) and put himself into the Hands of the Prior of that Monastery. The Prior was thought an Holy Man, and much revered in those Days. He came to the King, and besought the King for *Perkin's* Life only; leaving him otherwise to the King's Discretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever, to have the King to take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high Stomach, and could not hate any that he despised) bid, *Take him forth, and set the Knave in the Stocks*. And so promising the Prior his Life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three Days after, * upon a Scaffold, set up in the Palace Court at *Westminster*, he was fettered and set in the Stocks, for the whole Day. And the next Day after, the like was done by him at the Cross in *Cheapside*, and in both Places he read his Confession, of which we made mention before; and was from *Cheapside*, conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the King was (as was partly touch'd before) grown to be such a Partner with Fortune, as no Body could tell what Actions the one, and what the other owned. For it was believed generally, that *Perkin* was betrayed, and that this Escape was not without the King's Privy, who had him all the time of his Flight in a Line; and that the King did this to pick a Quarrel with him to put him to Death, and to be rid of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the same Instruments who observed him in his Flight, might have kept him from getting into Sanctuary.

But it was ordained, that this winding Ivy of a *Plantagenet*, should kill the true Tree it self. For *Perkin*, after he had been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the Favour and kindness of his Keepers, Servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *John Digby*, being four in Number; *Strangways*, *Blewet*, *Astwood*, and *Long-Roger*. These Varlets, with Mountains of Promises, he sought to corrupt, to obtain his Escape. But knowing well, that his own Fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no Man's Hopes (and by hopes

he must work, for Rewards he had none) he 1499^d had contrived with himself a vast and Tragical Plot; which was, to draw into his Company *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, then Prisoner in the Tower; whom the weary Life of a long Imprisonment, and the often and renewing Fears of being put to Death, had softened to take any impression of Counsel for his Liberty. This young Prince he thought these Servants would look upon, though not upon himself. And therefore after that by some Message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the Earl's Consent; it was agreed, that these four should murder their Master the Lieutenant, secretly in the Night, and make their best of such Money and portable Goods of his, as they should find ready at Hand, and get the Keys of the Tower, and presently let forth *Perkin* and the Earl. But this Conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the Opinion of the King's great Wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister Fame, that *Perkin* was but his Bait, to entrap the Earl of *Warwick*. And in the very instant while this Conspiracy was in working (as if that also had been the King's industry) it was fatal, that there should break forth a Counterfeit Earl of *Warwick*, a Cold-A Countwainers Son, whose Name was * *Ralph Wiford*; a terfeit young Man, taught and set on by an *Augustine* Earl of *Warwick*, Frier, called *Patriarch*. They both from the + A Shoemaker's Son of parts of *Suffolk*, came forwards into *Kent*, where they did not only privily and underhand give out, that this *Wiford* was the true Earl of *Warwick*, but also the Frier finding some light Credence in the People, took the Boldness in the Pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the People to come in to his Aid. Whereupon they Hanged: were both presently apprehended, and the young Fellow executed, * and the Frier condemned to + On Shrove-Tuesday. perpetual Imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely, to represent the danger to the King's Estate, from the Earl of *Warwick* and thereby to colour the King's Severity that followed; together with the Madness of the Frier, so vainly and desperately to divulge a Treason, before it had gotten any manner of Strength; and the saving of the Frier's Life, which nevertheless was (indeed) but the Privilege of his Order; and the pity in the common People (which if it run in a strong Stream, doth ever cast up Scandal and Envy) made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the King's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon *Perkin* (that had offended against Grace now the third Time) was at the last proceeded with, and by Commissioners of Oyer and Determiner, arraigned at *Westminster*, * upon divers + On the Treasons committed and perpetrated after his 1st of coming on Land within this Kingdom (for so November. the Judges advised, for that he was a Foreigner) and condemned, and a few days after executed at *Tyburn*. Where he did again openly *Perkin* read his Confession, and take it upon his Death Warbeck hang'd at *Tyburn*. to be true. This was the end of this little Cockatrice of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest Plays of that kind, that hath been in Memory; and might perhaps have had another End, if he had not met with a King both Wise, Stout, and Fortunate.

As for *Perkin's* three Counsellors, they had re-gifted themselves Sanctuary-Men when their Master did. And whether upon Pardon obtained, or continuance within the Privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

O o o o

There

1409. There was executed with *Perkin*, the Mayor of *Cork* and his Son (b), who had been principal Abettors of his Treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other Persons, about the Tower-Conspiracy, whereof four were the Lieutenant's Men. But of those Eight but two were executed. And immediately after * was arraigned before the Earl of *Oxford* (then for the time High Steward of *England*) the poor Prince, the Earl of *Warwick*; not for the Attempt to escape simply (for that was not acted; and besides, the Imprisonment not being for Treason, the Escape by Law could not be Treason) but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise Sedition, and to destroy the King. And the Earl confessing the Inditement had Judgment, and was shortly after * beheaded on Tower-hill.

* On the 28th of Novemb. Earl of *Warwick* executed.

The last of the Race of the *Plantagenets*.

The King hated for it.

Blood not unrevenged.

A great Plague.

|| In the beginning of May.

This was also the end not only of this noble and commiserable Person *Edward* the Earl of *Warwick* eldest Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, but likewise of the Line Male of the *Plantagenets*, which had flourished in great Royalty and Renown, from the time of the famous King of *England* King *Henry* the Second. Howbeit it was a Race often dipped in their own Blood. It hath remained since only transplanted into other Names, as well of the Imperial Line, as of other noble Houses. But it was neither Guilt of Crime, nor Reason of State, that could quench the Envy that was upon the King for this Execution. So that he thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it upon his new Allie *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*. For these two Kings understanding one another at half a Word, so it was that there were Letters shewed out of *Spain*, whereby in the Passages concerning the Treaty of the Marriage, *Ferdinando* had written to the King in plain Terms, that he saw no Assurance of his Succession, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived; and that he was loth to send his Daughter to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the King did in some part remove the Envy from himself; so he did not observe, that he did withall bring a kind of Malediction and Installing upon the Marriage, as an ill Prognostick. Which in Event so far proved true, as both Prince *Arthur* enjoyed a very small time after the Marriage, and the Lady *Katherine* her self (a sad and a Religious Woman) long after, when King *Henry* the eighth his Resolution of a Divorce from her was first made known to her, used some Words; *That she had not offended: but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former Marriage was made in Blood; meaning that of the Earl of Warwick.*

This fifteenth Year of the King there was a great Plague, both in *London* and in divers parts of the Kingdom. Wherefore the King after often Change of Places (whether to avoid the danger of the Sickness, or to give occasion of an Interview with the Arch-Duke, or both) sail'd over || with his Queen to *Calice*. Upon his coming thither, the Arch-Duke sent an honourable Ambassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those Parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleased him) he would come and do him Reverence. But it was said withal; That the King might be pleased to appoint some Place, that were out of any walled Town or Fortrefs, for that he had denied the same upon like Occasion to the *French* King. And though he said, he made a great Difference between the two Kings, yet he would be

loth to give a President, that might make it after to be expected at his Hands, by another whom he trusted less. The King accepted of the Courtesie, and admitted of his Excuse, and appointed the Place to be at *St. Peter's Church* without *Calice*. But withal he did visit the Arch-Duke with Ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord *Saint John*, and the Secretary; unto whom the Arch-Duke did the Honour, as (going to Mass at *Saint Omers*) to set the Lord *Saint John* on his right Hand, and the Secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to Church. The Day appointed for the || Interview, the King went on Horse back some distance from *Saint Peter's Church*, to receive the Arch-Duke. And upon their approaching, the Arch-Duke made hast to alight, and offered to hold the King's Stirrop at his alighting; which the King would not permit, but descending from Horse-back, they embraced with great Affection, and withdrawing into the Church to a Place prepared, they had long Conference, not only upon the Confirmation of former Treaties, and the freeing of Commerce, but upon Cross Marriages, to be had between the Duke of *Tork* the King's second Son, and the Arch-Duke's Daughter; and again between *Charles* the Arch Duke's Son and Heir, and *Mary* the King's second Daughter. But these Blossoms of unripe Marriages, were but Friendly wishes, and the Airs of loving Entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in Treaty, though not in Effect. But during the time that the two Princes conversed and communed together in the Suburbs of *Calice*, the Demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the Arch-Duke. Who (besides that he was a Prince of an excellent good Nature) being conscious to himself, how dryly the King had been used by his Counsel in the matter of *Perkin*, did strive by all means to recover it in the King's Affection. And having also his Ears continually beaten with the Counsels of his Father and Father-in-Law, who (in respect of their jealous hatred against the *French* King) did always advise the Arch-Duke to anchor himself upon the Amity of King *Henry* of *England*; was glad upon this Occasion, to put in Ure and Practice their Precepts, calling the King Patron, and Father, and Protector, (These very Words the King repeats; when he certified of the loving Behaviour of the Archduke to the City) and what else he could devise, to express his Love and Observance to the King. There came also to the King the Governour of *Picardy*, and the Bailiff of *Amiens*, sent from *Lewis* the *French* King to do him Honour, and to give him Knowledge of his Victory and winning of the Dutchy of *Milan*. It seemeth the King was well pleased with the Honours he received from those Parts, while he was at *Calice*. For he did himself certify all the News and Occurrences of them in every particular, from *Calice*, to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, which (no doubt) made no small Affability Talk in the City. For the King, though he could not entertain the good Will of the Citizens, as *Edward* the fourth did; yet by Affability and other Princely Graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This Year also died *John Morton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of *England*, and Cardinal. He was a wise Man, and an Eloquent, but in his nature harsh, and haughty; much accepted by the

Interview between the King and Arch-duke.

|| Whitsunday.

The Kings Affability and kindness to the Citizens of *London*. Arch-Bishop *Morton* dyed in the year 1500. See Hol. p. 788. Cardinal *Morton's* Death and Character.

(b) As for *Philip*, *John Water's* Son, he was afterwards pardoned by the King's Clemency. The Citizens of *Cork* were also pardoned. Sir J. Ware. Cap. XV.

1500. King, but envied by the Nobility, and hated of the People. Neither was his Name left out of *Perkin's* Proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him amongst the King's Casting-Counters, because he had the Image and Superscription upon him of the Pope, in his Honour of Cardinal. He won the King with Secrecy and Diligence, but chiefly because he was his old Servant in his less Fortunes: And also for that (in his Affections) he was not without an inveterate Malice against the House of *York*, under whom he had been in Trouble. He was willing also to take Envy from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for Subterfuges, but would stand Envy, and appear in any thing that was to his Mind; which made Envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the Matter of Exactions, time did after shew, that the Bishop in feeding the King's Humour, did rather temper it. He had been by *Richard* the Third committed (as in Custody) to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King *Richard*. But after the Duke was engaged, and thought the Bishop should have been his chief Pilot in the Tempest, the Bishop was gotten into the Cock-boat and fled over beyond Seas. But whatsoever else was in the Man, he deserveth a most happy Memory, in that he was the principal Mean of joining the two *Roses*. He died of great Years, but of strong Health and Powers. †

† He was succeeded by *Henry*, Dean Bishop of *Salisbury*.

The next Year, which was the sixteenth Year of the King, and the Year of our Lord One thousand five hundred, was the Year of jubilee at *Rome*. But Pope *Alexander*, to save the Hazard and Charges of Mens Journeys to *Rome*, thought good to make over those Graces by Exchange, to such as would pay a convenient Rate, seeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into *England* *Jasper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, the Pope's Commissioner, better chosen than were the Commissioners of Pope *Leo*, afterwards employ'd for *Germany*; for he carried the Business with great Wisdom, and semblance of Holiness. In so much as he levied great Sums of Money within this Land to the Pope's Use, with little or no Scandal. It was thought the King shared in the Money. But it appeareth by a Letter which Cardinal *Adrian*, the King's Pensioner, wrote to the King from *Rome* some few Years after, that this was not so. For this Cardinal, being to perswade Pope *Julius* on the King's behalf, to expedite the Bull of Dispensation for the Marriage between Prince *Henry* and the Lady *Katherine*, finding the Pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal Argument concerning the King's Merit towards that See; that he had touched none of those Deniers, which had been levied by *Pons* in *England*. But that it might the better appear (for the Satisfaction of the common People) that this was Consecrate Money, the same Nuntio brought unto the King a Brief from the Pope, wherein the King was exhorted and summoned to come in Person against the *Turk*. For that the Pope (out of the Care of an universal Father) seeing almost under his Eyes the Successes and Progresses of that great Enemy of the Faith, had had in the Conclave, and with the Assistance of the Ambassadors of foreign Princes, divers Con-

The Pope invites the King to a holy War.

sultations about an holy War, and a general Expedition of Christian Princes against the *Turk*. Wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the *Hungarians*, *Polonians*, and *Bohemians* should make a War upon *Thracia*; the *French* and *Spaniard* upon *Grecia*; and that the Pope (willing to sacrifice himself in so good a Cause) in Person and in Company of the King of *England*, the *Venetians*, and such other states as were great in maritime Power, would sail with a puissant Navy through the *Mediterrane* unto *Constantinople*. And that to this end, his Holiness had sent Nuncios to all Christian Princes; as well for a Cessation of all Quarrels and Differences amongst themselves, as for speedy Preparations and Contributions of Forces and Treasure for this sacred Enterprize.

To this the King, (who understood well the Court of *Rome*) made an Answer rather solemn, than serious; Signifying,

THAT no Prince on Earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his Person, and by all possible Forces, and Fortunes, to enter into this sacred War, than himself. But that the Distance of Place was such, as that no Forces he should raise for the Seas, could be levied or prepared, but with double the Charge, and double the Time (at the least) that they might be from the other Princes, that had their Territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the Manner of his Ships (having no Gallies) nor the Experience of his Pilots and Mariners could be so apt for those Seas as theirs. And therefore that his Holiness might do well, to move one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by Sea. Whereby both all things would be sooner put in Readiness, and with less Charge, and the Emulation and Division of Command, which might grow between those Kings of *France* and *Spain*, if they should both join in the War by Land upon *Grecia*, might be wisely avoided. And that for his Part, he would not be wanting in Aids and Contribution. Yet notwithstanding if both these Kings should refuse, rather than his Holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him, as soon as he could be ready. Always provided, that he might first see all Differences of the Christian Princes amongst themselves, fully laid down and appeased (as for his own part he was in none.) And that he might have some good Towns upon the Coasts in *Italy* put into his Hands, for the Retreat and safeguard of his Men.

With this Answer *Jasper Pons* returned, nothing at all discontented. And yet this Declaration of the King (as superficial as it was) gave The him that Reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the Knights of *Rhodes*, Protector of their Order; all things multiplying to Honour in a Prince, that had gotten such high Estimation for his Wisdom and Sufficiency.

The Knights of *Rhodes* elect King *Henry* Protector of their Order.

1501. There were these two last Years some Proceedings against *Hereticks*, which was rare in this King's Reign, and rather by Penances, than by Fire. The King had (though he were no good Schoolman) the Honour to convert one of them by Dispute at *Canterbury*.

The King converts an Heretic by Dispute.

This Year also, though the King were no more haunted with Spirits, for that by the Sprinkling partly of blood, and partly of Water, he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain Apparitions, that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one Region, which was the House of *Tork*. It came to to pass, that the Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *Elizabeth* eldest Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, by *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, her second Husband, and Brother to *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, that was slain at *Stockfield*, being of an hasty and cholerick Disposition, had killed a Man in his Fury; whereupon the King gave him his Pardon. But either willing to leave a Cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his Grace, produced him openly to plead his Pardon. This wrought in the Earl, as in a haughty Stomach it useth to do; for the Ignominy printed deeper than the Grace, wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into *Flanders* unto his Aunt the Dutchess of *Burgundy*. The King startled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to use fair and timely Remedies, wrought so with him by Messages, (The Lady *Margaret* also growing by often failing in her *Alchymie*, weary of her Experiments, and partly being a little sweetened, for that the King had not touched her Name in the Confession of *Perkin*) that he came over again upon good Terms, and was reconciled to the King.

Prince Arthur married to the Princess Katherine of Spain.

|| On the 12th of November.

In the beginning of the next Year, being the seventeenth of the King, the Lady *Catherine*, fourth Daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Spain*, arrived in *England*, at *Plymouth*, the second of *October* and was married to Prince *Arthur* in *Pauls*, the fourteenth of *November* following. The Prince being then about fifteen Years of Age*, and the Lady about eighteen. The Manner of her receiving, the Manner of her Entry into *London*||, and the Celebrity of the Marriage were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of Cost, Shew, and Order. The chief Man that took the Care was Bishop *Fox*; who was not only a grave Counsellor for War or Peace, but also a good Surveyor of Works, and a good Master of Ceremonies; and any thing else that was fit for the Active Part, belonging to the Service of Court, or State of a great King. This Marriage was almost seven Years in Treaty; which was in part caused by the tender Years of the Marriage couple, especially of the Prince. But the true Reason was, that these two Princes, being Princes of great Policy and profound Judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's Fortunes, how they would go; knowing well that in the mean time, the very Treaty itself gave abroad in the World a Reputation of a strait Conjunction, and Amity between them; which served on both Sides to many Purposes, that their several Affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the End, when the

Fortunes of both Princes did grow every Day more and more Prosperous and Assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better Conditions, they shut it up.

The Marriage Money the Princess brought (which was turned over to the King by Act of Renunciation) was Two hundred thousand Ducats. Whereof One hundred thousand were payable ten Days after the Solemnization, and the other Hundred thousand at two Payments Annual; but part of it to be in Jewels and Plate, and a due Course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The Joyn-ture or Advancement of the Lady, was the third Part of the Principality of *Wales*, and of the Dukedom of *Cornwall*, and the Earldom of *Chester*, to be after set forth in severalty. And in Case she came to be Queen of *England*, her Advancement was left indefinite, but thus; That it should be as great, as ever any former Queen of *England* had.

Devices at Prince Arthur's Marriage.

In all the Devices and Conceits of the Triumphs of this Marriage, there was a great deal of Astronomy. The Lady being resembled to *Hesperus*, and the Prince to *Arcturus*, and the old King *Alphonfus* (that was the greatest Astronomer of Kings, and was Ancestor to the Lady) was brought in to be the Fortune-teller of the Match. And whosoever had those Toys in Compiling, they were not altogether Pedantical. But you may be sure that King *Arthur*, the *Britton*, and the Descent of the Lady *Catherine* from the House of *Lancaster*, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seem) it is not good to fetch Fortunes from the Stars. For this young Prince (that drew upon him at that time not only the Hopes and Affections of his Country, but the Eyes and Expectation of Foreigners) after a few Months, in the beginning of *April*, deceased at *Ludlow Castle*, where he was sent to keep his Residence and Court, as Prince of *Wales*. Of this Prince in respect he dyed so young, and by Reason of his Father's manner of Education, that did cast no great Lustre upon his Children, there is little particular Memory. Only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned, beyond his Years, and beyond the Custom of great Princes.

2d April, A. D. 1502.

He dies at Ludlow Castle.

King Henry's Behaviour towards his Children.

There was a Doubt ripped up in the Times following, when the Divorce of King *Henry* the Eighth from the Lady *Catherine* did so much busie the World, whether *Arthur* was bedded with his Lady or no, whereby that Matter in Fact (of Carnal Knowledge) might be made part of the Case. And it is true, that the Lady herself denied it, or at least her Council stood upon it, and would not blanch that Advantage, although the Plenitude of the Pope's Power of Dispensing was the main Question. And this Doubt was kept long open, in Respect of the two Queens that Succeeded, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, whose Legitimations were incompatible one with another, though their Succession was settled by Act of Parliament. And the Times that favoured Queen *Mary's* Legitimation would have it believed, that there was no Carnal Knowledge between *Arthur* and *Katherine*. Not that they would seem to derogate from the Pope's absolute

† She arrived as *Stow* says on the 4th of *October*, which is not the beginning of the Year, she was married the 14th of *November*. *Sir J. Ware*.

* He was born according to the *Lord Bacon*, p. 8. in *September* 1486, and so he must be 15 Years and 2 Months old. According to *Hollinshead* he was born in *September* 1488, and then he was but 13 Years and 2 Months. See *Hol.* p. 769.

1502. Power, to dispense even in that Case; but only in point of Honour, and to make the Case more Favourable and Smooth. And the Times that favoured Queen Elizabeth's Legitimation (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in Memory, that it was half a Year's time between the Creation of Henry Prince of Wales, and Prince Arthur's Death; which was construed to be, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appear, whether the Lady Catherine were with Child by Prince Arthur, or no. Again, the Lady her self procured a Bull, for the better Corroboration of the Marriage, with a Clause of (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the first Bull. There was given in Evidence also, when the Cause of the Divorce was handled, a pleasant Passage, which was; That in a Morning Prince Arthur, upon his up-rising from Bed with her, called for Drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and finding the Gentleman of his Chamber that brought him the Drink to smile at it, and to note it, he said merrily to him; That he had been in the midst of Spain, which was an hot Region, and his Journey had made him dry, and that if the other had been in so hot a Clime, he would have been drier than he. Besides, the Prince was upon the point of Sixteen Years of Age when he died, and forward and able in Body.

The 18th of February 1507. The February following, Henry Duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint. For the Dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by Statute. The King also being fast handed, and loth to part with a second Dowry, but chiefly being Affectionate, both by his Nature and out of politick Considerations, to continue the Alliance with Spain, prevailed with the Prince (though not without some Reluctation, such as could be in those Years, for he was not twelve Years of Age) to be contracted with the Princess Katherine. The secret Providence of God ordaining that Marriage to be the Occasion of great Events and Changes.

The same Year were the Esponsals of James King of Scotland, with the Lady Margaret, the King's eldest Daughter; which was done by Proxy, and published at Pauls Cross, the Five and twentieth of January, and Te Deum solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the Joy of the City thereupon shewed, by Ringing of Bells, and Bonfires, and such other Incense of the People, was more than could be expected, in a Case of so great and fresh Enmity between the Nations; especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former Calamities of the War. And therefore might be truly attributed to a secret Instinct and Inspiring (which many times runneth not only in the Hearts of Princes, but in the Pulse and Veins of People) touching the Happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This Marriage was in August following consummate at Edinburgh. The King bringing his Daughter as far as Colli-Weston on the Way, and then consigning her to the Attendance of the Earl of Northumberland; who with a great Troop of Lords and Ladies of Honour, brought her into Scotland, to the King her Husband.

This Marriage had been in Treaty by the space of almost three Years, from the time that the King of Scotland did first open his Mind to Bishop Fox. The Sum given in Marri-

age by the King was Ten thousand Pounds. 1507. And the Jointure and Advancement assured by the King of Scotland, was Two thousand Pounds a Year after King James his Death, and one thousand Pounds a Year in present, for the Lady's Jointure Allowance or Maintenance. This to be let forth in Lands, of the best and most certain Revenue. During the Treaty, it is reported, that the King remitted the Matter to his Council; and that some at the Table in the Freedom of Councillors (the King being present) did put the Case; that if God should take the King's two Sons without issue, that then the Kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might be prejudice to the Monarchy of England. Whereupon the King himself replied; That if that should be, Scotland would be but an Accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the Greater would draw the less. And that it was a safer Union for England, than that of France. This passed as an Oracle, and silenced those that moved the Question.

The same Year was fatal, as well for Deaths, as Marriages, and that with equal Temper. For the Joys and Feasts of the two Marriages, were compensated with the Mournings and Funerals of Prince Arthur (of whom we have spoken) and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in Child-bed in the Tower, † and the Child lived not long after. There dyed also that Year Sir Reginald Bray who was noted to have had with the King the greatest Freedom of any Councillor; but it was but a Freedom, the better to set off Flattery. Yet he bare more than his just Part of Envy, for the Exactions.

At this time the King's Estate was very prosperous, secured by the Amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all Domestick Troubles quenched, and all Noise of War (like a Thunder afar off) going upon Italy. Wherefore Nature, which many times is happily contained, and refrained by some Bands of Fortune, began to take place in the King; carrying (as with a strong Tide) his Affections and Thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of Treasure. And as Kings do more easily find Instruments for their Will and Humour, than for their Service and Honour; He had gotten for his Purpose, or beyond his Purpose, two Instruments, Empson and Dudley, (whom the People esteemed as his Horse-leeches and Shearers) bold Men, and careless of Fame, and took Toll of their Master's Grist. Dudley was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put hateful Business into good Language. But Empson, that was the Son of a Sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the Deed done, putting off all other Respects whatsoever. These two Persons being Lawyers in Science, and Privy Councillors in Authority (*as the Corruption of the best things is the worst*) turned Law and Justice into Wormwood and Rapine. For first, their Manner was to cause divers Subjects to be indicted of sundry Crimes, and so far forth to proceed in Form of Law; but when the Bills were found, then presently to commit them. And nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their Answer, but to suffer them to languish long in Prison, and by sundry artificial Devices and Terrors, to extort from them great Fines and Ransoms, which they termed Compositions and Mitigations.

Neither

1504. Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the half Face of Justice, in proceeding by Indictment; but sent forth their Precepts to attach Men, and convent them before themselves and some others, at their private Houses, in a Court of Commission, and there used to shuffle up a Summary proceeding by Examination, without Trial of Jury; assuming to themselves there, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and Controversies Civil.

Then did they also use to enthrall and charge the Subjects Lands with Tenures in capite, by finding false Offices, and thereby to work upon them for Wardships, Liveries, Premier Seisines, and Alienations; (being the Fruits of those Tenures) refusing upon divers Pretexes and Delays, to admit Men to traverse those false Offices, according to the Law. Nay, the King's Wards, after they had accomplished their full Age, could not be suffered to have Livery of their Lands, without paying excessive Fines, far exceeding all reasonable Rates. They did also vex Men with Informations of Intrusion upon scarce colourable Titles.

How Out-lawries are punished. When Men were out-lawed in personal Actions, they would not permit them to purchase their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable Sums; standing upon the strict point of Law, which upon Outlawries giveth Forfeiture of Goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of Mens Lands and Rents, during the Space of full two Years, for a Pain in case of Out-lawry. They would also ruffle with Jurors, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the People; both like tame Hawks for their Master, and like wild Hawks for themselves; in so much as they grew to great Riches and Substance. But their principal working was upon Penal Laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the Law were possible, or impossible, in use or obsolete: But raked over all old and new Statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of Terror, than of Rigour; having ever a Rabble of Promoters, Questmongers, and leading Jurors at their Command, so as they could have any thing found either for Fact or Valuation.

The King's Diligence to get Money. There remaineth to this Day a Report, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal Servant, both for War and Peace) nobly and sumptuously, at his Castle at Henningham. And at the King's going away, the Earl's Servants stood (in a seemly Manner) in their Livery Coats, with Cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a Lane. The King called the Earl unto him and said; *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater than the Speech. These handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial Servants. The Earl smiled, and said; It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my Retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace.* The King started a little, and said; *By my Faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good Cheer, but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my Sight. My Attorney must speak with you. And it is part of*

the Report, that the Earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand Marks. And to shew further the King's extreme Diligence; I do remember to have seen long since a Book of Account of Empson's, that had the King's Hand almost to every Leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the Margent with the King's Hand likewise, where was this Remembrance.

Item, received of such a one, five Marks, A remarkable Memorandum of King Henry.
for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon do not pass, the Money to be repaid; except the Party be some other ways satisfied.

And over against this Memorandum (of the King's own Hand)

Otherwise satisfied.

Which I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a Nearness, but yet with a kind of Justness. So these little Sands and Grains of Gold and Silver (as it seemeth) helped not a little to make up the great Heap and Bank.

But mean while (to keep the King awake) the Earl of Suffolk having been too gay at Prince Arthur's Marriage, and sunk himself deep in Debt, had yet oncemore a Mind to be a Knight Errant, and to seek Adventures in Foreign Parts. And taking his Brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That (no doubt) which gave him Confidence, was the great Murmur of the People against the King's Government. And being a Man of a light and rash Spirit, he thought every Vapour would be a Tempest. Neither wanted he some Party within the Kingdom. For the Murmur of People awakes the Discontents of Nobles, and again, that calleth up commonly some Head of Sedition. The King resorting to his wonted and tried Arts, called Sir Robert Curson, Captain of the Castle at Hammes (being at that time beyond Sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the King) to fly from his Charge, and to fain himself a Servant of the Earl's. This Knight having insinuated himself into the Secrets of the Earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either Hope or Hold, advertised the King thereof in great Secrecy. But nevertheless maintained his own Credit and inward Trust with the Earl. Upon whose Advertisements, the King attached William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, his Brother-in-Law, married to the Lady Katherine, Daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William De-la-Pole, Brother to the Earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tirrel, and Sir John Windham, and some other meaner Persons, and committed them to Custody. George Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less Suspicion, so in a freer Restraint, and were soon after delivered. The Earl of Devonshire, being interested in the Blood of York, that was rather Feared than Nocent; yet as one, that might be the Object of other Plots and Designs, remained Prisoner in the Tower, during the King's Life. William De-la-pole was also long restrained

1504. ed, though not so straitly. But for Sir *James Tirrel* (against whom the Blood of the Innocent Princes, *Edward the Fifth*, and his Brother, did still cry from under the Altar) and Sir *James John Windham*, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two Knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the Credit of *Curson* (who belike had not yet done all his Feats of Activity) there was published at *Paul's Cross*, about the time of the said Executions, the Pope's Bull of Excommunication and Curse, against the Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Curson*, and some others by Name, and likewise in general against all the Abettors of the said Earl. Wherein it must be confessed, that Heaven was made too much to bow to Earth, and Religion to Policy. But soon after, *Curson* (when he saw time) returned into *England*, and with all into wonted Favour with the King, but worse Fame with the People. Upon whose Return the Earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of Hopes (the *Lady Margaret* also by tract of Time, and bad Success, being now become cool in those Attempts) after some wandering in *France*, and *Germany*, and certain little Projects, no better than equibbs of an exiled Man, being tired out, retired again into the Protection of the Archduke *Philip* in *Flanders*, who by the Death of *Isabella*, was at that time King of *Castile*, in the Right of *Joan* his Wife.

† On the 25th of January. A Parliament call'd and *Dudley* chosen Speaker. This Year † (being the Nineteenth of his Reign) the King called his Parliament. Wherein a Man may easily guess, how absolute the King took himself to be with his Parliament, when *Dudley* that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. In this Parliament, there were not made any Statutes memorable, touching publick Government. But those that were, had still the Stamp of the King's Wisdom and Policy.

There was a Statute made for the disannulling of all Patents of Lease, or Grant, to such as came not upon lawful Summons, to serve the King in his Wars, against the Enemies or Rebels, or that should depart without the King's Licence; with an Exception of certain Persons of the Long-robe. Providing nevertheless, that they should have the King's Wages, from their House, till their Return home again. There had been the like made for Officers, and by this Statute it was extended to Lands. But a Man may easily see by many Statutes made in this King's time, that the King thought it safest, to assist Martial Law by Law of Parliament.

Foreign Manufactures prohibited. Another Statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of Manufactures of Silk wrought by it self, or mixt with any other Thread. But it was not of Stuffs of whole piece (for that the Realm had of them no Manufacture in use at that time) but of knit-Silk, or Texture of Silk; as Ribbands, Laces, Caules, Points, and Girdles, &c. which the People of *England* could then well skill to make. This Law pointed at a true Principle; That where foreign Materials are but Superfluities, foreign Manufactures should be prohibited. For that will either banish the Superfluity or gain the Manufacture.

There was a Law also of Resumption of Patents of Gaols, and the Re-annexing of them to the Sherifwicks; privileged Officers being no less an Interruption of Justice, than privileged Places.

There was likewise a Law to restrain the By-laws or Ordinances of Corporations, which many times were against the Prerogative of the King, the Common-law of the Realm, and the Liberty of the Subject, being Fraternities in E-

vil. It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in Execution, without the Allowance of the Chancellor, Treasurer, and the two Chief-Justices, or three of them, or of the two Justices of Circuit where the Corporation was.

Another Law was (in effect) to bring in the Silver of the Realm to the Mint, in making all clipped, minished, or impaired Coins of Silver, not to be current in Payments; without giving any Remedy of Weight, but with an Exception only of a reasonable Wearing, which was nothing in respect of the Incertainty; and so (upon the Matter) to set the Mint on Work, and to give way to new Coins of Silver, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long Statute against Vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one the Dislike the Parliament had of Gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pestiferous, and of no open Example. The other, that in the Statutes of this King's time, (for this of the Nineteenth Year is not the only Statute of that kind) there are ever coupled, the Punishment of Vagabonds, and the Forbidding of Dice, and Cards, and unlawful Games unto Servants and mean People, and the putting down and suppressing of Ale-houses, as strings of one Root together, and as if the one were unprofitable, without the other.

As for Riot and Retainers, there passed scarce any Parliament in this time without a Law against them, the King ever having an Eye to his Might, and Multitude.

There was granted also that Parliament a Subsidy, both for the Temporality and the Clergy. And yet nevertheless, ere the Year expired, there went out Commissions for a general Benevolence, though there were no Wars; no Fears. The same Year the City gave Five thousand Marks, for Confirmation of their Liberties; a thing fitter for the Beginnings of King's Reigns, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a small Matter, that the Mint gained upon the late Statute, by the Recoinage of Groats and Half Groats, now Twelve-pences and Six-pences. As for *Empson* and *Dudley's* Mills, they did grind more than ever. So that it was a strange thing, to see what golden showers poured down upon the King's Treasury at once. The last Payments of the Marriage Money from *Spain*; the subsidy; the Benevolence; the Recoinage; the Redemption of the Cities Liberties; the Casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the King had then no Occasions at all of Wars or Troubles. He had now but one Son, and one Daughter unbested. He was Wise; He was of an high Mind; He needed not to make Riches his Glory. He did excel in so many things else; save that certainly Avarice doth ever find in it self Matter of Ambition. Belike he thought to leave his Son such a Kingdom, and such a Mass of Treasure, as he might choose his Greatness where he would.

This Year † was also kept the Serjeants Feast, which was the second Call in this King's Days.

About * this time *Isabella*, Queen of *Castile*, deceased; a right noble Lady, and an Honour to her Sex, and Times, and the Corner-stone of the Greatness of *Spain*, that hath followed. This Accident the King took not for News at large, but thought it had a great Relation to his own Affairs; especially in two Points. The one, for Example; the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the Case of *Ferdinando* of *Aragon*, after the Death of Queen *Isabella*, was his own Case, after the Death of his own Queen; and the Case of *Joan* the Heir unto *Castile*, was the

1505.

A General Benevolence.

The Londoners purchase the Confirmation of their Liberty.

† On the 13th of November the Serjeants were Rob. Brudenell, Will. Grevill, Tho. Marrow,

George Edgemoor, John Custer, Tho. Eliot, Guy Palmer, Lewis Polard, and Will. Fairfax.

† On the 26th of November.

1505. the Case of his own Son Prince Henry. For if both of the Kings had their Kingdoms, in the Right of their Wives, they descended to the Heirs, and did not accrew to the Husbands. And although his own Case had both Steel and Parchment, more than the other (that is to say, a Conquest in the Field, and an Act of Parliament) yet notwithstanding, that natural Title of Descent in Blood, did (in the Imagination even of a wise Man) breed a Doubt, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent, to inquire and observe what became of the King of Arragon, in holding and continuing the Kingdom of Castile. And whether he did hold it in his own Right, or as Administrator to his Daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in Fact, or to be put out by his Son in Law. Secondly, he did revolve in his Mind, that the State of Christendom might by this late Accident have a Turn. For whereas before time himself, with the Conjunction of Arragon and Castile (which then was one) and the Amity of Maximilian and Philip his Son the Arch-Duke, was far too strong a Party for France; he began to fear, that now the French King (who had great Interest in the Affections of Philip the young King of Castile) and Philip himself, now King of Castile, (who was in ill Terms with his Father in Law about the present Government of Castile) And thirdly Maximilian, Philip's Father (who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest Aim that could be taken, was that he would not be long, as he had been last before) would, all three being potent Princes, enter into some strait League and Confederation amongst themselves. Whereby though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor Amity of Arragon. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of Arbitrer of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a Conjunction. He had also (as it seems) an Inclination to marry, and bethought himself of some fit Conditions abroad. And amongst others, he had heard of the Beauty and virtuous Behaviour of the young Queen of Naples, the Widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of Matronal Years of Seven and twenty. By whose Marriage he thought that the Kingdom of Naples (having been a Gaol for a time between the King of Arragon, and the French King, and being but newly settled) might in some part be deposited in his Hands, who was so able to keep the Stakes. Therefore he sent in Ambassage or Message three confident Persons; Francis Marsin, James Bray-brook, and John Stile, upon two several Inquisitions rather than Negotiations. The one touching the Person and Condition of the young Queen of Naples. The other touching all particulars of Estate, that concerned the Fortunes and Intentions of Ferdinando. And because they may observe best who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable Pretexts; giving them Letters of Kindness and Complement from Katherine the Princess, to her Aunt, and Niece, the old and young Queen of Naples, and delivering to them also a Book of new Articles of Peace; which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto Doctor de Puebla, the Legier Ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the King had been long without hearing from Spain, he thought good those Messengers, when they had been with the two Queens, should likewise pass on to the Court of Ferdinando, and take a Copy of the Book with them. The Instructions touching the Queen of Naples were so curious and exquisite, being as Articles whereby to direct a Survey, or framing a Particular of her Person, 1505. for Complexion, Favour, Feature, Stature, Health, Age, Customs, Behaviour, Conditions, and Estate, as if the King had been young, a Man would have judged him to be Amorous; but being Ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very Chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one Woman, and so to settle his Affections, without ranging. But in this Match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his Ambassadors, that this young Queen had had a goodly Jointure in the Realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her Unkle Frederick, yea, and during the time of Lewis the French King, in whole Division her Revenue fell; but since the time that the Kingdom was in Ferdinando's Hands, all was assigned to the Army, and Garrisons there, and she received only a Pension or Exhibition out of his Coffers.

The other part of the Inquiry had a grave and diligent Return, informing the King at full of the present State of King Ferdinando. By this Report it appeared to the King, that Ferdinando did continue the Government of Castile as Administrator unto his Daughter Joan, by the Title of Queen Isabella's Will, and partly by the Custom of the Kingdom, as he pretended. And that all Mandates and Grants were expedited in the name of Joan his Daughter, and himself as Administrator, without mention of Philip, her Husband. And that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of Castile, yet meant to hold the Kingdom, without accompt, and in absolute Command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit unto him the Government of Castile during his Life; which he had laid his Plot to work him unto, both by some Counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinando had at his Devotion, and chiefly by Promise, that in case Philip gave not Way unto it, he would marry some young Lady, whereby to put him by the Succession of Arragon and Granada, in case he should have a Son. And lastly, by representing unto him that the Government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things (though wisely laid down and consider'd) Ferdinando fail'd; but that Pluto was better to him, than Pallas.

In the same Report also, the Ambassadors being mean Men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous. For they declared plainly, that the People of Spain, both Nobles and Commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip (so he brought his Wife with him) than to Ferdinando; and expressed the Reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many Taxes, and Tallages, which was the King's own Case between him and his Son.

There was also in this Report a Declaration of an Overture of Marriage, which Amason the Secretary of Ferdinando had made unto the Ambassadors in great secret, between Charles Prince of Castile and Mary the King's second Daughter; assuring the King, that the Treaty of Marriage then on Foot, for the said Prince and the Daughter of France, would break; and that she the said Daughter of France should be married to Angoleme, that was the Heir Apparent of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of Marriage between Ferdinando and Madam de Foix, a Lady of the Blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as Learned in France, and silenced in Spain.

1505. The King by the Return of this Ambassage, which gave great light unto his Affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*, and *Philip* his Son-in-law, King of *Castile*; resolving with himself, to do all that in him lay to keep them at one within themselves; But howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Person of a Common-Friend, to lose neither of their Friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the King of *Arragon*, but more laboured and officious with the King of *Castile*. But he was much taken with the Overture of Marriage with his Daughter *Mary*; both because it was the greatest Marriage of *Christendom*, and for that it took hold of both Allies.

But to corroborate his Alliance with *Philip*, the Winds gave him an Enterview. For *Philip* choosing the Winter-Season, the better to surprize the King of *Arragon*, set forth with a great Navy out of *Flanders* for *Spain* in the Month of *January*, the One and Twentieth Year of the King's Reign. But himself was surprized with a cruel *Tempest*, that scatter'd his Ships upon the several Coasts of *England*. And the Ship wherein the King and Queen were (with two other small Barks only) torn, and in great peril to escape the Fury of the Weather, thrust into *Weymouth*. King *Philip* himself, having not been used (as it seems) to Sea, all wearied and extream sick, would needs land to refresh his Spirits, tho' it was against the Opinion of his Council, doubting it might breed Delay, his Occasions requiring Celerity.

The Rumour of the Arrival of a Puissant Navy upon the Coast, made the Country arm. And *Sir Thomas Trenchard* with Forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the Matter might be, came to *Weymouth*. Where understanding the Accident, he did in all Humbleness and Humanity invite the King and Queen to his House; and forthwith dispatched Posts to the Court. Soon after came *Sir John Caroe* likewise, with a great Troop of Men well arm'd; using the like Humbleness and Respect towards the King, when he knew the Case. King *Philip* doubting that they, being but Subjects, durst not let him pass away again, without the King's notice and leave, yielded to their Entreaties, to stay till they heard from the Court. The King as soon as he heard the News, commanded presently the Earl of *Arundel*, to go to Visit the King of *Castile*, and let him understand, That as he was very Sorry for his Mishap, so he was glad that he had escap'd the Danger of the Seas, and likewise of the Occasion himself had to do him Honour; and desiring him, to think himself as in his own Land; and that the King made all hast possible to come and imbrace him. The Earl came to him in great Magnificence, with a brave Troop of Three hundred Horse; and (for more State) came by Torch-Light. After he had done the King's Message, King *Philip* seeing how the World went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the King at *Windfor*, and his Queen follow'd by easy Journeys. The two Kings at their Meeting us'd all the Caresses, and loving Demonstrations that were possible. And the King of *Castile* said pleasantly to the King, *That he was now punished, for that he would not come with in his walled Town of Calice, when they met last.* But the King answer'd, *That Walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise, but to be served.* After a Day or two's refreshing, the Kings entred into Speech of renewing the Treaty; The King saying, *'That tho' King Philip's Person were the*

same, yet his Fortunes and State were raised. In which Case a Renovation of Treaty was used amongst Princes. But while these things were in handling, the King choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of *Castile* into a Room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his Arm, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of Intertainment, said to him; *Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wrack upon yours.* The King of *Castile* ask'd him, *What he meant by that Speech? I mean it* (saith the King) *by that some Harebrain wild Fellow, my Subject, the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your Country, and begins to play the Fool, when all others are weary of it.* The King of *Castile* answer'd, *I had thought (Sir) your Felicity had been above those Thoughts. But if it trouble you, I will banish him.* The King reply'd, *Those Hornets were best in their Nest, and worst when they did fly abroad, that his Desire was, to have him delivered to him.* The King of *Castile* herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, *That can I not do with my Honour, and less with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a Prisoner.* The King presently said, *Then the Matter is at an end. For I will take that Dishonour upon me, and so your Honour is saved.* The King of *Castile*, who had the King in great Estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and knew not what Use he might have of the King's Amity, for that himself was new in his Estate of *Spain*, and unsettled, both with his Father in Law, and with his People, composing his Countenance, said, *Sir, you give Law to me; but so will I to you. You shall have him, but upon your Honour) you shall not take his Life.* The King embracing him, said, *Agreed.* Saith the King of *Castile*, *Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion as he may partly come with his own good Will.* The King said, *It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would joyn with him, in sending to the Earl a Message to that purpose.* They both sent severally, and mean while they continued Feastings and Pastimes. The King being (on his part) willing to have the Earl sure before the King of *Castile* went; and the King of *Castile* being as willing to seem to be enforced. The King also with many wise and excellent Perswasions, did advise the King of *Castile* to be ruled by the Council of his Father in Law *Ferdinando*; a Prince so Prudent, so Experienced, so Fortunate. The King of *Castile* (who was in no very good terms with his said Father in Law) answer'd, *That if his Father in Law would suffer him to govern his Kingdoms, he should govern him.*

There were immediately Messengers sent from both Kings to recall the Earl of *Suffolk*: Who upon gentle Words used to him was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assur'd of his Life, and hoping of his Liberty. He was brought through *Flanders* to *Calice*, and thence landed at *Dover*, and with sufficient Guard delivered and received at the Tower of *London*. Mean while King *Henry* (to draw out the time) continued his Feastings and Entertainments, and after he had receiv'd the King of *Castile* into the Fraternity of the Garter, and for a Reciprocal his Son the Prince admitted to the Order of the *Golden-Fleece*, he accompany'd King *Philip* and his Queen to the City of *London*; where they were entertain'd with the greatest Magnificence and Triumph, that could be upon no greater Warning. And as soon as the Earl of *Suffolk* had been convey'd to the Tower (which was the serious part) the Jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheless during their being here, they in Substance concluded

1506.
Conference between K.
Henry and
Philip K.
of Castile.

1506. that Treaty, which the *Flemings* term *Intercursus malus*, and bears Date at *Windſor*; for that there be ſome things in it more to the Advantage of the *Engliſh*, than of them; eſpecially, for that the Free-fiſhing of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts and Seas of *England*, granted in the Treaty of *Undecimo*, was not by this Treaty confirmed. All Articles that confirm former Treaties being pre- ciſely and warily limited and confirm'd to mat- ter of Commerce only, and not otherwiſe.

The free fiſhing of the *Dutch* refus'd to be con- firm'd.

It was obſerv'd, that the great Tempeſt which drove *Philip* into *England*, blew down the *Golden Eagle* from the Spire of *Paul's*, and in the Fall it fell upon a Sign of the *Black-Eagle*, which was in *Paul's Church-Yard*, in the Place where the School-Houſe now ſtandeth, and batter'd it, and brake it down. Which was a ſtrange ſtoop- ing of a Hawk upon a Fowl. This the People interpreted to be an Ominous Prognostick upon the *Imperial Houſe*, which was (by Interpretation alſo) fulfill'd upon *Philip* the Emperor's Son, not only in the preſent Diſaſter of the Tempeſt, but in that that follow'd. For *Philip* arriving into *Spain*, and attaining the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Caſtile* without Reſiſtance, (inſomuch as *Ferdinando*, who had ſpoke ſo great before, was with difficulty admitted to the Speech of his Son in Law) ſickned ſoon after, and Deceas'd. Yet after ſuch time as there was an Obſervation by the wiſeſt of that Court, That if he had liv'd, his Father would have gain'd upon him in that ſort, as he would have govern'd his Councils and Deſigns, if not his Affections. By this all *Spain* return'd into the Power of *Ferdinando* in ſtate as it was before; the rather, in regard of the Infirmary of *Joan* his Daughter, who loving her Husband (by whom ſhe had many Children dearly well, and no leſs belov'd of him (how- ſoever her Father to make *Philip* ill beloved of the People of *Spain*, gave out that *Philip* us'd her not well) was unable in Strength of Mind to bear the Grief of his Decease, and fell diſtracted of her Wits. Of which Malady her Father was thought no ways to endeavour the Cure, the bet- ter to hold his Regal Power in *Caſtile*. So that as the Felicity of *Charles VIII.* was ſaid to be a Dream; ſo the Adverſity of *Ferdinando* was ſaid likewise to be a Dream, it paſſed over ſo ſoon.

The King would have had *Henry* the 6th cano- niz'd.

About this time the King was deſirous to bring into the Houſe of *Lancaſter* Celeſtial Honour, and became Suiter to Pope *Julius*, to canonize King *Henry VI.* for a Saint; the rather in reſpect of that his famous Prediction of the King's own Aſſumption to the Crown. *Julius* referred the Matter (as the manner is) to certain Cardinals, (b) to take the Verification of his holy Acts and Miracles. But it died under the Reference. The general Opinion was that Pope *Julius* was too Dear, and that the King would not come to his Rates. But it is more probable, That that Pope (who was extremely jealous of the Dignity of the See of *Rome*, and of the Acts thereof) know- ing that King *Henry VI.* was reputed in the World abroad but for a Simple Man, was afraid it would but diminish the Eſtimation of that kind of Honour, if there were not a diſtance kept betwixt Innocents and Saints.

The ſame Year likewise there proceeded a Treaty of Marriage between the King and the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, on- ly Daughter to *Maximilian*, and Siſter to the King of *Caſtile*; a Lady Wiſe, and of great good

Fame. This Matter had been in Speech between the two Kings at their Meeting, but was ſoon after reſum'd; and therein was employ'd for his firſt Piece the King's then Chaplain, and after the great Prelate *Thomas Wolſey*. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample Condi- tions for the King, but with Promise *De Futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather indu- ced unto it, for that he heard more and more of the Marriage to go on between his great Friend and Ally *Ferdinando* of *Arragon*, and *Madam de Foix*, whereby that King began to piece with the *French* King, from whom he had been always before ſevered. So fatal a Thing it is, for the greateſt and ſtraiteſt Amities of Kings, at one time or other to have a little of the Wheel. Nay, there is a further Tradition (in *Spain* tho' not with us) That the King of *Arragon*, after he knew that the Marriage between *Charles*, the young Prince of *Caſtile*, and *Mary* the King's ſe- cond Daughter went roundly on (which tho' it was firſt moved by the King of *Arragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to Perfection by *Maximilian*, and the Friends on that Side) entered into a Jealouſy, that the King did Aſpire to the Government of *Caſtilia*, as Ad- miniſtrator during the Minority of his Son in Law; as if there ſhould have been a Comperi- tion of Three for that Government; *Ferdinando*, Grandfather on the Mother's ſide; *Maximilian*, Grandfather on the Father's ſide; and King *Hen- ry*, Father in Law to the young Prince. Cer- tainly, it is not unlike, but the King's Govern- ment (carrying the young Prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcom to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other Two. For the Nobility of *Caſtilia*, that ſo lately put out the King of *Arragon*, in favour of King *Philip*, and had diſcover'd themſelves ſo far, could not be but in a ſecret Diſtruſt and Diſtaſte of that King. And as for *Maximilian*, upon twenty reſpects he could not have been the Man. But this Purpoſe of the King's ſeemeth to me (conſidering the King's ſafe Courſes, never found to be enterpri- zing or adventurous) not greatly probable, ex- cept he ſhould have had a Deſire to breath war- mer, becauſe he had ill Lungs. This Marriage with *Margaret* was protracted from time to time, in reſpect of the Infirmary of the King, who now in the Two and twentieth of his Reign began to be troubled with the *Cout*. But the Deſluxion taking alſo into his Breſt, waſted his Lungs, in that thrice in a Year (in a kind of Return, and eſpecially in the Spring,) he had great Fits and Labours of the *Tiſſick*. Nevertheless, he conti- nued to intend Buſineſs with as great Diligence, as before in his Health. Yet ſo, as upon this warning, he did likewise now more ſeriouſly think of the World to come, and of making himſelf a Saint, as well as King *Henry* the Sixth, by Treſure better employ'd, than to be given to Pope *Julius*. For this Year he gave greater Alms than accuſtomed, and diſcharged all Priſo- ners about the City, that lay for Fees or Debts under Forty Shillings. He did alſo make haſt with Religious Foundations; and in the Year following (which was the Three and Twentieth) finiſhed that of the *Savoy*. And hearing alſo of the bitter Cries of his People againſt the Op- preſſions of *Durley* and *Empſon*, and their Com- plices; partly by Devout Perſons about him, and partly by Publick Sermons (the Preachers

The King gives great Alms.

(b.) The Pope by his Bull committed the Examination of this Matter to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, and *Durham*; The Bull is in the *Cellamati* Library. Sir J. W. An. Hen. VII, Cap. XX.
'Tis dated in June 1504.

1508. doing their Duty therein) He was touch'd with great Remorse for the same. Nevertheless, *Empson* and *Dudley*, tho' they could not but hear of these Scruples in the King's Conscience; yet as if the King's Soul and his Money were in several Offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great Rage as ever. For the same Three and twentieth Year was there

Sir *William Capell* the second time. He was Mayor *London* in the Year 1504.

He was Mayor in the Year 1505.

Sir *Lawrence Ailmer* was Mayor the year 1507. *Hol.* writes, that they were imprisoned in the King's Bench till they had paid 1400 l. Fine, p. 796. *K. Henry* left behind him at his Death 1800000 pounds *sterl.*

It is no Marvel (if the Faults were so light and the Rates so heavy) that the King's Treasure of Score that he left at his Death, most of it in secret Places under his own Key and keeping, at *Richmond*, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to have done) unto the Sum of near Eighteen hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*; a huge masse of Money, even for these times.

The last Act of State that concluded this King's temporal Felicity, was the Conclusion of a glorious Match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Castile*, afterwards the great Emperor, both being of tender Years. Which Treaty was perfected by Bishop *Fox*, and other his Commissioners at *Calice*, the Year before the King's Death. In which Alliance, it seemeth he himself took so high Contentment, as in a Letter which he wrote thereupon to the City of *London* (commanding all possible Demonstrations of Joy to be made for the same) he expresth himself, as if he thought he had built a Wall of Brass about his Kingdom. When he had for his Sons in Law, a King of *Scotland*, and a Prince of *Castile* and *Burgundy*. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's Felicity, being at the top of all worldly Bliss, (in regard of the high Marriages of his Children, his great Renown throughout *Europe*, and his scarce credible Riches, and the perpetual Constancy of his prosperous Successes) but an opportune Death, to withdraw him from any future Blow of Fortune. Which certainly (in regard of the great Hatred of his People, and the Title of his Son, being then come to Eighteen Years of Age, and being a bold Prince, and liberal, and that gained upon the People by his very Aspect and Presence) had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last Year of his Reign as 1509. well as his first, he did an Act of Piety, rare and worthy to be taken into Imitation. For he granted forth a general Pardon, as expecting a second Coronation in a better Kingdom. He did also declare in his Will, that his Mind was, that Restitution should be made of those Sums, which had been unjustly taken by his Officers.

And thus this *Solomon* of *England* (for *Solo-* *K. Henry's* *Death.* *mon* also was too heavy upon his People in Ex- actions) having lived Two and fifty Years, and thereof reigned Three and twenty Years, and Eight Months, being in perfect Memory, and in a most blessed Mind, in a great Calm of a consuming Sickness passed to a better World, the Two and twentieth of *April* 1508. † at his Palace of *Richmond*, which himself had built.

' This King (to speak of him in Terms equal A Descri- to his deserving) was one of the best sort of pson of Wonders; a Wonder for Wisemen. He had *K. Hen- ry VII.* Parts (both in his Virtues, and his Fortune) His Wis- not so fit for a Common-place, as for Obser- dom. vation. Certainly he was Religious, both in his Affection and Observance. But as he could His Piety? see clear (for those times) through Supersti- tion, so he would be blinded (now and then) by Human Policy. He advanced Church men; he was tender in the Privilege of Sanctuaries, tho' they wrought him much Mischief. He built and endowed many Religious Founda- tions, besides his memorable Hospital of the *Savoy*. And yet was he a great Aims-giver in secret; which shewed, that his Works in Pub- lick were dedicated rather to God's Glory, than his own. He professed always to love He was a and seek Peace; and it was his usual Preface Lover of in his Treaties; That when Christ came into Peace. the World, Peace was sung; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeath'd. And this Virtue could not proceed out of Fear, or Soft- ness; for he was Valiant and Active, and therefore (no doubt) it was truly Christian and Moral. Yet he knew the way to Peace, was not to seem to be desirous to avoid Wars. Therefore would he make Offers, and Fames of Wars, till he had mended the Conditions of Peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a Lover of Peace, should be so happy in War. For his Arms (either in Fo- His Arms reign or Civil Wars) were never unfortunate; Victori- neither did he know what a Disaster meant. ous. The War of his coming in, and the Rebel- lions of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Awdley* were ended by Victory. The Wars of *France* and *Scotland*, by Peaces sought at his Hand. That of *Brittain*, by Accident of the Duke's Death. The Insurrection of the Lord *Lovel*, and that of *Perkin* at *Exeter*, and in *Kent*, by flight of the Rebels before they came to Blows. So that his Fortune of Arms was still inviolate. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the Commotions of his Sub- jects, he ever went in Person. Sometimes reserving himself to back and second his Lieu- tenants, but ever in Action; and yet that was not merely Forwardness, but partly Distrust of others.

' He did much maintain and countenance his He main- Laws. Which (nevertheless) was no Impe- tain'd and diment to him to work his Will. For it favour'd the Laws was so handled, that neither Prerogative, nor

† Reckoning from the Day of his Victory of *Bosworth*, when *Sir William Stanley* crown'd him in the Field, which was the 22d of *August* 1485. to the 22d of *April* 1508. is but 22 Years and 8 Months; whereas he reigned 23 Years and 8 Months, and dy'd the 22d of *April* 1509.

1509. Profit went to Dimination. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his Laws to his Prerogative, so would he also let down his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Mint and Wars, and Martial Discipline, (things of Absolute Power) he would nevertheless bring to Parliament. Justice was well administred in his time, save where the King was Party: Save also, that the Council Table intermeddled too much with *Meum* and *Tuum*. For it was a very Court of Justice during his time, especially in the Beginning. But in that part both of Justice and Policy, which is the Durable Part, and cut (as it were) in brass or Marble (which is the making of good Laws) he did excel. And with his Justice, he was also a merciful Prince. As in whose time there were but three of the Nobility that suffer'd; the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Cumberland*, and the Lord *Audley*. Though the first two were instead of Numbers, in the Dislike and Obloquy of the People. But there were never so great Rebellions expiated with so little Blood, drawn by the Hand of Justice, as the two Rebellions of *Blackheath* and *Exeter*. As for the Severity used upon those which were taken in *Kent*, it was but upon a Scum of People. His Pardons went ever both before and after his Sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected Pardons, with severe Executions. Which (his Wisdom consider'd) could not be imputed to any Inconstancy, or Inequality; but either to some Reason which we do not now know, or to a Principle he had set unto himself, *That he would vary, and try both ways in turn*. But the less Blood he drew, the more he took of Treasure. And (as some construe'd it) he was the more sparing in the one, that he might be the more pressing in the other: for both would have been intolerable. Of Nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate Treasure, and was a little poor in admiring Riches. The People (into whom there is infused, for the Preservation of Monarchies, a natural Desire to discharge their Princes, tho' it be with the unjust Charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal *Morton*, and Sir *Reginald Bray*. Who (as it after appear'd) as Counsellors of ancient Authority with him, did so second his Humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas *Empson* and *Dudley* that follow'd, being Persons that had no Reputation with him (otherwise than by the servile following of his Bent) did not give way only (as the first did) but shape him way to those Extremities, for which himself was touch'd with Remorse at his Death, and which his Successor renounc'd, and sought to purge. This Excess of his had at that time many Glosses and Interpretations. Some thought the continual Rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull down their Stomachs, and to keep them low. Some, for that he would leave his Son a Golden Fleece. Some suspected he had some high Design upon Foreign Parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the Truth, that fetch not their Reasons so far off; but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Mind fixed upon no other Ambition or Pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day Occasion to take Notice of the Necessities and Shifts for Money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better (by Comparison) set off to him the Felicity of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treasure, he never spared Charge which his Affairs requir'd; and in his Buildings was magnificent, but his Rewards were very limited. So that his Liberality was rather upon his own State and Memory, than upon the Deserts of others.

He was of an high Mind, and lov'd his own Will, and his own Way; as one that revered himself, and would Reign indeed. Had he been a private Man he would have been termed proud. But in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of Distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full Approach, neither to his Power or to his Secrets. For he was govern'd by none. His Queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers Children, and with a Crown also, tho' he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His Mother he revered much, heard little. For any Person agreeable to him for Society (such as was *Hastings* to *K. Edward IV.* or *Charles Brandon* after to *K. Henry VIII.*) he had none: Except we should account for such Persons, *Flax* and *Bray*, and *Empson*; because they were so much with him: But it was but as the Instrument is much with the Workman. He had nothing in him of Vain glory, but yet kept State and Majesty to the height; being gentle, that Majesty maketh the People bow, but Vain glory boweth to them.

To his Confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open. But rather such was his Inquiry, and such his Closeness, as they stood in the Light toward him, and he stood in the Dark to them. Yet without Strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual Communication of Affairs. As for little Envy, or Emulations upon Foreign Princes (which are frequent with many Kings) he had never any; but went substantially to his own Business. Certain it is, that though his Reputation was great at Home, yet it was greater Abroad. For Foreigners that could not see the Passages of Affairs, but made their Judgments upon the Issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever a lost. It grew also from the Aids which the Princes and States abroad receiv'd from their Ambassadors and Agents here; which were attending the Court in great Number. Whom he did not only content with Courtesy, Reward, and Privateness; but (upon such Conferences as passed with them) put them in Admiration, to find his universal insight into the Affairs of the World. Which tho' he did suck chiefly from themselves; yet that which he had gather'd from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms, concerning his Wisdom and Art of Rule, nay, when they were return'd, they did commonly maintain Intelligence with him. Such a Dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all Foreign Instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good Intelligence from all Parts abroad. Wherein he did not only use his Interest in the Liegers here, and his Pensioners which he had both in the Court of *Rome*, and other the Courts of Christendom; but the Industry and Vigilancy of his own Ambassadors in Foreign Parts. For which purpose, his Instructions were ever extream, curious, and articulate; and in them more Articles touching Inquisition, than touching Negotiation. Requiring likewise from his Ambassadors an Answer, in particular

1509. particular distinct Articles, respectively to his Questions.

As for his secret Spialls, which he did imploy both at Home and Abroad, by them to discover what Practices and Conspiracies were against him, surely his Case required it: He had such Moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended. For if Spialls be lawful against lawful Enemies, much more against Conspirators and Traytors. But indeed to give them Credence by Oaths or Curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy Vestments for a Disguise. Yet surely there was this further Good in his employing of these Flies and Familiars; That as the Use of them was Cause that many Conspiracies were revealed, so the Fame and Suspicion of them kept (no doubt) many Conspiracies from being attempted.

His Affection to his Wife and Children.

Towards his Queen he was nothing Uxorious, nor scarce Indulgent; but Companionable and Respective, and without Jealousy. Towards his Children † he was full of Paternal Affection, Careful of their Education, aspiring to their High Advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due Honour and Respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular Lustre upon them.

His Industry in Affairs of State.

To his Council he did refer much, and oft in Person; knowing it to be the Way to assist his Power, and inform his Judgment.

He advanced Clergymen, and Lawyers.

In which respect also he was fairly patient of Liberty, both of Advice, and of Vote, till himself were declar'd. He kept a strait Hand on his Nobility, and chose rather to advance Clergymen and Lawyers, which were more Obsequious to him, but had less Interest in the People; which made for his Absoluteness, but not for his Safety. In so much as (I am perswaded) it was one of the Causes of his troublesome Reign: for that his Nobles, tho' they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every Man go his own Way. He was not afraid of an able Man, as *Lewis XI.* was. But contrariwise,

Which was one of the Causes of his troublesome Reign.

he was serv'd by the ablest Men that were to be found; without which his Affairs could not have prosper'd as they did. For War,

His Chief Officers Civil and Military.

Bedford, Oxford, Surry, Dawbeny, Brooke, Poynings. For other Affairs, *Morton, Fox, Bray,* the Prior of *Lanthony, Warham, Urfwick, Hussey, Frowick,* and others. Neither did he care how Cunning they were, that he did imploy; for he thought himself to have the Master-Reach: And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that tho' he were a dark Prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his Times full of secret Conspiracies and Troubles; yet in Twenty four

No Counsellor or Servant but the Lord Chamberlain displaced in this reign. In what terms he was with his Subjects as to love, Fear and Reverence.

Years Reign, he never put down, or displaced Counsellor, or near Servant, save only *Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain. As for the Disposition of his Subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; That of the Three Affections, which naturally tie the Hearts of the Subjects to their Sovereigns; Love, Fear, and Reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholding to the other two.

He was a Prince sad, serious, and full of Thoughts and secret Observations; and full of Notes and Memorials of his own Hand, especially touching Persons. As whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to enquire of, whom to beware of, what were the Dependencies, what were the Factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a Journal of his Thoughts. There is to this day a merry Tale; That his Mon-key (set on as it was thought by one of his Chamber) tore his principal Note-Book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the Court (which liked not those penive Accompts) was almost tickled with Sport.

He was indeed full of Apprehensions and Suspicions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them, and master them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his Thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at some times weigh them aright in their Proportions. Certainly that Rumour which did him so much Mischief (*That the Duke of York should be saved, and alive*) was (at the first) of his own nourishing; because he would have more Reason not to reign in the Right of his Wife. He was affable, and both well and fair spoken; and would use Sweetness and Blandishment of Words, where he desired to effect or perswade any thing that he took to Heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most Books that were of any worth, in the French Tongue. Yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal *Hadrian*, and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his Pleasures, there is no News of them. And yet by his Intraction to *Marsin* and *Stile* touching the Queen of *Naples*, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching Beauty. He did by Pleasures, as great Princes do by Banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never Prince was more wholly given to his Affairs, nor in them more of himself. In so much, as in Triumphs of Jufts, and Tourneys, and Balls, and Masks (which they then called Disguises) he was rather a Princely and Gentle Spectator, than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him as in all Men (and most of all in Kings) his Fortune wrought upon his Nature, and his Nature upon his Fortune. He attained to the Crown, not only from a private Fortune, which might endow him with Moderation; but also from the Fortune of an exiled Man, which had quickened in him all Seeds of Observation and Industry. And his Times being rather prosperous, than calm, had raised his Confidence by Success, but almost marred his Nature by Troubles. His Wisdom, by often evading from Perils, was turned rather into a Dexterity to deliver himself from Dangers, when they press'd him, than into a Providence to prevent and remove them a far off. And even in Nature, the Sight of his Mind was like someSights of Eyes; rather strong at Hand, than to carry a far off. For his Wit increased upon the Occasion; and so much the

† He had by his Queen, *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Edward the Fourth*; four Sons and four Daughters, *Arthur* who died five Months after his Marriage to the Princess *Katherine of Spain*. *Henry* who married his Brother's Widow, and succeeded his Father, by the Name of *Henry the Eighth*, *Edmund* and another Son, who died young; *Margaret* Queen of the *Scots*, and *Mary*, who married the French King *Lewis the Twelfth*, and afterwards *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. The other two Daughters died in their Childhood.

1509. more if the Occasion were sharpened by Danger. Again, whether it were the Shortness of his Foresight, or the Strength of his Will, or the Dazling of his Suspitions, or what it was; certain it is, that the perpetual Troubles of his Fortunes (there being no more Matter out of which they grew) could not have been without some great Defects, and main Errors in his Nature, Customs, and Proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help, with a thousand little Industries and Watches. But those do best appear in the Story it self. Yet take him with all his Defects, if a Man should compare him with the Kings his Concurrents, in France and Spain, he shall find him more politick than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth, for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before; then the Consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the *Tres Magi* of Kings of those Ages. To conclude, if this King did no greater Matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded, he compassed.

A Comparison of him with other Princes.

His Person.

He was a comely Personage, a little above just Stature, well and straight limmed, but slender. His Countenance was Reverend, and a little like a Church-Man: And as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the Face of one well disposed. But it was to the Disadvantage of the Painter; for it was best when he spake.

1509. His Worth may bear a Tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem Divine. When the Lady Margaret his Mother had diverse great Sutors for Marriage, she dream'd one Night, *That one in the likeness of a Bishop, in Pontifical Habit, did tender her for her Husband.* Neither had she ever any Child but the King, though she had three Husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth (whose Innocency gave him Holiness) was washing his Hands at a great Feast, and cast his Eye upon King Henry, then a young Youth, he said; *This is the Lad, that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for.* But that that was truly divine in him, was, that he had the Fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great King, in living exercised, and dying Repentant. So as he had an happy Warfare in both Conflicts, both of Sin and the Cross.

Prognosticks of his having the Crown.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lyeth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest Monuments of Europe, both for the Chappel, and for the Sepulcher. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the Monument of his Tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his Palaces. I could wish he did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.

The Remarkable Occurrences in the Reign of HENRY the VIth.

IN his second Year, *John Percival*, the Lord Mayor's Carver, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of *London* in this manner: Sir *Henry Collet* the Lord Mayor, took a Cup of Wine, and Drank to *John Percival*, who waited then at his Table standing bare, the Lord Mayor drinking to him and Stiling him Sheriff of *London* for the ensuing Year, so far made use of his Privilege of Election that way, as to cause *Percival* to put on his Hat, and sit down at the Table; accordingly the Carver sat down, took on him the Office of Sheriff, and was afterwards Lord Mayor himself, and Knighted.

In his seventh Year, *Robert Fabian* was Alderman and Sheriff of *London*. He wrote a History of *England* and *France*, from the Creation of the World to the third Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th.

In his ninth Year, on the 28th of *April*, *Joan Broughton* a Widow was Burnt in *Smithfield* for Heresie and professing *Wickliff's* Opinion. In this Year Wheat was sold in *London* for four Shillings a Quarter, and *Bordeaux* Wine or *Claret*, for thirty Shillings a Hoghead.

In the tenth Year of his Reign, the Body of one *Alice Hackney*, which had been bury'd 175 Years, ever since the beginning of the Reign of *Edward* the 2d, was accidentally dug up in the Church of *St. Mary Hill, London*: The Skin of the Corps was whole, and the Joynts of the Arms pliable.

In his fifteenth Year, a Pestilence rag'd in *England*, which swept away no less than 30000 Men, Women and Children in one Year in the City of *London*.

In the seventeenth Year of his Reign, Sir *John Shaw*, then Lord Mayor, first caus'd his Brethren the Aldermen to ride to the Water side when he went to the Exchequer-Bar by Water to be Sworn. He was also the first that had the Mayor's Feast in *Guild-Hall*, which was before done at *Grocer's* or *Merchant Taylor's Hall*. Also this Year *Sebastian Cabot* brought three *Indians* into *England*. They were Cloath'd in Beasts Skins, and eat raw Flesh. Two of them were seen two Years after dress'd like *English* Men, and not to be distinguish'd from them.

In the Year following, on the 18th Day of *January*, the first Stone of the Chappel known by the Name of *Henry the Seventh's Chappel* was laid within the Monastery of *Westminster* by *John Islip* the Abbot, Sir *Reginald Bray* Knight of the Garter, Dr. *Barnes* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Edward Stanhope*, and others, assisting at the Ceremonies. The Charges of this Building amounted to no more than fourteen Thousand Pound, if we may believe our Author.

In the 22d Year of his Reign, the Sweating Sickness which happen'd in his first Year return'd; but the Cure being known, it was not so mortal as the First was.

Besides the famous Captains mention'd by the Noble Author of this Reign, in his discoursing of King *Henry VII.* he had other Officers of great Valour and Conduct, as

George Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *George* Lord *Strange*, *Edward* Lord *Woodville*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Cheyney*. Those that we name hereafter were Men of Courage and Experience; but being Enemies to the House of *Lancaster*, and taking hold of all Opportunities to disturb King *Henry's* Government, they perished all of them as Traytors.

John de la Pool Earl of *Lincoln*, *James Touchet* Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Humphry Stafford*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, Sir *John Egremont*, and Sir *Simon Montfort*.

The Writers in King Henry VII. time, were

George Ripley a Carmelite Fryer of *Boston*. *Thomas Scroop* of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*: He affected to Preach in Sackcloth and bare-foot. He was sometimes a *Benedictine*, sometimes a *Dominican*, and sometimes a Carmelite Fryer. He was at last made a Bishop in *Ireland*, and liv'd to be near a Hundred Years old. The latter part of his Life he spent like an Anchorite.

He wrote several Mathematical Treatises, and was after his Death reckon'd a Conjurer by the Populace.

Dr. *John Ergham* a black Fryer born in *Tork*, Professor of Divinity at *Oxford*: He was fond of Prophecies.

John Percival a Carthusian Monk.

Thomas Maillorie a Welshman. He wrote of King *Arthur* and the Knights of the Round Table.

John Tonnels an Augustine Fryer, wrote a Grammar, which was Printed by *Richard*

Richard Pinson one of the first Printers in England.

Geffery, surnamed the *Grammarian*.

John Alcock Bishop of *Ely*, Founder of *Jesus College* in *Cambridge*. It was formerly a Nunnery, but the Abbess and the Nuns were turned out for their dissolute Lives.

Stephen Haws, Esquire, one of the Gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber.

William of *Bintree* in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite Fryer of *Burnham*, and a great Divine.

William Gallion of *Lyn*, Provincial of the Augustine Fryers.

William Celling of *Feverisham*, a Monk of *Canterbury*.

Cardinal *Thomas Bouchier* of the Noble Family of the *Bouchiers*, Earls of *Essex*: He was first Bishop of *Ely*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He was advanced to the Purple by Pope *Paul II.*

Philip Bromierd, a Dominican Fryer a Divine.

Dr. *John Miles*, L. L. D. of *Brazen College* in *Oxford*; which College was found-

ed in this Reign by *William Smith* Bishop of *London*.

Richard Shireburn Bishop of *Chichester*, famed for his Learning and Eloquence.

Robert Vidous Vicar of *Thaxstead* in *Essex*, Canon of *Wells*: An excellent Poet says *Hol.*

Dr. *Kenigbal*.

Cardinal *Morton*, of whom mention is frequently made in this History.

Henry Mickwel, his Chaplain.

Edmund Dudley, Esquire, a Lawyer, once Speaker of the House of Commons. He was a main Instrument of King *Henry's* Exactions. He wrote a Book intituled *Arbor Rei Publicæ*.

John Buckingham, an excellent Schoolman.

Dr. *William Blacknie*, a Carmelite Fryer, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian, Alderman, whom we have elsewhere mentioned, an Historian.

Bernardus Andreas, who called himself Poet Laureat, and Historiographer Royal. He wrote the Life of King *Henry VII.*

The End of the First VOLUME.

A N I N D E X

To the FIRST VOLUME of the Compleat

History of E N G L A N D.

A.

A Bbot, of Battel, his Valour against the French, Page 236.

Abon, Sir George and others, hang'd for Sir John Oldcastle's pretended Plot, 311.

Adda succeeds his Father *Ida* in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, 35.

Adminius, the Son of *Cumbeline*, banish'd his Country, flies to the Emperor *Caligula*, and stirs him up against it, 14.

Aganippus, a Gaulish King, marries *Cordelia*, the Daughter of King *Leir*, 6.

Agincourt, Battel of, 318.

Agricola, Son of *Severianus*, spreads the Pelagian Doctrine in Britain, 28.

Aidan, a Scottish Bishop, sent for by *Oswald* to settle Religion, 42.

Ailmer, Sir Laurence, Lord Mayor of London, how prosecuted by *Empson* and *Dudley* in Henry the Seventh's Reign, 635.

Alaric takes Rome from the Emperor *Honorius*, 26.

Alban of *Verulam* with others, suffers Martyrdom under *Dioclesian*, 24.

Albanact, one of the three Sons of *Brutus*, has *Albania*, now Scotland, for his Share in the Kingdom, 5. Defeated and slain by *Humber* King of the *Hunns*, *ibid.*

Albany, Alexander Duke of, instigates King *Edward IV.* to a War with Scotland, 478, 479. Made Governour of Scotland by means of the English Army, 479. The Duke of Gloucester's Friendship with him, and on what account, *ibid.*

Albemarl, Edward Plantagenet, Duke of. See *Aumerl.*

Albina, said to be the eldest of *Dioclesian's* fifty Daughters, 2. From her the Name of *Albion* deriv'd, *ibid.*

Albion, the ancient Name of this Island, 2, from whence deriv'd, *ibid.*

Alcred, slaying *Ethelwald*, usurps the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, 48.

Aldfrid recall'd from Ireland, succeeds his Brother *Esfred* in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, 45. He leaves *Osfred* a Child, to succeed him, 46.

Aldulf, the Nephew of *Ethelwald*, succeeds King of the *East-Angles*, 51.

Alektus treacherously slays his Friend *Carausius*, to get the Dominion, 23. Is overthrown by *Aclepiodotus*, and slain, *ibid.*

Alemannus, reported one of the four Sons of *Hifion*, descended from *Japhet*, and of whom the *Alemanni* or *Germani*, 2.

Alençon, Duke of, taken at the Battel of *Verneuil*, 349. The City betray'd to the Earl of *Salisbury*, 350. The Duke releas'd by means of the Duke of *Burgundy*, 354. His Presence animates the French, 356. Made General against the English, 360. Takes *Joan* of Orleans with him, and reduces several Towns, *ibid.*

Alexander Cementarius, Sirnam'd *Theologus*, preaches in King *John's* Days against the Pope's Temporal Power, 169.

Alfage, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, inhumanely us'd by the *Danes*, 69. Kill'd out-right by *Thrum* a *Dane*, in pity of his Misery, *ibid.*

Alfred, the fourth Son of *Ethelwolve*, and Successor of his Brother *Ethelred*, encounters the *Danes* at *Wilton*, 55. He gives Battel to the whole *Danish* Power at *Edindon*, and totally routing them, brings them to Terms, 56. He is said to have bestow'd the *East Angles* on *Gytha* a *Danish* King, who had been lately baptiz'd, *ibid.* A long War afterwards maintain'd between him and the *Danes*, 57, 58. He dies in the thirtieth Year of his Reign, and is bury'd at *Winchester*, 58. His Noble Character, *ibid.* and 89.

Alfwold, driving out *Eardulfe*, usurps the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, 50.

Algar Earl of *Holland*, now *Holland*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, and *Osgot* Governour of *Lincoln*, slaughter a great Multitude of the *Danes* in Battel with three of their Kings, 55. Overpower'd with Numbers, and drawn into a Snare, *Algar* dies valiantly Fighting, *ibid.*

Algar the Son of *Leofric*, banish'd by King *Edward*, joyns with *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, 78.

Unable to withstand *Harold* Earl of *Kent*, he submits to the King, 79. Banish'd, again he recovers his Earldom by Force, *ibid.*

Alipius, made Deputy of the *British* Province, in the Room of *Martinus*, 25.

Alla begins the Kingdom of *Deira* in the South Part of *Northumberland*, 35.

Alric King of *Kent* after *Ethelbert* the Second, 46. With him dying ends the Race of *Hengist*, 49.

Ambrosius Aurelianus, dreaded by *Vortimer*, 32. Defeats the *Saxons* in a memorable Battel, *ibid.* Uncertain whether the Son of *Constantine* the Usurper, or the same with *Merlin*, and Son of a Roman Consul, *ibid.* He succeeds *Vortigern*, as chief Monarch of the Isle, *ibid.*

Anacletus, the Friend of King *Pandrasus*, is taken in Fight by *Brutus*, 3. He is forc'd by *Brutus* to betray his own Countrymen, *ibid.*

Andragius, one in the Catalogue of ancient *British* Kings, 8.

Androgeus, one of *Lud's* Sons, has *London* assign'd him, and *Kent*, 8. Forsakes his Claim to the Kingdom, and follows *Cesar's* Fortune, 14.

Angels, good and bad, 561.

Anlaff the *Dane*, with his Army of *Irish*, and *Constantine* King of Scotland, utterly discomfited by King *Achelftan*, 61.

Anna succeeds *Sigebert* in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, 43. He is slain in War by *Penda* the *Mercian*, *ibid.*

Anne Queen, Sister to the German Emperor and Wife to *Richard II.* Her Death and good Character, 271. She favour'd *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, *ibid.* Much belov'd by her Husband, *ibid.*

Annie Queen, Wife to *Richard III.* and Daughter to the Earl of *Warwick*, first marry'd to Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry VI.* 443. Her second Husband, King *Richard*, grows weary of her, and

the dies, 508, 509. The *Turn Buck* gives this Event in his History, p. 532.

Anne Heiress of *Britagne*, marry'd by Proxy to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, 558.

Anselm Archbishop of *Canterbury*, forc'd to leave the Realm by *William Rufus*, 116. He is recall'd by King *Henry*, 119. His Contest with the King, 120.

Antigonus, the Brother of King *Pandrasus*, taken in Fight by *Brutus*, 3.

Antoninus, sent against the *Caledonians*, 23. After the Death of his Father *Severus*, he takes Hostages, and departs to Rome, *ibid.*

Antwerp, the joyful Reception of the English Merchants there after a Treaty of Peace and Commerce, 617.

Archigallo depos'd for his Tyranny, 7. Being restor'd by his Brother, he becomes a new Man, and reigns worthily, 8.

Archimailus, one in the Number of ancient *British* Kings, 8.

Arlette, William the Norman's Mother, marries one *Herlain*, a Norman Gentleman, 101.

Arminiack, Count de, revolts to the English, and why, 391, 392. His Daughter affianc'd to *Henry VI.* *ibid.* The Match broke off by the Earl of *Suffolk*, and his Country ruin'd by the Dauphin, *ibid.*

Armorica in France, peopled by Britains that fled from the *Saxons*, 31.

Aragon, a King of, depos'd for marrying the Daughter of his Subject, 564.

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